



**INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

## **URBAN DEVELOPMENT**

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**INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION  
DJAKARTA  
INDONESIA**

**REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA**

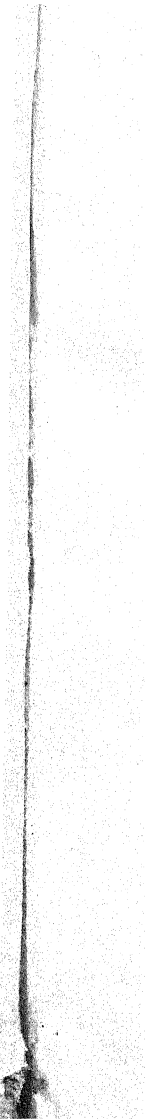
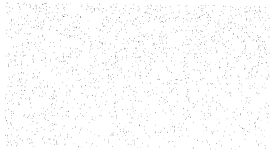
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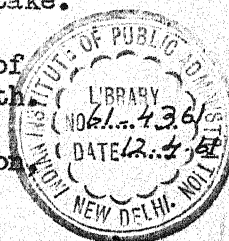
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# URBAN DEVELOPMENT

by

TANGKILISAN

## General Background.

### I. Physical layout and town planning.

#### (1) INTRODUCTION.

Before examining the geographical situation & conditions and planning of the City of Djakarta, it is appropriate to present first in this paper a brief sketch regarding the historical shaping of the City of Djakarta and its development thereafter, especially relating to its area, in order to obtain a clear picture of the city's growth beginning from the Netherlands Indies Government until to day.

#### NETHERLANDS INDIES PERIOD.

According to available historical data, the administration of the City of Djakarta began with the city of Batavia, establishment in 1619 by the V.O.C. (United East Indies Company). The city administration operated continually during the Dutch Company regime, then maintaining through the transition periods and the English interregnum until 1816. Thereafter the Netherlands Indies Government ruled over Indonesia as a colony of the Dutch Crown.

In the following years, several attempts were made to formulate a regulation that could be used as a guiding principle for the administration of the colonial areas in Indonesia. The results of their attempts were:

- a. the birth of a government regulation in 1827;
- b. followed in 1829 by the regulation, "Regulation on the Government Conduct in Netherlands Indies", which was altered in 1836, and finally;
- c. in 1854 the Dutch Government settled on a regulation called "Reglement op het Beleid der Regeering van Nederlands-Indie (State

Gazette 1855 No. 2).

According to the regulation in 1854, the Netherlands Indies Government was centralistic in character; in other words all the State power except one was laid in the hands of the Central apparatus. This one exception concerned the desa customary law (adat), which was allowed to have its own village administration apparatus. Furthermore, it was decided to divide the Netherlands Indies territory into administrative areas; namely provinces and residencies.

These areas however, had no degree of autonomy, as authority was centralized in the Governor's Generals office and carried on his behalf by Netherlands Indies officials. Financial support was also centralized.

In accordance with the above mentioned regulation, the city of Batavia together with the surrounding areas, at that time formed a residency with a resident as head. The administrative area of the Batavia Residence consisted of five afdeelingen (regencies) :

1. Afdeeling Stad en Voorsteden van Batavia;
2. Afdeeling Meester Cornelis;
3. Afdeeling Tangerang;
4. Afdeeling Buitenzorg;
5. Afdeeling Krawang.

Afdeeling Stad en Voorsteden van Batavia (city of Batavia and its environs) governed by an Assistant Resident, covered four districts:

1. Pendjaringan; 2. Pasar Senen; 3. Mangga Besar and 4. Tanah Abang.

In this regency was also included the islands in the bay of Batavia and northwards. This administration, which was centralistic in character, continued until 1903, when a decentralization act was introduced and admitted to form provinces or parts of it with its own budget and local administrative

organs (Decentralization-decree and Local Councils-ordinance).

### BATAVIA MUNICIPALITY.

The formation of the city of Batavia as a local province, named Batavia Municipality, was consummated by ordinance of March 18, 1905, State Gazette 1905 No. 204. Its boundaries were the same as those of the capital Batavia as issued in the Governor General's decree on October 27, 1904, No. 19 (State Gazette 1904 No. 426). Its region, an area of 125 square kilometers, covered Afdeeling Stad en Voorsteden van Batavia, except the islands in the bay of Batavia.

With a view to Civil Service requisities the administrative division was revised in 1908, so that in the same year the Batavia Municipality's region was divided into two districts and six subdistricts, respectively headed by a Wedana and an Assistant-Wedana. In order to serve the Indonesian people's interests, each subdistrict was divided into 27 quarters, and each quarter into numerous kampongs, amounting to 71, which ran as follows:

District	Subdistrict	Total	
		quarter	Kampong
I. Batavia	1. Manggabesar	5	11
	2. Pendjaringan	4	17
	3. Tandjung Prick	2	4
II. Weltevreden	4. Gambir	5	14
	5. Senen	7	14
	6. Tanah Abang	4	11
Grand total		27	71

As regards to the Batavia Municipality administrative apparatus, Establishment-Ordinance vide art. 7 formed within the Municipality a council called "de Gemeente Raad van Batavia"

with a total membership of 25, which later in 1917 was increased to 27. The apportionment was as follows:

15 subjects Netherlanders

8 native subjects Non Netherlanders

4 foreign subjects Non Netherlanders

Total 27 members.

The representatives were partly appointed and partly elected. But since 1917 all members were elected to office for a term of six years; in 1925 this duration was altered into four years.

As stipulated by the Establishment-Ordinance, the chairman of the Batavia Municipality Council appointed the "Hoofd van Plaatselijk Bestuur", i.e. the Assistant-Resident Afdeeling Stad en Voorsteden van Batavia. Until 1916 there was no Mayor or Council's Chairman.

Likewise no alderman (Wethouder) because in the Decentralization Act (enacted in 1903) no regulation could be found for their nomination.

The ordinance of July, 1916 (State Gazette 1916 No. 508) modified the Decentralization decrees of 1904 to allow the Governor General to appoint a Council Chairman for each municipality, which carried the title of Mayor. This meant that the Council's Chairman was no longer "Hoofd van Plaatselijk Bestuur" ex-officio. Therefore, the first Mayor of Batavia Municipality was appointed with the Government decree No. 5 on August 5, 1916. (This ordinance, however, did not stipulate the creation of Aldermen. It was not until 1922 that alterations were made in the ordinances to create acting-aldermen positions).

#### ACT ON ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

The decentralization act of 1903 proved to be insufficient to meet the needs of local government administration, therefore, in 1922 the Dutch Government issued the "Wet op de Bestuurs Hervorming" (Act on Administrative Reform) (State Gazette 1922 No. 216).

This act reformed the Governmental Regulation of 1854 in that it introduced deconcentration and decentralization of power on a much larger scale.

This act divided the Netherlands Indies territory into quasiautonomous provinces - where feasibility distated - with a province council governing its respective region. The administrative duties, financial responsibilities, rights and conducts were regulated through further ordinances.

The Act of 1922 was followed by several subsequent ordinances which were designed as a supplement and exemptplified the decentralization pattern. These ordinances were :

1. Province-Ordinance (State Gazette No. 78) governing the local administration.
2. Regency-Ordinance (State Gazette 1924 No. 79) governing the regency administration. A regency is part of a province but is not considered a city.
3. Municipality-Ordinance (State Gazette 1926 No. 365) (This ordinance was frequently altered with the lastest being in 1940) governing the administration of a part of the province which was formed into a city. (Java & Madura)

#### CITY OF BATAVIA MUNICIPALITY.

Based on the new decentralization system, the Batavia Municipality was established as Stadsgemeente Batavia by the State Gazette 1926 No. 366 Ordinance issued in October 1926. Thereafter, local administration was regulated by this ordinance which nullified all previous ordinances.

Esentially the reformation of Gemeente Batavia into Stadsgemeente Batavia did not involve alterations to the structure and organization of the autonomous region, but touched the legal principle only. As formerly the "Gemeente Batavia" governed the local administration on the basis of Decentralization regulations of 1903, now the "Stadsgemeente Batavia" managed its own housekeeping based on the new decentralization law of 1922.

At the time of formation, the region was the same as that of Gemeente Batavia, comprising of the districts of Batavia and Weltevreden, with its level similar to that of a regency.

Both districts were within a province and accordingly under control of the province concerned c.q. Province of West-Java, which was founded by State Gazette 1925 No. 378 and its region covering the whole of West-Java.

According to article 4 S.G.O. the local administration of a municipality consisted of :

a. 1. Council (Local People's Council);

2. Mayor and Aldermen;

3. Mayor,

or

b. 1. Council, and

2. Mayor.

The formation of the local administration as mentioned in sub a was similar to that of the Local Councils-ordinance after its revision in 1922, which opened possibilities to the creation of an alderman function. The formation, as mentioned in sub b corresponded with regulations as inserted in the decentralization act of 1916, which admitted the appointment of a council's chairman with the title of Mayor. Although the function of alderman was possible in 1922, it was not until 1926 that the Gemeente Batavia elected a local administrative body which consisted of two organs, namely Council and Mayor. In 1926, prior to the formation of Stadsgemeente Batavia, some council members proposed to creation of alderman functions for the sake of good local government.

After the reformation of the Gemeente Batavia into a "Stadsgemeente", the proposal of creating an alderman function came up for discussion in the Council, where upon in October 1926, the council decided on three alderman, but later increased the number to include four alderman. The appointment was as follows :

2 Netherlanders, 1 Indonesian and 1 Chinese. These four alderman, together with the Mayor formed "het College van Burgemesster en Vethouders van

Stadsgemeente Batavia". With the institution of the new College, the division of labor among the members started to work.

As regards to the composition of the Council, the establishment-ordinance of Stadsgemeente Batavia regulated that the total membership would be 27, consisting of fifteen Netherlands, eight Indonesians and four foreign subjects who were non-Netherlands. This total was later, in 1938, increased altered to 33. The council members were elected for a term of four years by the city's population according to regulations as mentioned in "Kiesordonnantie-Gemeenteraden (State Gazette 1925 No. 673), and afterwards in 1927 revised to become two regulations, namely : "Kiesordonnantie Gemeenteraden Nederlanders en Uitheemsche Onderdanen" and "Kiesordonnantie Gemeenteraden Inheemsche Onderdanen" (State Gazette 1937 No. 538 and No. 539). Prior to the collapse of the Netherlands Indies Government, however, both regulations were renovated into one State Gazette 1941 No. 451.

The function of the mayor who was a direct appointment of the Governor General, and an official of the Central Government was that of discharging the duties of a municipal organ a mayor could be appointed only from males who had attained the age of thirty passed the age not losing the rights to own property transact business, was financially solvent and had his legal residence within the municipal region. His salary was paid by the Central Government, but the Municipality had to reimburse it to the public treasury.

Basically the administrative apparatus of the Stadsgemeente Batavia, remained the same until January 1953, at which time the annexation of Stadsgemeente Meester Cornelis (present day Djatinegara) to Stadsgemeente Batavia became a necessity. This the Netherlands Indies government performed through the issuance of State Gazette 1934 No. 687.

Through this annexation the Stadsgemeente Batavia area became 182 square km. Furthermore, according to the junction ordinance, the total members of the City Council was increased from 27 to 42; the composition became : 24 Netherlands, 12 Indonesians and 6 foreign subjects, non-Netherlands.

Afterwards the Central Government considered this total of 42 members far too many, and consequently the establishment-ordinance of Stadsgemeente Batavia of 1926 was revised again by State Gazette 1938 No.420, regulating that the total members would be 33; consisting of 17 subjects Netherlanders, 11 native subjects non-Netherlanders and 5 foreign subjects non-Netherlanders.

## NESE REGIME

With the Netherlands Indies Government unconditional surrendered on March 9, 1942 to the Japanese Army, the Japanese Military Administration reigned over Indonesia. Subsequently the city of Batavia's administration was renovaId to conform with the enactment of the Japanese Decentralization regulation (October 1942 No. 27), which did away the Netherlands Indies Government decentralization system.

According to the new Act, the island of Java was divided into administrative units called Syuu, its territory covered the residency's region at the time of the Netherlands Indies Government. Each Syuu was divided again into Si and Ken, respectively administered by a Sityoo and Kentyoo; the Si region was similar to that of a municipality, while the Ken region was the same as the former regency area.

The principal reformation having carried out towards Residencies (Syuu) contained the status of that region. Formerly a residency was an administrative area under a resident who assisted the Governor (after the forming of provinces based on Administrative Reformation Act 1922 and Province-ordinance). However, a Syuu became new an autonomous institution with the highest level and under it the Si and Ken were autonomous bodies also. The provinces of West-Java, Mid-Java and East-Java at the time of the Netherlands Indies Government were abolished.

## RTA TOKUBETU SI

Following Act 1942 No. 27, the Commander-in-chief of the Japanese Army issued Act No. 26 which instituted the Syuu-and Tokubetu Si administration. Based on both acts the Commander on August 8, 1942 decreed the

Stadsgemeente Batavia to be "Djakarta Tokubetu Si". Its region was similar to that of the former Stadsgemeente Batavia. Until the end of the Japanese occupation in 1945, Djakarta was the one and only Tokubetu Si on the island of Java.

According to Act No. 28, the administrative organ of the Tokubetu Si consisted of a Tokubetu Sityoo and several Zyoyaku (assistants) respectively appointed by the Gunseikan. With regard to the duties and rights of the Tokubetu Sityoo, this functionary executed laws and administered within his domain under command and control of the Gunseikan.

Besides, he also led and supervised Keisatusyotyoo (chief of the Police Headquarter) in the Tokubetu Si, and had the right to withdraw or to annul any decision of the Police Chief, if the Tokubetu Sityoo considered it as not being adequate. Moreover, if necessary to facilitate and/or to smooth over the administration, he might divide the Tokubetu Si area into sub-divisions and consequently appoint their official heads. The names and the subdivisions were determined by the Tokubetu Sityoo with the Gubseikan's affirmation.

With regard to the Syoyaku function, he had to assist the Tokubetu Sityoo. In the absence of the latter he executed the rights and powers of the Sityoo.

The composition and authority of the Ken and Si-administration (including Tokubetu Si) were further regulated in the Osamu Seirei 1943 No. 12. A portion of this regulation expressed that the former S.G.O., concerning the composition and the rights of the Si/ Tokubetu Si as well as the Si administrative system were still in force wherever there was no conflict with existing acts or other laws of the Japanese Military Administration.

Furthermore, it was determined that the Sityoo held the authority over and acted as representative of his region. Consequently the rights previously held by the municipal council and "College van Burgemeester en Wethouders" were now executed by the Sityoo. Thus, in the local governmental system of the Japanese Military Administration, there were no more councils, and the authority was concentrated in the hands of one man, only assisted by some Syoyaku.

Since the whole power of the former municipal council was in the Tokubetu Sityoo hands, the ability of making local regulations was self-evidently done by the above functionary. It should be noted though that in cases of issuing, altering, and annulling the Syoorei there was needed the Gunseikan's approval (preventive control). The issuance of any regulation must be dated and signed by the Tokubetu Sityoo. In these local rules he might admit a penal provision (imprisonment) up to three months or be fined f. 100.-at most.

This one man administrative system without councils was consequently executed until September 1943, whereas changes occurred in the Japanese Military Administrative system, i.e. the forming of councils in the central as well as in the local self-governments, and functioning as an advisory body. The central body was called Tyuuoo Sangi-In while the local one named Sangi-kai (only in Syuu and Tokubetu Si). The Tyuuoo Sangi-in had to submit proposals and to answer Government questionnaires concerning political affairs, and what sort of measures should be taken by the Japanese Military Administration. The Sangi-kai had the similar duty. However, everything that affected local government affairs had to be directed towards the Syuu/Tokubetu Si administration.

Furthermore, for effective administration the Djakarta Tokubetu Si was divided into 7 sub-divisions called Siku, namely:

1. Pendjaringan Siku;
2. Mangga Besa Siku;
3. Tandjung Priok Siku;
4. Tanah Abang Siku;
5. Gambir Siku;
6. Pasar Senen Siku and
7. Djatinegara Siku.

In each Siku was a Kikuyakusyo (Siku office) under a Sikutyoo. Each Siku was divided again into several Su (quarter) under a Kutyyoo.

With respect to the Djakarta Tokubetu Si finances, income sources such as local taxes and other revenues from the former Stadsgemeente were still kept intact. In addition, fines imposed from the Si-batu (Si penalty, for instance from taxpayers etc.) went into the local treasury. Consequently in accordance with the one man form of government, all the powers over local finances were in the Tokubetu Sityoo hands. Likewise, the annual budget was drawn up by the Sityoo with the Gunseikan's approval.

So was the history of the City of Djakarta administration during the Japanese occupation which ended August 14, 1945 with the surrender of the Japanese to the Allied Forces. On August 17, 1945, the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed. An independent Indonesian state came into being.

Since that movement the City of Djakarta administration entered a new era.

#### NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PERIOD

Upon the Proclamation of Independence the Independence Preparatory Committee promulgated the Indonesian Constitution containing a.o. the division of the Indonesian Territory into big and small areas; the administrative formation confirmed by law and taking into consideration the principles of mutual understanding in the Government system, and also respecting the rights of localities with specific character (article 18 Constitution).

In the official statement of the article, it is stated that the Indonesian territory would be divided into provinces, and each province divided again into smaller localities.

In the autonomous regions there would be established a Local Representative Body, as the local self-government would also follow the principle of mutual deliberation. Thus, the autonomy and decentralization system of the Republic of Indonesia would differ principally from the Japanese-styled system.

However, with respect to the transitional provisions of the Indonesian Constitution, the Djakarta Tokubetu Si position was still untouched. The transitional provisions determined that all the existing institutions and regulations were still intact, as long as no new ones has been introduced.

Along with the forming of a Central National Government in Djakarta, it was imperative for the city administration to create a local government with a national character. In this connection the Djakarta Tokubetu Si officials formed a Committee with the purpose of transferring the municipal rule from the Japanese to the Indonesians. In September 1945, the Tokubetu Sityoo function was taken over by Suwirjo, with Suratno Sastroamidjojo as secretary, while the name of the municipal administration was changed into Pemerintahan Nasional Kota Djakarta. On September 29, 1945, the President of the Republic of Indonesia officially appointed Suwirjo as Mayor of Djakarta.

Within the Central Government itself, a Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat (Central Indonesian National Committee) was inaugurated on August 29, 1945. The establishment of this body was in accordance with the decision of the all-Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee which drafted the Constitution. According to the KNIP decision, all throughout Indonesia was formed a National Committee with its central office in Djakarta. Likewise for the benefit of the Djakarta region, a National Committee of Daerah Kota Djakarta was formed.

Afterwards it appeared that the position of this Committee raised uncertainty whether this body was a local attribute or not. This question was discussed in the KNIP, and finally solved that the Committee would be included in the local government as being a legislative body. Besides, the Committee with its new function would be stretched in residencies, regencies, cities and autonomous villages only.

So on November 23, 1945, the Government together with the Working Committee of KNIP issued Act 1945 No. 1, with a view to conduct and confirm the Committee's position for the present, before the elections. However, the Act may be considered actually as a decentralization regulation of the Indonesian Government which embraced its autonomy system.

According to the Act the Local Committee became a representative body which together with and led by the Local Chief managed the local administration as long as it ~~did~~ not conflict with the Central or Local Government's regulations that were necessary for the maintenance of order. Furthermore, it was decided that the Local Committee elect a team of a maximum of five men (from the members) to form an Executive Body which executed the daily work within the region.

With regard to the position of the Local Committee Chairman, it was determined that he act now as the former Vice-Chairman in the Committee, according to its new function, as well as in the Executive Body.

Relating to the new regulations on decentralization affairs, the function plus the composition of the Djakarta Local Committee was also adapted to it. Until the end of 1946, the municipal council of Djakarta had 39 members, while according to the official statement the total members of the new-styled Local Committee was defined: a maximum of 100 men in each residency, and 60 men in each regency/city. Therefore the membership was increased from 39 to 54 and that of the Executive Body of 4.

Corresponding with the above mentioned regulation, both organs (legislative & executive) were headed by the Mayor of Djakarta, and in his function as Local Chief he also managed the civil servants and the police corps within the City.

The execution of the city's administration was not adequate and normal because with the landing of the Allied Troops in Djakarta on September 29, 1945, and soon occupying some parts of the city's region, there came two kinds of government into being, i.e. the National and the Allied Military Administration.

## DUAL GOVERNMENT

On October 31, 1945, the Commander of the Allied troops on Java, Madura and Bali-Lombok issued a decree which inter alia stated that since then the City of Djakarta was controlled by the Allied Military Administration within these boundaries :

- a. West of Bandjirkanal;
- b. South of Bandjirkanal - the railway from West to East, including the Southern part of Djatinegara;
- c. East of Kali Buaran and Kali Tjakung, and northwards;
- d. North of Tandjung Priok and Kampong Kodja.

Actually, the arrival of the Allied troops was meant to disarm and remove the Japanese army, and to repatriate APWI (allied war prisoners). However, resulting from an agreement made between United Kingdom and the Netherland on August 24, 1945, as a first phase the previous Netherlands Indies territory liberated from the Japanese would be exercised by an Allied Military Administration temporarily, assisted by NICA officers who should carry out the civil matters as much as possible.

The National Administration of the City of Djakarta was still executing its daily tasks. However, because of the existing dual governments within the city, the administration could not run effectively. Therefore the National City Administrators had to seek contact with the Allied Military Administration in setting common problems, such as security and public affairs.

On November 21, 1945, a Liaison Bureau was established where members were representatives of both parties. To some extent there was reached a good understanding and cooperation, such in cases of civil and rural police formation.

After having finished their task the British troops returned home gradually, and on November 30, 1946, the last troops left Indonesia. Meanwhile, the Netherlands Indies Government evidently has strengthened its position in some parts of Indonesia such a way that when the Allied troops were withdrawn the Dutch soon replaced the Allied Military Administration. Also the function of AMACAB (Allied Military Administration Civil Affairs Branch) which was established in early November 1945 to succeed the NICA was taken by the Netherlands Indies Interim Administration (Tijdelijke Bestuursdienst). Likewise, the Co.Amacab authority in Djakarta was replaced by

a/Hoofd Tijdelijke Bestuurdienst". Therefore, the double governments in the City of Djakarta continued.

This dual government continued until July 21, 1947, when the Dutch began to launch their first aggression in order to seize the areas of the Republic of Indonesia. Consequently, the whole region of the City of Djakarta fell in Dutch hands.

### THE PRE-FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Early in 1948, the Recomba of West Java (the highest civilian authority after the seizure of that area by the Dutch) issued a "Verordening Zelfstandige Gebiedsdeelen West Java", which later on February 20, 1948 was altered again into another one, known as "Noodverordening Zelfstandige Gemeenschappen West Java". (Emergency Act on Local Self-governments in West Java).

Based on the emergency act, and with the decision of the Resident Hoofd Tijdelijke Bestuursdienst Batavia of March 13, 1948, the powers of the Mayor and "College van Burgemeester en Wethouders" of Stadsgemeente Batavia were carried over to the "Assistant Resident Kota tevens Hoofdamttenaar voor Gemeentezaken". Thus, since March 1948 the Stadsgemeente Batavia administration including its legislative power was in the hands of the Resident/Hoofd Tijdelijke Bestuursdienst Batavia, whereas the daily operations (college B.&W.) were done by the Assistant Resident Kota.

Meanwhile the central government tirelessly work on preparation of a Federal State of Indonesia, and on March 9, 1948 the Dutch set up a "Voorlopige Federale Regeering van Indonesia". Furthermore, on April 24, 1948, the Dutch recognised the creation of Negara Pasundan in West Java, which was occupied during early stages of aggression, and intended it to be a member of the Federal State.

In addition to the foundation of the Pre-Federal Government and member states, which later would form the Federal State of Indonesia, it was also planned to set up a capital area which would be under the direct rule of the federal government, and not part of a member state.

The choice was upon the City of Djakarta, since in former times it had been the political, economical, and cultural center of Indonesia. The Stadsgemeente Batavia area was not self-evidently, big enough; and, therefore, had to be increased by the annexation of neighbouring areas. Accordingly, on August 11, 1948 (State Gazette 1948 No. 178) the Stadsgemeente Batavia area together with the surrounding areas (belonging to the Regencies of Batavia, Meester Cornelis and Bogor) were removed from the Negara Pasundan, as it was the contemplations that this area become the Federal District of the United States of Indonesia. Its area was approximately 1.800 sq. km.

Those formations would not affect the position and continuance of Stadsgemeente Batavia. The local administration of Kota Batavia was still carried out by two functionaries, i.e. (1) Resident Hoofd Tijdelijke Bestuursdienst, and (2) Assistant Resident Kota, who executed the function of the College B. & W. (Local Executive Council). The councils/bodies as being the legislative & executive organs were not yet re-established, but the wish to create it was still alive. This was evidenced with the issue of "Ordonnantietijdelijke voorzieningen bestuur stadsgemeenten Java" (State Gazette 1948 No. 195) on August 25, 1948.

Based upon this ordinance, the High Commissioner of the Dutch Crown issued a decree (State Gazette 1949 No. 58) concerning the re-establishment of new institutions which would execute the Stadsgemeente Batavia function. Afterwards, the decree was altered into a new one dated February 28, 1949 No. 13 (State Gazette 1949 No. 68), deciding that for Stadsgemeente Batavia all the authority, rights, duties and other tasks being still in force according to statutory regulations, would be concentrated in the municipal administrative apparatus, now executed by :

- a. city council;
- b. mayor and aldermen, and
- c. mayor.

In this case the mayor became the council's chairman and as well as simultaneously was a member of the executive committee. It was further defined that the Governor of Batavia en Ommelanden, i.e. the highest functionary within the area of the coming

Federal District, should nominate the first "College van dagelijks bestuur" from and among the candidates, twice so many as suggested by the council, for a term of office not longer than one year. The further adjustment of the regulations in "Ordonnantie tijdelijke voorzieningen bestuur stadsgemeenten Java", and the decision of the High Commissioner of the Dutch Crown were carried out by the State Secretary of Internal Affairs. Thus, by decree of March 3, 1949, No.Az.25/3/7, the municipal council would have 33 members, consisting of 20 Indonesians, 6 Netherlands, 5 Chinese and 2 Arabs.

With respect to the Council, it was also stated that all the members would be appointed for a term of office not longer than one year c.q. until March 1, 1950. Thus, if before the above mentioned date a new council could not be established by way of election, then the appointed one must resign. Likewise, the executive organ of Stadsgemeente Batavia together with the Stadsbestuursraad.

Besides, the council had to take over the task of the previous "stadsgemeenteraad", whereas the "College van dagelijks bestuur" performed the tasks of the "College van B. & W.", such according to the statutory regulations as being still in force. Thereby, the mayor still carried out the former function of Walikota.

As follow up of the regulation relating to the council's membership, then the Governor of Batavia on Ommelanden appointed 33 members (decree of March 3, 1949 No.Gr/5/A.Z. and March 17, 1949 No.Gr/7/A.Z.), with a composition of :

- a. from the Indonesian group 20 men;
- b. from the Netherlands group 6 men;
- c. from the Chinese group 5 men;
- d. from the Arab group 2 men;

The executive organ of Stadsgemeente Batavia consisted of 4 men, i.e. 2 Indonesians, 1 Netherlander and 1 Chinese.

Thus, since March 1949 the Stadsgemeente Batavia had again an administrative apparatus as completely as before World War II, and operating the local government according to the previous decentralization regulations, i.e. "Stadsgemeente-Ordonnantie" plus "Ordonnantie tijdelijke voorzieningen bestuur stadsgemeenten Java". Besides the new regulation concerning the municipal organ, the Central Government also issued an "Ordonnantie Bestuursorganisatie Batavia en Ommelanden."

According to the Ordinance, the reserved area to become the Federal District was made as a territory unit,

called "Gewest Batavia en Ommelanden." Its administration was carried out by a Governor on behalf of the Central Government, and seated in the City of Batavia. Along with the realization of "Gewest Batavia en Ommelanden", the since 1925 existing Regencies of Batavia and Meester Cornelis were liquidated.

The Governor of Gewest Batavia en Ommelanden held the powers of Civil, military and police administration within his domain, which previously was done by the CCO. Amacab, Algemeen Hoofd Tijdelijke Bestuursdienst, Recomba and Resident Hoofd Tijdelijke Bestuursdienst, and thereby the powers formerly executed by the Assistant Resident, Bupati and organs/officials of the abolished Regentschap Batavia.

Furthermore, the new administrative division of the recently formed "Gewest Batavia en Ommelanden"-area was regulated in the "Besluit Bestuursorganisatie Batavia en Ommelanden" (State Gazette 1949 No.64). According to this, the Gewest Batavia en Ommelanden" was divided into sub-divisions as below :

- a. Stadsgemeente Batavia territory ;
- b. Residency Ommelanden van Batavia;
- c. Sub-district Duizend Eilanden (Pulau Seribu).

The "Stadsgemeente Batavia"-area was divided into 4 districts and each district into several sub-districts as described below:

Districts	Sub-districts
1. Matraman	1. Senen 2. Salemba 3. Matraman 4. Kampung Melaju
2. Gambir	5. G a m b i r 6. Tanah Abang 7. Petamburan
3. Pendjaringan	8. Mangga Dua 9. Sawah Besar 10. Pendjaringan 11. Krukut
4. Tandjung Priek	12. Tandjung Priok 13. Kemajoran

Residency Ommelanden van Batavia was administratively

divided into 7 districts and 26 sub-districts. Therefore, the Residency of Batavia & Ommelanden, Regencies of Batavia & Meester Cornelis together with its small regional units were abolished (vide Besluit Bestuursorganisatie Batavia en Ommelanden).

So was the development of the "Stadsgemeente Batavia" during the Pre-Federal period, which continued until the transfer of sovereignty from the Dutch to the United States of Indonesia.

#### U.S.I. PERIOD.

As pointed out above, the Stadsgemeente Batavia as an autonomous area within the Federal District territory was still intact according to the decentralization law before the birth of Republik Indonesia Serikat, namely S.G.O. and "Ordonnantie tijdelijke voorzieningen bestuur stadsgemeenten Java".

However, on March 1, 1950, both organs resigned (conform the regulation that the terms of office was one year only.)

In order to avoid stagnation in the city administration, the President of R.I.S. immediately took temporary measures, for a newly elected council could not be formed yet.

By President's decree of February 28, 1950, No.93, for the time being, all powers, rights and obligations, and all affairs in the "Stadsgemeenteraad" and "College van B. & W." would be conducted by the Mayor. Thus, since March 1950 the local government of Kota Djakarta was executed by one man.

This form of self-government did not exist long because the RIS Ministry of Home Affairs was working hard to form a new council. For this purpose a "Panitya Pembaharuan Madjelis Pemerintahan Kota Djakarta" was formed, consisting of 7 men. This Committee known as "Panitya Tudjuh" had to form new council as soon as possible, comprising representatives of political currents and others, thereby reflecting the real situation.

On March 9, 1950, the Committee finished its task, and the names of those with the most votes were submitted to the RIS Minister of Home Affairs, to be confirmed as members of the new council. Accordingly, the RIS President withdrew the previous decision by decree of March 11, 1950 No.114. In the new council the transitional composition of Kota Djakarta government was as follows :

- a. City People's Council;
- b. Executive Organ;
- c. Mayor.

The council consisted of 25 members. The Mayor became both member and chairman, whereas the other members were nominated by the Minister of Home Affairs. The Executive Organ consisted of the Mayor as Chairman/member, and four others. Both institutions must resign as soon as the municipal council was formed by way of general elections, i.e. on July 1, 1950 at latest.

Whereas elections could not be held yet within the stipulated time, so the RIS President extended the terms of office for six months, thus until January 1, 1951.

#### DJAKARTA RAYA MUNICIPALITY.

In the first months of 1950, there broke out explosions in some parts of Indonesia, demanding the abolition of the Republik Indonesia Serikat and the re-establishment of the original Negara Republik Indonesia Kesatuan (Unitary State). To meet these demands the RIS President issued an Emergency Act 1950/11, concerning the reorganization procedure of the RIS structure.

Based upon the Emergency Act the member states were dissolved, and its areas combined by the Negara (member) Republik Indonesia seated in Jogjakarta. By President's decree of March 11, 1950 No.113, the Negara Pasundan was liquidated too and its area plus the Federal District became territory of the Republik Indonesia.

As a consequence of the changing status of West Java as well as the abolition of Negara Pasundan, it was necessary to overhaul the position of the Federal District plus the City of Djakarta as self-government, previously under direct supervision of the RIS organs.

By President's decree of March 24, 1950 No.125, the City of Djakarta was incorporated with the surrounding areas, now covering :

- a. Djakarta municipality;
- b. Pulau Seribu;
- c. Areas adjoined with the City of Djakarta :

(1) a part of district Tangerang (sub-district Tjengkareng

- (2) a part of district Kebajoran (sub-district Kebondjeruk, Kebajoran Ilir and Kebajoran Udik);
- (3) a part of district Kramatdjati (sub-district Mampang Prapatan, Pasar Minggu and Pasar Rebo);
- (4) a part of district Bekasi (sub-district Pulogadung, and a part of sub-district Tjilintjing: desa Tjilinting and desa Semper).

The other areas of the Federal District not taken over were returned to the Negara (member) Republik Indonesia.

On March 31, 1950, the Governor of the Federal District resigned and transferred the administration to the Mayor of Djakarta, so far as concerning the new-style capital area. As follow up, thereof, the Emergency Act No.20 was enacted on May 13, 1950, and to be retrospective from March 31, 1950. This act, known as "Undang2 Pemerintahan Djakarta Raya", established the capital administration.

According to it the Kota Djakarta administration was executed by a Mayor on behalf of the RIS Government. Besides the existing powers, rights and obligations he also performed as the authority of the Governor of Batavia en Ommelanden; excluding the police and military and further the powers of the previous resident of the Residency Ommelanden van Batavia.

The City of Djakarta as a local self-government with its new area (RIS President's decree 1950/125) was called "KOTA PRADJA DJAKARTA RAYA". The administrative execution was still in conformity with the existing decentralization rules, i.e. "Stadsgemeente-ordonnantie" and "Ordonnantie tijdelijke voorzieningen bestuur stadsgemeenten Java". All the powers, duties and operations formerly in the hands of the Local People's Council, Local Executive Organ and the governor of the West-Java province, and alike that of the Secretary of State for Internal Affairs were now executed by the RIS Minister of Home Affairs. Thus, the City of Djakarta administration was under supervision of the above mentioned Minister who sanctioned the local laws.

The Djakarta Raya Municipality administrative organization still conformed to the RIS President's decree 1950 No.114, i.e. composing the Temporary Local People's council, Executive Body and Mayor. In this case, the Mayor of Djakarta held two functions :

- (1) as functionary of the central government, executing the authority of the previous governor of the Federal District (Except police & military competence), resident, assistant-resident and Bupati;

(2) as local government organ (including his position as chairman/member of the City Council and Executive Body of the Djakarta Raya Municipality).

Thus, in accordance with the newly formed local unit of Kota Djakarta and its administrative organization, the Gewest Batavia & Ommelanden was officially abolished.

Now the Djakarta Raya Municipality area was approximately 530 sq.km. i.e. three times as big as the former Stadsgemeente.

#### THE UNITARY STATE PERIOD.

In accordance with the rapid political development, on August 17, 1950 the Negara Republik Indonesia Serikat was reformed into Negara Republik Indonesia Kesatuan. The Unitary State came into being along with the revision of the RIS Constitution in such a way that the former federal structure of the Indonesian state constituted this unitary formation.

This changing structure, however, did not affect the status and the organization of the Djakarta Raya Municipality. For the Negara Republik Indonesia was not a new creation but rather a successor of the RIS of which the form was transformed from a federation into unitary state, and covering the whole of Indonesia as contemplated in the proclamation of August 17, 1945.

Therefore, the execution of the Kota Djakarta local government was still in accordance with the S.G.O. regulations, RIS Emergency Act 1950/20, etc. under direct supervision of the Central Government c.q. the Minister of Home Affairs. Such was not the case with the outlying local self-governments which operated along the lines stipulated in the Act 1948 No.22, which distinguished the autonomous areas into three levels, namely :

1. province; 2. regency/city, and 3. town village and others.

A province is an autonomy with the highest level, and under direct supervision of the central authority. In practice the Central Government treated the Djakarta Raya Municipality like a local autonomy similar to a province. The Mayor of Djakarta Raya as being a central functionary held a similar position like as province's governor.

As pointed out above, the organization of the administrative apparatus was the same as during the RIS period (RIS President's decree 1950/114), which continued until August 1956, when the Local People's Council plus the Executive Council could be installed.

In this connection, the democratic principles had

been practiced in Indonesia in the form of Parliament members selection, on September 29, 1955. However, in the local autonomies (including Djakarta Raya) elections of Local People's Councils could not be done yet because the regulations concerned were still absent. Nevertheless, the Government was in the opinion that the results of the general election in September 1955 already reflected the current trends in our society.

Accordingly, the Government issued Act 1956 No.14, regulating the forming of Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah and Dewan Pemerintah Daerah Peralihan (transitory) in the localities under the system of proportional representation having been carried out by the selection of Parliament members previously. Thus the transitional local people's councils would be composed of political parties / organizations representatives, which had participated in the elections. The total deputies of each political party/organization must be based upon proportional representation in each locality.

Accordingly, by decree of the Home Affairs Minister of July 19, 1956 No.5 the total deputies of the D.P.R.D. & D.P.D. (Peralihan) must be 45 and 6 respectively (including the Mayor). Therefore, the administrative apparatus of Djakarta Raya Municipality underwent a change, namely:

- (1) the total members of the Council was reduced (from 60 to 45);
- (2) the total members of the executive body is increased from 5 to 6.

The surname/ Dewan "Perwakilan Kota Sementara" and "Badan Pemerintahan Harian" belonged to the past.

The formation of D.P.R.D. and D.P.D.P. did not affect the existing statutory regulations as being the legal argument of the local government until that time. The Djakarta Raya Municipality still did its daily operations based on S.G.O., Ordonnantie tijdelijke voorzieningen bestuur stadsgemeenten Java" and Act 1956 No.1, until the outcome of the new decentralization rules, i.e. Undang2 tentang pokok Pemerintahan Daerah 1956, on January 18, 1957 (Act 1957 No.1, State Gazette 1957 No.6 and its supplement No.1143).

From that moment, the Act 1957 No.1 became the decentralization law throughout Indonesia, withdrawing the Act 1948 No.22, Act Staatsblad Indonesia Timur 1950 No.44, Stadsgemeente-ordonnantie, and the like concerning local government.

Thus, the history of the Kota Djakarta administration once more entered a new phase. According to the transitional provision in Act 1957 No.1, the Djakarta Raya

Municipality did not need a new function because since January 18, 1957, it became a local autonomy according to above mentioned Act.

Furthermore, as a consequence of Act 1957 No.1, since early 1957 the City of Djakarta underwent an important change with regard to local matters. For example, election of Council members, financial relation between central and local government, collection of local taxes and retribution. All of these needed regulations.

Consequently, the Central Government issued several laws relating to above subjects, such as :

- a) Act 1956 No.19 (Election of Council members);
- b) Act 1956 No.32 (Financial relation 1957);
- c) Emergency Act 1957 No.11 (Local taxes);
- d) Emergency Act 1957 No.12 (Local retribution).

Thereby the Central Government also issued several ordinances which further regulated matters as expressed in Act 1957 No.1, i.e. :

- a. Ordinance 1956 No.29 (Execution of Local Election Act);
- b. Ordinance 1957 No.3 (Delegation of State Taxes to Local self-government);
- c. Ordinance 1957 No.4 (Allowance of remuneration, subsidy and donation to Local Autonomies);
- d. Ordinance 1957 No.5 (State Committee of Financial Equilibrium);
- e. Ordinance 1957 No.32 (Principles of Selection and Recall of D.P.D. -members);
- f. Ordinance 1957 No.44 (General rules on Conditions of capability, knowledge, way and sanction of a Local Chief);
- g. Ordinance 1957 No.46 (General rules on salary, travelling and lodging expenses, and other emoluments for a Local Chief).

#### CITY OF DJAKARTA ADMINISTRATION AND THE NEW AUTONOMY SYSTEM.

Due to the Local Election Act, at the end of 1956, the Djakarta Raya Municipality made preparation towards the forming of D.P.R.D. According to Act 1957/1, the municipal council should have a minimum total of members of thirty.

This membership was not considered sufficient to effectively perform the tasks appointed it. Consequently, it was recommended to the Central Government to increase the number of members. Afterwards, the Act 1957/1 was revised by an Emergency Act 1957 No.8 (State Gazette 1957 No.50).

According to it, the basis for deciding the total membership became : one member for every 45,000 (previously 200.000). Thus a minimum of thirty and a maximum of fifty deputies. Based upon this new regulation the total members of the city council was fixed 41.

After finishing its preparations, then on June 22, 1957, the elections took place wherein 42 political parties/organizations participated. The result was as follows :

MASJUMI	9
P.N.I.	8
P.K.I.	8
N.U.	6
BAPERKI	2
P.S.I.I.	1
PARKINDO	1
P.S.I.	1
PARTAI BURUH	1
PARTAI KETHOLIK	1
GERAKAN PILIHAN SUNDA	1
P.P.P.R.I.	1
PERWARI	1

On August 16, 1957, the newly elected council was installed by the Minister of Home Affairs. Then on October 17, 1957, in its first session, the council elected its chairman/vice-chairman, members of the D.P.D. and the Kepala Daerah (Local Chief). For the first time in its history the municipal administration was composed as follows :

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| a. Chairman D.P.R.D. | - Abdullah Salim;                                 |
| Vice-Chairman        | - J. Pulungan.                                    |
| b. Members D.P.D.    | - Sumardi, Supraneto, Sapi-ie and Gazali Sjahlan. |
| c. Kepala Daerah     | - Sudiro, Mayor Local Chief of Djakarta Raya.     |

According to Act 1957 No.1, the Djakarta Raya Municipality was officially determined as being a local autonomy level I, and under direct supervision of the Minister of Home Affairs, whereas the other Municipalities throughout Indonesia became local autonomies level II, under supervision of the local autonomy level I (province).

Along with the forming of the municipal apparatus based on the new decentralization law, there were two other decrees the execution of the civil administration function, i.e.

- a. the local self-government of Djakarta Raya (local autonomy level I), and
- b. Biro Pemerintahan Umum Pusat Daerah Djakarta Raya (Central Bureau of General Affairs), formed by decree of the Minister of Home Affairs, dated April 4, 1953 No.UP 34/3/42, beginning from January 1, 1953, which operates and coordinates the civil affairs within the municipal area.

Likewise the functions of the Mayor of Djakarta Raya was still dualistic (according to Emergency Act 1950 No.20 and RIS President decree 1950 No.14).

Uniquely he performed the function of the local official and at the same time held the Central Government's position of the Local Chief. This position of Local Chief is similar to that of a governor, is dissimilar in that it is a local organ elected by the council and therefore operates with the executive body as a unit.

With the appointment of the elected Mayor Sudiro as Local Chief of the Djakarta Raya Municipality (President's confirmation of December 23, 1957 No.615/M) on January 28, 1958 - based upon the Minister of Home Affairs' telegram dated January 27, 1958, No.UP 3/1/7 - there took place the give-and-take between the Local Chief of Djakarta Raya and the Resident, head of the BPUP who was acting Mayor, concerning the implementation of the central duties as there duties were not as yet prescribed to the Local Autonomy level I either by act or other precepts.

#### THE AUTONOMOUS AREA OF DJAKARTA RAYA MUNICIPALITY.

The Djakarta Raya Municipality area as local autonomy I is the same as having been defined by the RIS President decree, of March 24, 1950 No.125, namely :

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| a. Djakarta Municipality (Stadsgemeente).....  | 186.64 Km2  |
| b. Pulau Seribu .....                          | 10.00 Km2   |
| c. New area (formerly belonging to Ommelanden) | 359.28 Km2  |
| Total  | 555.92 Km2. |

The Djakarta Municipality area was administratively divided componently into districts, sub-districts, and wards Kelurahan. There were 60 districts (plus 1 Daerah Kotabaru Kobajoran the status of which had not been defined), 19 sub-districts and 141 wards conversely, on October 1957 the BPUP had organized the municipal area into three branches:

1. Djakarta Utara, covering Districts Pendjaringan, Mandjung Priok and Sub-district Pulau Seribu;
2. Djakarta Tengah, covering Districts Gambir, Kebajoran Lama and Kotabaru Kebajoran;
3. Djakarta Selatan, covering Districts Matraman and Kramat-djati.

This dualistic performance of similar administrative tasks continued until the President's Decree No.6 became effective on November 7, 1959, bringing the local government to its present administrative.

This arrangement is a follow up of the Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959, resulting in the revitalising of the 1945 Constitution. Herewith the Indonesian state and people enter a new era in its political history, as back to the 1945 Constitution meant the waivin, of the liberal democratic system previously employed. It was apparent that the old system carried out by the Provisional Constitution guided the unfinished Indonesian revolution in such a way that it endangered the unitary state and the national unity.

Moreover, back to the 1945 Constitution also means that the operation of the guided democracy on which the whole government policy is based is quite justified by the President to the Consultative Assembly (Madjelis Permusjawaratan Rakjat), since July 5, 1959. Therefore, the public institutions as a means to save our revolution must fit in with the 1945 Constitution.

At the same time there are significant problems which must be considered carefully, i.e.:

- a) the policy of deconcentration & decentralization as it stands in respect to the territorial decentralization idea;
- b) for the sake of public interest, the local government stability and efficiency as well as dualism in the local leadership must be abandoned.

The continuance of the policy of deconcentration & decentralization implies the lasting delegation of authority to the

regions to manage its own affairs, according to its capability and willingness.

Consequently, public affairs now under competency of the central government should be more and more delegated to the local government in accordance with article 18 of the 1945 Constitution.

To maintain the Republic of Indonesia as an unitary state, then the policy of deconcentration and decentralization must be attended to with a regulation which guarantees a close relation between the central government and the local one that which is in harmony with the spirit of the Unitary State and the 1945 Constitution.

Based upon these factors and to achieve the greatest efficiency, the structure and organization, the powers, duties and tasks delegated to the local government are mainly as follows:

- a) the management of general administration within the region, and the management of local government are submitted to the Local Chief (Kepala Daerah);
- b) the executive authority conducted by the Kepala Daerah is not collegial, but on the other hand it does not forsake the counselling principle in the administrative system;
- c) the members of the executive body form the assistants of the Kepala Daerah, and free from political party membership (vide President order No.2, 1959);
- d) the Kepala Daerah is a public official, who cannot be discharged by a D.P.R.D. decision;
- e) the Kepala Daerah has the power to postpone any DPRD decision as well as of the minor local government which might be considered as being incompatible with the state policy or public interest, or law of higher level;
- f) the Local People's Council is authorized to perform in legislative matters, local budget and regional development.

Parenthically, in organizing the apparatus of the Djakarta Raya Municipal administration based on President Decree No.6, the Minister of Interior and

Local Autonomy installed the D.P.R.D. on October 28, 1959. Then followed with the installation of the Kepala Daerah and his deputy, as mentioned above.

Further (by order of the same Minister, dated March 9, 1960 No.PD.5/1/30-6), the following members of the BPH were appointed and installed by the Governor, Kepala Daerah Kotapradja Djakarta Raya, on April 19, 1960.

1. H. Sapie-ie; 2. S. Utarjo; 3. H.Tb. Mansur Makmum; 4. H. Gozali Sjahlan and 5. Supranoto (List of members)

This, then is the history of Kota Djakarta administration until mid-1960.

## (2) GEOGRAPHICAL LAYOUT OF KOTA DJAKARTA

The boundaries of the Djakarta Raya Municipal region are as follows:

- a. to the West bounded by Kabupaten Tangerang;
- b. to the South by Kabupaten Bogor;
- c. to the East by Kabupaten Bekasi, and
- d. to the North by the Java Sea.

Its area is approximately 555,92 square km. According to the administrative incorporation, the details are set forth below:

B.P.U.T. Branch	District	Sub-district	Village	Sub-district area in sq. km.
1	2	3	4	5
1. <u>DJAKARTA UTARA</u>	1. Tandjung Priok	-	-	-
x)under direct supervision of BPUP BRANCH	2. Pandjar-ingan	1. Pulau Seribu	4	
		2. Pendjaningan	1	15.70
		3. Krukut	2	12.33
		4. Mangga Dua	2	8.00
		5. Sawah Besar	2	7.00
		6. Tjengkareng	8	68.00
			15	111.38
2. <u>DJAKARTA TENGAH</u>	3. Gambir	7. Gambir	2	9.00
		8. Tanai Abang	2	7.33
		9. Petanburan	4	20.40
			8	36.73

(contd)

1	2	3	4	5
xx) Its status still unde- fined but up to now under a Wedana	4. Kebajoran Lama	10. Kebajoran 11. Kebon Djeruk	14 <u>11</u> 25	38.00 <u>42.00</u> 80.00
	xx) Kotabaru Kebajoran	-	5	7.30
3DJAKARTA SELATAN	5. Matraman	12. Matraman 13. Pulau Gadung 14. Salemba 15. Senen	5 15 4 <u>2</u> 26	14.33 53.63 16.50 <u>6.00</u> 90.46
	6. Kramatd- jati	16. Kamp. Melaju 17. Pasar Minggu 18. Mampang Prap- atan 19. Pasar Rebo	5 11 10 <u>27</u> 53	14.50 45.00 18.00 <u>87.00</u> 164.50
		Grand total	141	555.92

#### THE FORM OF THE CITY.

Djakarta is an oval city of which the distance between North and South is circa 10 km but only 4 - 5 km from East to West. This form is a product of the historical development of the past. Old Djakarta - the root of the present business area of Djakarta Kota - was the first colonial region. In the nineteenth century there was a move from this area to a more healthy one; that in the neighbourhood of the present Medan Merdeka, where the State Palace and public buildings are presently located. The center the new area (which is considered of government and the center of Government) and the old area (which is the business area) are connected with Djalan Gadjah Mada/Djalan Hajam Wuruk which may be considered as the main city axis. Shortly followed the forming of Djatinegara (Meester Cornelis) as being the lengthening-piece of this axis. The shaping of a big port in Tandjung Priok formed the fourth of the three existing centres. In this connection, town planning should be devised in such a manner that the axis Djakarta Kota - Medan Merdeka is maintained

as the city's center as well as maintaining the interests of the other two "centers".

Since birth, the Djakarta autonomy has been through area expansion twice. With its present territory the Djakarta Raya Municipality has a characteristic which is unique from that of other autonomies. This unique characteristic is that the center of the municipal region forms a city area; but, also it has suburbans which forms the rural area. Thus, the municipal region forms a whole in itself, and has subdivisions like islands scattered in the ocean. The geographical layout of this area greatly affects the performance of administration.

In social life there are more various aspects. Basically, the city of Djakarta is a trade area but at the same time it carries extensive industrial shiptown and agricultural activities. Politically, relating to its position as capital of an independent state, the city of Djakarta is the center of political activities, national as well as international. Likewise there are many other characteristic features owing to the social complexities. As manifestation of the existing social forces, there are numerous problems facing the Djakarta Raya Municipality, form urbanization, housing troubles, traffic congestion to other social questions which are indeed similar in cities elsewhere in the world.

are

Furthermore, there/also special problems confronting the municipality, such as dangers from fire in the dry season, floods in the wet season, market famine hampering the flow of goods, and many others.

Djakarta is the largest and wealthiest city in Indonesia, but also the most overcrowded and congested. Generally speaking, Indonesia is in a state of transition from one social pattern to another. The people's expectations and needs - particularly the city population just arrived from outlying regions - cannot as yet be defined.

The proclamation of independence started the foundation of the whole society in a flup of changes. Many responsible positions were thrust upon people, and consequently causes a great shift of wealth within the city. This phenomenon has such an impact on the city life, that many Indonesians who formerly lived in towns have achieved changing positions, too. This transition is likewise affecting the kampong qualities within the city.

Djakarta is a city which within a short time has become a metropolis. The way of development is similar to that of other cities in Asia but differs from the cities in West Europe and North America, where the growth happened more slowly. This striking progress exceeded the former boundaries. The consequences (social and economical) often affect the whole nation, and occasionally others. It is therefore quite clear that the Djakarta problems cannot be solved within the municipal boundaries only.

As it is known, these problems can be concluded into 4 major categories :

1. For the Djakarta citizen there are not enough profitable employment opportunities.
2. Lack of sufficient private houses.
3. Traffic accumulation on the roads.
4. Lack of social institutions, such as schools, public religious houses, shops, parks, clinics, and so on.

These four major problems will be treated thoroughly in Chapter 3 (Town Planning).

(Heading) Djakarta Population Development. Now let us examine the situation of the Kota Djakarta population and its development from 1920 until 1957. In 1920 the city had 300.000 inhabitants, in 1930 it increased to 533.000, in 1941 to 681.500. In 1948/49 the estimated population was 1.500.000, and at the end of 1957 increased to approximately 2.200.000. Although these figures are approximation they are still reliable enough to use as a bases for computational purpose in determining housing needs for the city.

To a large degree, after W.W. II until presently the city's housing growth developed without the benefit of planned development patterns or standards. The government shared only in the few districts that were developed, like Kebajoran Baru, Tjipinang Vredendal, Utankaju, Rawa Kerbo, Tanah Tinggi Pontjol, Petodjo, Duku Atas, Tandjung Karang and Grogol.

It is appropriate to mention here some features concerning the Kebajoran Project. Ir, E.W.H. Clason, in his article on "Ontstaan en greei van Kebajoran" (De Ingenieur in Indonesia, Nos.3 - 4 1950), said that idea of creating a new

settlement appeared in July 1948. This idea developed as a result of a housing shortage / of in Djakarta, which was a consequence of the great amount of urban agglomeration.

To get a picture of how many houses are needed, it is suitable to survey first the housing situation in Djakarta before the war, especially with respect to the amount and type of houses available for the residents as described below:-

Kind/type	1930	1941
Permanent and semi-permanent houses.	39.796	50.796
Temporary houses.	18.111	23.311
Total	57.907	74.107

If we compare this data with the total population in the years concerned, we shall get an inhabitation density of 9.2 per house. According to the late Ir. Thomas Karstens; an outstanding town-planner, in the years 1939/1941 there was already a lack of more than 25.000 houses. On the assumption of the 25.000 houses were built, the average inhabitation density of 9.2 would be decreased to 6.5/per house. This means also that the Djakarta Raya Municipality in 1948 had yet a shortage of approximately 80.000 houses, based on a 6.5 inhabitation standard with a constant population of 1.000.000 (as among the 1.500.000 were included refugees).

The Kebajoran Plan which can only absorb 100.000 persons, is only a meagre contribution to the housing needs because of the ever increasing population. On August 5, 1948, that plan was submitted to the Government, and its consent is to be found in "Regeeringsomslagvel" of September 21, 1948. As the plan was kept secret to avoid land speculation, the preparations and land measurements could not start until after the Government's approval. The land to be used for the new housing plot was 730 hectare, laying in subdistrict and district Kebajoran, and covering a part of desa Pelapetogogan, Gandaria Utara and Senajan.

At first it was intended to expropriate those lands on behalf of the "Centrale Stichting Wederopbouw" (C.S.W.), based upon the Lieutenant Governor General's decision of August 30, 1948, No. 6 (State Gazette 1948 No.205, dated September 1.1948). But afterwards it appeared that the people concerned was willing to forgo their rights by amicable settlement.

The purpose of the expropriation was :

- a) to set up a new residential suburban as a satellite town of Kota Djakarta, and
- b) to open up a highway connecting the new town with the city of Djakarta.

Completing the land purchasing, the first stones were laid on March 18, 1949.

Due to a lack of capable technicians, the completion of the project was not reached by March 1, 1950, however, the achievements had been made.

- a. opening of a building-plot of.....150 hectare
- b. road-beds.....1.000.000.000 sq. meter
- c. asphalt paving.....42 kilometer
- d. water-works.....17 kilometer
- e. Artesian bores..... 9 bores
- f. housing scheme.....2.700 houses, of  
2.050 are being built and about half the  
total number are ready-made.

In this connection it may be noted that according to the Clason-plan; the allocation of the required lands was as follows :

- a. people's houses.....152,5 hectare (6730 plots)
- b. small houses..... 69,8     "     (2198     "     )
- c. villa's..... 55,1     "     (843     "     )
- d. special buildings..... 75,2     "
- e. flats ..... 6,6     "
- f. shops and the like..... 17     "
- g. parks..... 118,4     "
- h. roads ..... 181,5     "
- i. border sawahs..... 33     "

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Grand total... 730 hectare.

These figures are only representative of times and they will undoubtedly change in view of future needs. For the time being, though, the total number of family residences was fixed approximately 12.500, including flats, park houses in shops and industrial plots.

In addition, according to the Pembangunan Chusus Kotabaru Kebajoran (P.C.K.) figures, the total number of buildings (private houses, shops, schools, markets etc.) which are ready made until September 7, 1959, are as follows :

Year	Government houses	Foundation houses	Private houses	Total
1949	986	22	52	1.060
50	988	22	133	1.143
51	1.015	6	-	1.021
52	312	19	80	411
53	325	12	207	544
54	107	31	365	503
55	56	28	344	428
56	32	17	348	397
57	27	21	209	257
58	177	23	165	365
59	144	26	75	245
Grand total	4.169	227	1.978	6.374

In this total is included : 1972 CSW houses; 2680 private houses; 752 villa's; 3 semi-permanent houses; 50 flats; 446 storied houses; 145 stores; 55 proof houses; 56 pre-fab houses; 8 mess; 1 cinema; 3 markets; 3 mosques; 1 dispensary; 12 clinics; 20 schools; 4 churches; 2 police bureaus; 2 maternity hospitals; 1 restaurant; 5 printing-offices; 4 electric stations; 1 service station; 1 petrol service station; 1 kindergarten; 2 tennis courts and 1 lawn.

These were the achievement for the period 1949 through 1959.

Before focusing on the status of the newly created town, it is appropriate to mention here some aspects of the executive organization. It is well known that the Kebajoran plan will only succeed in a few years, if there are profitable conditions. It is apparent that numerous difficulties in these objects would arise, especially in the organizational field.

It is generally believed that a pure bureaucratic organization should be regulated strictly by several rules, consequently its operation will be hampered. On the other hand, the public capital invested in the plan must be guaranteed too. In view of these considerations, it was concluded that the CSW, an organ which fulfilled the two criteria, could be entrusted to execute the governmental plan as such.

It was also intended to make the greater part of the new houses privately owned on the basis of financing regulations conducted by the CSW. Thus, Kebajoran was created by a foundation established on the basis of private law, whereas the policy-making was in its hands.

The creation of Kotabaru Kebajoran also depended on how the land-use would be further exercised. For completion within the shortest possible time, the above mentioned regulations would be very important in that they were the balancing factor as to whether the plan would be a success or not. Consequently, everything concerning the Kotabaru construction, especially with regard to the town-planning aspects, was carried over to the Foundation for further regulation. For example, land-use prohibition for industrial purposes, except with the foundation's approval; cultivation prohibition; building-lines; control of buildings and houses of the Foundation. In short, the Foundation constructed the whole community and managed as a result of the land-monopoly.

In the beginning, the construction of Kotabaru Kebajoran was more emphasized on the technical and financial side rather than on current problems of town-planning itself. The administration related to that problem could not be formed immediately as it should be. In January 1949, the Governor of Djakarta established a committee

called "Kebajoran Commission" with the purpose to manage the non-technical matters, such as administration, social affairs etc. This Commission's job was only to coordinate and to advise, and therefore, it could not make any decision or step of its own.

Although the Commission had performed its task well, it could not be considered as an administrative agency although to some extent it had really functioned as such. The appointment of the Commission Secretary as civil servant was not satisfactory because he had no administrative competence but acted only as advisor.

The political status of Kotabaru was not yet defined. Officially, the area was incorporated by the "Ommelanden van Djakarta". However, since the "Residentie Ommelanden van Djakarta" was formed after the land-purchase and the Kebajoran Commission instalment, the Resident had - in practice - no exertion over the administration.

From the technical viewpoint, the Kotabaru area was taken from the region such, which according to the civil law character of the CSW, that decisions, measures and results could be achieved as quickly as possible. Moreover, to overcome the obstacles related to the Kotabaru Kebajoran construction, it was found urgently to establish a stronger organization. According to Ir. Clason, until that time there existed confusion in the functioning of the task because it was carried out by two agencies, i.e. a) the CSW on technical/financial matters, and b) Internal Affairs on administrative/social affairs.

Although there was sufficient personal help from several functionaries, factually coordination by the "Kebajoran Commission" with its limited authority reaching a synthesis was practically impossible. All the tasks must be done in an organizational relationship, and both the management and the execution must be combined in one strong organization, if the desired results are to be effectively achieved. Such an organization can be achieved by way of creating independent communities based upon article 128 jo 2 of the Indische Staatsregeling, managed by a council consisting of experts who actively shared in town-planning and organization. Only in such a way can there be found good coordination between the Foundation and the Administration.

These legal communities, would be the forerunner of the municipality which would be formed later on the basis of regulations expressed in the municipal ordinance, and would be dissolved, collapsed if the city were formed, and further functioned as a living community. In this context, the 1950 budget for the coming Kebajoran community was prepared by the "Kebajoran Commission". Furthermore, it was intended to build the city community by law at the end of 1949. However, as a consequence of the transfer of sovereignty, this proposal could not be carried out. Subsequently, alongside with the extension of the Kota Djakarta area; among others, including sub-district Kebajoran Ilir, the Kotabaru Kebajoran region became a part of the Djakarta Raya municipal area. And after the transfer of sovereignty the name of "CSW" was changed into "Jajasan Pemugaran Pusat". However, by Presidential decree of 1951 No.65, the foundation was liquidated, while the property and all its encumbrances were taken over by the Government. To continue the building up of Kotabaru Kebajoran, the Ministry of Communications, Public Works and Energy established a special agency, called "Djawatan Pekerdjaan Umum Kotabaru Kebajoran" which later on June 1, 1952 is changed into PCK, being an independent organization within the Ministry concerned which carried out its own works and with its own budget.

Up to now Kotabaru Kebajoran is under direct rule of the Ministry of Public Works and Energy without any status. Only the civil administration is carried out by the Wedana. It is intended to transfer it to the local government when completed.

The undecided political status of Kotabaru Kebajoran often causes uncertainty on the part of the local officials in administering the new residential suburb, particularly in decision-making, as no rules regarding the governing of the Kotabaru have been formulated. Therefore, they are confined to do routine work only.

This state of affairs has, of course, its adverse effects on the development of the new suburb, and sometimes harms the State, e.g. taken from the fiscal point of view. Accordingly, small transtitional taxes in the villages being incorporated in Kotabaru area and previously collected by the ward, are now doubtful, as that many taxable persons are free of duty.

This is one of the reasons why the Bureau Chief of the Pemerintahan Umum Pusat Daerah Djakarta Raya issued regulations concerning villages which formerly belonged to Senajan, Pelapetogogen and Gandaria Ilir (sub-district and district Kebajoran Lama). By decision of the Resident, Bureau Chief PUPD Djakarta Raya dated May 23, 1959 No.3858/6, the Kota-baru Kebajoran is divided into 5 wards based on the previous N.I. Government decision of October 28, 1949 No.13 (Supplement of State Gazette No.9308), later altered/implemented in State Gazette 1919 No.723, 1938 No.21, State Gazette 1938 No.674 C 3. jo. Act No.1/1956 (State Gazette 1956 No.2), and beginning from June 1, 1959.

The names, boundaries and population of the 5 wards are shown below:

1. desa Kramat Pela (covering Blocks A, B, D :

- a. North of Kelurahan Gunung and Djalan Mahakam I, Djalan Barito I and Djalan Kiai Madja;
- b. East of Kelurahan Pulo and Djalan Panglima Polim;
- c. South of desa Gandaria Utara; population: 18.488.

2. desa Gunung (covering Blocks C, E, F, G, H):

- a. North of Desa Senajan; b. East of Desa Selong and Djalan Singamaradja; c. South of Desa Kramat Pela, Djalan Mahakam I, Djalan Barito I and Dajalan Kiai Madja;
- d. West of Kali Gregol; population: 19.115.

3. desa Selong (covering Blocks I, K, L R) :

- a. North of desa Senajan; b. East of desa Rawa Barat, Djalan Gunawarman and Djalan Kartanegara; c. South of desa pulo, Djalan Iskandarsjah I, Djalan Sultan Hasanudin and Djalan Tjibatu; d. West of desa Gunung and Djalan Singmaradja; population: 14.372.

4. desa Rawa Barat (covering Blocks Q, S) :

- a. North of desa Senajan; b. East of desa Pela; c. South of desa Pela; d. West of desa Selong, Djalan Tjibatu, Djalan Gunawarman and Djalan Kartanegara; population 24.008.

5. Desa Pulo (covering Blocks M, N, O, P) :

a. North of desa Selong, desa Rawa Barat, Djalan Iskandarasjah I and Djalan Sultan Hasanudin; b. East of desa Pela; c. South of Pelapetogogan; d. West of desa Kramat Pela and Djalan Panglima Polim; population: 19.030.

Thus the total population of Kotabaru Kebajoran is 95.013.

Inasmuch the Kotabaru Kebajoran is divided into 5 wards, the BUUP planned the region as a "assess area" itself, with regard to the (small) income tax for 1960, apart from District Kebajoran Lama. The committee would comprise: a. Wedana Local Chief of Kotabaru Kebajoran as Chairman, and b. the wards as members.

This is the situation surrounding the construction and development of Kotabaru Kebajoran. With respect to its constitutional status, it may have two alternatives, e.g. a) as an autonomy, but its level should be lower than that of Kotapradja Djakarta, b. as district, being an administrative incorporation of Kotapradja Djakarta Raya area only.

As to how far the forming of Kotabaru Kebajoran as an lower autonomy is possible, it is to be found in art. 4 of Act No.1/1957 (Local Government principles), i.e.:

Article 4

(1) An area which can be formed as a Municipality must be a residential area with at least 50.000 inhabitants.

(2) Within the Municipality - except Kotapradja Djakarta Raya - there cannot be built an autonomy of lower level.

Thus, according to act. 4 Kotabaru Kebajoran can be formed as an autonomy/municipality with a lower level than Kotapradja Djakarta Raya, because:

a. At present Kotabaru Kebajoran contains approximately 95.013 inhabitants;

b. It is yet possible to form an autonomy of lower level within the Djakarta Raya Municipality.

Now let us deal with the second alternative, viz. to form a district of Daerah Kotapradja Djakarta Raya.

In my opinion this matter can be settled at any moment by the central government on a special proposal because a district is only an administrative classification, designed to perform the administration sufficiently, and this is also in accordance with the instruction of the Minister of Interior and Local Autonomy, dated September 28, 1959 No.1/P.D. (formation of Local Government according to President decree No.6/1959).

In the decree it was stated, among others:

- a. general affairs of the central government, etc.
- b. line of hierarchy from top to bottom;

Local Chief I  
Resident  
Local Chief II  
Wedana  
Assistant-Wedana

- c. Resident, Wedana and Assistant-Wedana conduct powers and obligations according to the valid statutory regulations.

In my opinion the second alternative seems the most feasible as this is in conformity with the Government policy c.q. the Minister of Interior and Local Autonomy, whereas the forming of a second class autonomy is not yet possible now, such with respect to the fulfilment of other conditions.

Those are some basic informations concerning the situation of the Djakarta Raya municipal populations, and the steps having been taken by both the central and local government to eliminate housing difficulties. Other inquiries into the population itself will be discussed in Chapter II (heading) Land-Problem. In this context in the course of the development of Kota Djakarta there frequently arose numerous obstacles, and the biggest one is the land problem.

Every attempt has been made to solve the land problem, and the only solution seems to be that of ~~expropriation~~ **expropriation** of lands parallel with the Djakarta Raya area. The need for an extension can be seen

from the following aspects:

- a. Urbanization and population density.
- b. Financial sources and industrialization
- c. Construction and social
- d. City welfare and aesthetics
- e. Rural area and economy
- f. Security.

(a) Urbanization and population density.

A report on urbanization in Djakarta undertaken by the Institute of Economic and Social Research of the Djakarta School of Economics, and fortified by the BUBP records has shown that between 1948 and 1952 the stream of migration was estimated at 100.000 persons annually, but now this figure has been decreased to approximately 40.000.

A kampong survey within the city has shown the number of male household heads as follows:

21%	born in the Regency of Bogor
10%	-do- Tangerang
29%	-do- Bekasi and other regencies in West Java.
60% (total)	

An official survey conducted by the Statistics Division of the Municipal Health Office has shown that by the end of 1957 the civil inhabitants (excluding messes) was 2.2. million in total, while the unofficial estimation was about 3 million.

Based upon urbanization survey and official figures the total number of population would be 3.3. million in 1967, and 4.8 million in 1977.

The comparison with other cities in the world is like this

City	Area in sq. km	Population	Year
Djakarta	556	2.200.000	1957 <sup>x)</sup>
Singapore	583	1.041.900	1950
Hongkong	920	1.860.000	1950
Tokyo	578	6.277.500	1950
Washington	181	802.180	1950
New York	946	7.835.100	1950
Canberra	2.400	20.000	1950

x) According to BUBP records the city population at the end of the first quarter of 1960 is already 2.891.586.

It is impossible for both Singapore and Hongkong to expand its region due to the limited position (island colony)..

Tokyo, Washington and New York, formerly expanding upwards, today moves towards its surrounding regions.

Canberra is an ideal city for its further development.

The population agglomeration within the Djakarta Raya area has given rise to numerous difficulties. This is evidenced by the steps taken by preventing the stream of population from flowing into the city. But the statement of being a closed area is in practice not workable.

The influx of population from the villages to the city has its broad impact on the society. People who formerly used to live in groups within their village, are now finding it necessary to live in a different mode of a city all its own. They often loose their sense of responsibility, resulting in easy molation of laws or rules, naturally is common in large cities throughout the world. To face this problem, let us quote Kenneth Watts, from the UNTAA, in his book "Outline plan for the city of Djakarta". He remarked that lack of responsibility towards the community is already known by sociologists and town-planners as being one of the phenomena which caused the declining life in large cities of today.

Lewis Mumford, an American expert on physical planning, who first solved this problem, suggested a concept that in the future neighborhood units be created within a city.

Life in those neighborhood units will create the feeling among population that they are members of a small family group within a large city. This will relieve the feeling of an unknown member of a big society. Accordingly, a town in the future must form an organization consisting of neighborhood units laying around the town center, and in which can be found schools, mosques, stores, markets etc. necessary for the fulfilment of everyday's life.

In the city there must be replanted the genuine village character i.e. the "gotong-rojong" outlook as being the Indonesian way of life since former times, and in accordance with our political manifesto.

This can only be achieved by means of Rukun Kampung and Rukun Tetangga, such in order to serve the citizens as best as possible or to effect security control. To realize this plan there is a need for a vast land expansion around Djakarta region because within the city itself it is already too dense.

b. Financial resources and industrialization.

The purpose of developing Djakarta Raya area on its own strength can only be realized if there are available financial resources of its own, like taxes, retributions etc. just to cover its expenditures. According to the following figure, though herein is another source of difficulty.

Year	Budget for ordinary services	Subsidy from the Central Government (deficit)
1950	Rp. 35.583.545	Rp. 11.010.000
51	63,717,100	29.111.555
52	99.063.880	37.519.900
53	70.905.430	33.090.656
54	89.731.030	46.628.794
55	114.544.140	39.898.265
56	106.059.240	46.336.540
57	114.927.320	56.748.400
58	61.463.000	12.750.000
59	170.000.000	53.573.500

With the present covering vote system, i.e. the yearly deficits covered by the Central Government, Djakarta would always rest on the subsidy amount from the Central Government, and therefore not free in determining its own expenditures. This fact is on the contrary with the autonomy idea on large scale.

This situation is similar to that of Hongkong in recent years. According to available statistics, the city of Hongkong has also experienced a deficit since World War II.

Probably, this is caused by the increasing population due to the stream of refugees from the People's Republic of China, whereas its area is very limited. The expenditures increased suddenly, while its financial resources remained the same. The only solution of the problem is by expanding its industry, and this again is allied with area expansion as described below.

Parallel with the population increase, it is necessary to create new employment opportunities, as absorption factor. For the Djakarta Raya Municipality this can be more favourably accomplished through increased industrialization. But obviously, this problem is not easy to overcome because the more available professions the greater is the stream of population from outside. To avoid this influx, therefore, the industrialization plan in the city must go hand in hand with the industrialization in the country. Since the greater part of the newcomers are originally from the Regencies of Bekasi, Tangerang and Bogor, it is preferable that the lead in regional industrial development be in three Regencies. This plan could be realized easily if Djakarta with its surrounding regions form an unit, since industrial expansion needs a vast land supply, which is not to be found within the Djakarta area itself.

Industrialization is the only solution for Djakarta in order to develop at full speed because industrial expansion can only provide possible new income resources, the improvement of the standard of living, and the rise of productivity per capita, in such a way that the inhabitants can also contribute to the municipality more than today.

Besides providing employment opportunities directly, the factories also open work opportunities in the service fields, viz. becha-drivers, laundries, house-servants, shop-employers and multiplier. This is a very important factor in the urbanization problem. According to Dr. Sadli's survey on industrial problems, it reveals that one of the areas throughout Indonesia which is favourable for industrialization is actually Djakarta and its environs, considering all the factors necessary for an industrial plot.

#### c. Construction and social aspects.

The problem relating to these aspects cannot be separated with the preceding ones. In the case

of construction one must think of the constructions undertaken by the Central Government. In view of the Djakarta Raya position as the state capital, also as a business and international relations center, lands for office buildings construction and homes for the personnel must be self-evident. Next, lands for constructing new roads and the widening of the existing ones in solving traffic congestion faced by Djakarta Raya today, and furthermore preparations for opening new kampongs outside the town. A recent example is the kampongs moved for the construction of Asian Games stadium.

Housing is very important with regard to social matters and sanitation. According to survey reports there are at least 30.000 persons living in overcrowded residences, or with bad environmental sanitation. Such poor houses must be demolished and rebuilt. Likewise new houses are needed to absorb the increasing population which is estimated 80.000 persons annually. Within the coming decade we need each year some 20.000 new houses. These new ones must fulfil the social needs, sanitary and other interval conditions, such as to reduce risk of fire. Moreover, there is a great lack of schools, hospitals, clinics, markets, etc. which also need lands. Lastly parking-places will gradually produce problems which must be considered in accordance with the overall development programme.

The monthly reports of the Housing Central Division of the Djakarta Raya Municipality and PCK reveal that the total increase of permanent houses is only 1.400 annually. If this total is added to the runaway houses, and the figure is doubled, this is still far behind the pressing needs, even not sufficient for the increasing population which needs approximately 10.000 houses each year. Furthermore, there are about 80.000 children who do not attend schools. This means a shortage of approximately 300 school-buildings at present.

These facts and figures show how unsmooth the construction is in respect of social aspects, among other things of land limitations.

#### d. Welfare and aesthetics aspects.

Speaking of welfare, there must be lands available for open parks because Djakarta Raya today has only a few, for example, Medan Merdeka and

## Lapangan Banteng.

In many other countries, for every 1000 inhabitants there is provided 1 - 15 hectare of land for open parks. Such open places are very important for sports or recreation both for the general public and school children.

Next, there is a shortage of beaches, especially when the port expansion becomes a reality, then there are no more spots available which may be used for public pleasure. Therefore, it is likely to give due consideration to the beaches around Djakarta Raya area. Besides for sports, play and pleasure grounds such open places can promote the beauty of the city.

### e. Hinterland and economic aspects

Similarly with other cities, the daily needs of vegetables or other foodstuffs which cannot be kept long such as fruits, milk, eggs etc. are produced in the hinterland. With regard to the population density, in fact, vegetables and other food are mostly not produced in Djakarta Raya region itself but in the West Java area (Regencies of Tangerang, Bekasi, Bogor and Tjiandjur). Facing the food-clothing problem at present, there are really some obstacles in supplying vegetables etc. because of the very divergent local regulations. Also, it is quite difficult to rule the food prices within the Djakarta Raya area which is not a producer itself. In the framework of a large scale autonomy, each locality arranges its own regulations regardless of the influences on others.

These questions would be overcome easily if the hinterland forms a part of Djakarta Raya, and the producers can make profits too. In this way, Djakarta Raya would have its own vegetables supply, and gradually becomes self-supporting despite of other local regulations.

### f. Security

According to article 14 of President decree No.6/1959, a Local Chief (Governor) being an instrument of the Central Government, also has the task of conducting peace and order in his domain. In respect of the above urbanization factors the security of Djakarta Raya is closely associated with its surroundings from which a lot of people go in and out.

Therefore, this obligation can be exercised effectively if the surrounding areas together with Djakarta Raya are under one command. In this context, it may be noted that the operational field of the Djakarta Raya Police covered the Regency of Tangerang for the past years. In respect to the military affairs the Regencies of Tangerang, and Bekasi on January 1960 there was incorporated by the Military Command, Territory V Djakarta Raya. The military as well as the Police would, naturally, prefer that the countryside form a local unit with Djakarta Raya.

Such are the aspects relating to the area expansion of Djakarta Raya Municipality. Based on above considerations, it may be concluded that it would be better to fuse Djakarta Raya autonomy I with the Regencies of Tangerang, Bekasi and Bogor. If this is not possible, seen from the technical viewpoint, then it may be realized phase by phase, i.e. first to nominate the former "Gewest Batavia en Ommelanden" as Djakarta Raya autonomous area, like the Military Administration "Djaja"

### (3) DJAKARTA TOWN PLANNING

Referring to this question, there is actually a plan constructed by Kenneth Watts, an UNTAA expert, in cooperation with Ir R.S. Danunagore, director of the Municipal Public Works and Ir L. O'Brien, head of the City Development Division. This plan was preceded by a special survey of a Pilot Project in order to obtain results based on intensive observations. This work is not complete, and consequently many conclusions drawn up in the outline plan are only founded on incomplete data.

According to the obtained findings, the Djakarta problem may be summarized as follows:

1. There are not enough favorable working opportunities for the Djakarta citizens.
2. There are not enough adequate housing facilities.
3. Traffic-block on roads.
4. There are not enough social institutions, such as schools, public worships, stores, parks, clinics etc.

## 1. Employment

One of the main problems at present is how to create employment opportunities for the inhabitants. In all similar cities throughout the world, a great percentage of the people got a job in enterprises, called service industries, i.e. serving the inhabitants rather than making money from outside for the city benefits. For example, becha-drivers, shop-keepers, shop-employers, laundries, and retail traders, whereas people who earn money from outside are working in various factories or in business connecting with places outside the city.

If the earnings of the latter workers are inadequate to meet the needs of the city population, then the city living cannot maintain because if the income is inadequate to contribute to the workers in the service industries, the rate of living as a whole would be pressed down.

This phenomenon can be seen in many cities of the East where this problem becomes more seriously as a result of the steadily increasing stream of newcomers. These persons not getting a profitable job become retailers or becha-drivers, and consequently bears heavy upon the standard of living. This process produces discontented employment.

This fact forms a dangerous evil in modern cities and the problem is very complex. The solution of it does not consist of increased industrialization only, although it is very important for the city income.

Experience in other cities have shown that the more employment opportunities are created the more attracted the people from outside. The influx of newcomers into the city is at a rate similar to the creating of new professions. As a consequence, the increase of employment opportunities in Djakarta must parallel with the surrounding towns.

As pointed out above, a great part of the newcomers came from the Regencies of Bekasi, Tangerang and Bogor. Accordingly, the Djakarta industrial development in the future must be planned in relation with the towns Tangerang, Bekasi and Bogor. Approximately 64 percent of the household heads coming into Djakarta came due to "financial pressure" or to expect "earning improvement", or because of

"discontented position". Thus, if the incorporated regions absorbing the people could supply occupations, then the push of migration may be reduced.

According to industrial experts, the labour force in Djakarta is about 40 per cent of the whole inhabitants.

## 2. Housing.

This problem is the second major one in town planning because there must be enough housing facilities for the inhabitants. People who are drawn into the city have to live in the existing residential districts. If these cannot take them, then they construct for themselves houses made of primitive materials. Those poor houses are often an agglomeration of bad construction and are notoriously dirty. This conspicuous situation cannot be maintained any longer, thus great efforts should be made to improve it.

However, the housing problem, changes at any time. As pointed out above, the total number of newcomers is estimated at 100.000 persons (from 1948 till 1952), although this figure at present becomes 80.000 persons annually. If the city has to maintain its sanitation, there must be houses available for its inhabitants.

Consequently, the housing problem has two faces, i.e.

- a) improvement of present situation is very urgent;
- b) housing supply for the near future.

According to estimations, at least 275.000 persons are living in poor houses, and some 80.000 persons in better ones but yet too densely situated.

On calculation, the Djakarta Raya population would be 3.1. to 3.3. million within 10 years, and 4.1. to 4.8 million within 20 years. To meet this population trend more than 10.000 homes must be constructed annually. If the slums are to be cleaned out within the next 20 years, the above figures will be increased at least by 4000 houses each year.

### Land for housing

Self-evidently, for the housing construction there are needed lands as vast as possible, in view of the total population of Djakarta Raya in the future. Accordingly, it is appropriate to expand the city area in such a manner that setting up new settlements can serve themselves. To calculate the total number of inhabitants within these residential districts in the future, the whole city including the incorporated regions, must be measured. From each part, the population density should be calculated in terms of the number of persons per hectare. The total city population in the coming years should be found with this formula:

#### Total area in hectare population per hectare

Based on this formula, the population allocation in Djakarta Raya for the years 1957 - 1977 should be planned as follows:

Environs	Estimated area in hectare	Present population	Present density per ha	Planned density per ha	Planned population in the future
Down town	350	90.700	250	300	105.000
Government Center	425	19.300	45	-	25.000
Mid town	1.200	356.450	300	400	480.000
City center	2.275	566.200	250	275	626.000
Suburban	3.800	388.200	100	200	760.000
Self-supporting area	4.450	267.000	60	200	827.000
Industrial area	1.650	54.100	-	-	-
Total	-	2,200.000	-	-	3,823.000

Based on the present trend, the Djakarta Raya population would probably increase to 4,1 - 4,8 million within 20 years. However, in the outline plan there is only space for about 3,75 - 4 million. Thus, what would happen with the untaken persons? The only way out at present is to lessen the stream of migration.

If good housing construction is approached in Djakarta, instead of in the surroundings, then the

attraction toward the city would be far greater than previously. The more accommodations are supplied the more newcomers will stream into the city, hoping for better living conditions. Therefore, the problem must be considered in a regional way with accurate estimation of the available housing facilities in Bekasi, Bogor and Tangerang.

### 3. Traffic

Djakarta has about 370 kilometer asphalt roads for a population of 2,2 million. This may be compared with the 475 kilometer public roads in Singapore (1,5 million inhabitants), and 1843 kilometer in Baltimore, USA, (ca. 1 million inhabitants).

In 1956 the number of motor vehicles in Djakarta was about the same as in Singapore, but here we have some 50.000 bicycles and becha's. Last year the number of motor vehicles registered in Djakarta increased phenomenally, i.e. some 10.000 annually. Also, the number of bicycles and becha's increase exceedingly to some 20 - 30.000 each year.

Based on these facts it can be forecasted that the motor traffic on Djakarta roads should naturally increase three or fourfold within the next 20 years, or perhaps even earlier.

In accordance with the increasing number of vehicles, this often produces traffic congestion along the main roads of Djakarta, especially in the peak hours. To overcome this traffic problem the municipality has a long term program. In broad lines, traffic activities would be added around Djakarta. The most important is the planned highway between Tandjung Priok in the North and Djalan Bogor in the South. It is intended to remove all the through-traffic from the agglomerated Djalan Gunung Sahari-Kramat, and to add a connection between Tandjung Priok port and its hinterland.

At present the important traffic artery is around the governmental offices complex in Gambir (Medan Merdeka/Lapangan Banteng), and the business center in down-town. The Gambir region in the heart of the city has no great problem, but the traffic activities to the down-town is to such an extent that it requires an accurate investigation. According to traffic surveys, 10.000 motor vehicles

are passing the Djalan Gadjah Mada in the peak hours between 7 - 9 a.m. and 12 - 15 p.m., or 2000 vehicles per hour, excluding the two and three-wheeled ones.

Generally speaking, one traffic line can take up 900 vehicles per hour. Consequently, for smooth communication there must be three traffic lines to north along Djalan Gadjah Mada. Perhaps the traffic problem of Gunung Sahari is similar.

#### a. B A S I C      P L A N

Before considering the new plan, it is likely to summarize some parts of the previous one. It may be assumed that the Djakarta civil inhabitants at the end of 1957 was 2,2 million, excluding military/police living in garrisons, and those who have no permanent homes. In view of the growing figures, the city inhabitants would increase to 3,1 - 3,3 million within 10 years, and 4,1 - 4,8 million within the next 20 years.

Based on the available lands in the future, and possible employment opportunities in the city, it is suggested to limit this growth to about 3,75 - 4 million within 20 years. In the past it has been proved that this attempt of limiting the city growth was not successful. Even measures undertaken by the Municipality to make improvement within its area, just added to difficulties because it caused the increase of migration attracted by the city's advancement. Therefore, the keystone of the present approach must be through regional planning. Although efforts at housing, industry and community development must be made in Djakarta, it is appropriate to have a similar program in the rural areas and the surrounding towns, in order to reduce the stream of migration into the city.

#### Future distribution of Djakarta population.

In the outline plan there is no proposal of a large-scale redistribution of population in the Djakarta area. Within the city it is urgent that some redistribution must be made in order to lessen the poor housing conditions, and at the same time creating new residential districts on modern design.

It is especially suggested that town planning in the future should be associated with similar ones in

Tangerang, Bogor, Depok and Bekasi.

It is appropriate to undertake a careful research study concerning each environment at present and considering its demands in connection with the capital needs.

In addition, it is likely to undertake construction in the urban environments. If this could be achieved, arbitrary construction in the rural areas may be avoided. If not, the process would produce many difficulties in the near future.

Environment development which can support itself would lessen the pressure on the overcrowding city. The Community Development Program in Pasar Minggu affords a good opportunity to such an urban environment development. The program should be completed in such a way that the environs concerned would be able to become self-sufficient, i.e. adequate working opportunities, schools, markets and other social needs.

#### Free areas.

In areas outside the city which are reconstructed and further developed, facilities should be given to the people therein, including jobs. In this way, these areas may develop as being free ones, in the sense that these areas do not depend entirely on Djakarta.

Certain guidances for setting up open parks, schools etc. should be applied to the free areas too.

According to the preliminary plan there are four big self-supporting areas, e.g. Tardjung Priok (estimated future population 450.000), Mampang Prapatan (90.000), Kebajoran Baru (90.000 - 100.000), and Rawamangun complex which can accommodate 150.000 inhabitants.

#### Planning areas.

In the city the problem is far more complex. The line of demarcation between the units is difficult to define. Lands for schools and other social needs are more limited and hardly to obtain. Furthermore, it is not easy to change the present structure of the city. But in the outline plan the city is

divided into "planning areas". It is suggested that in the final lay-out, efforts must be made to obtain some guidance in supplying social services, using the free area pattern as a guiding principle.

The boundaries of the planning areas are already outlined in such a way that these boundaries do not cross the main roads, rail-roads or canals, and in general those areas with similar social background. This area may not develop to become neighborhoods, but at least providing the city inhabitants with their daily needs at a distance of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kilometer from their residence.

### Rules

Before examining what kinds of social facilities are desired, it is appropriate to discuss first the character of the principles, and how to use them. In many cases, the number of schools, shops, mosques, clinics etc. desired by the community are closely bound with the size of the community concerned, i.e. the number of inhabitants living therein. In general it is easy to estimate that connection. For example, in the Bandung Plan of the Public Health Department it is proposed that in hospitals there must be one bed for every 1000 persons. This is called a rule as to find out the amount of the required beds. This principle is only used as a guidance, and not at all as fixed standard.

### b. GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Schools.

It has been said, that approximately 80.000 children do not attend school. This signifies a shortage of school buildings of about 300. Moreover, most of the existing ones are of bad conditions, made of emergent materials and scarcely playgrounds around it. Thus, some day those buildings must be rebuilt.

To overcome this shortage of school buildings, the approach must be based on the environment, i.e. how many schools and hence lands are needed in each of the region.

#### Wholesale trade and retail trade.

At present, Djakarta is unable to meet the needs of the wholesale trade as well as the retail trade.

Primarily for the retailers the situation is more serious because proper spots is still lacking, and therefore, results in runaway markets as to meet the demands of both traders and society.

Consequently, in each lay-out must be planned more markets. This is fully understood by the local administration, thus in the short term program priority has been given to market projects, e.g. pilot project Manggarai, Senen and Djalan Djenderal Sudirman.

As a proposition, each "plant area" must have one market. Among them there is already one, which perhaps must be removed. However, at the end of the 20 year plan all the plant areas will have desirable markets.

Presently, the business centre of Djakarta: Glodok, Pasar Baru Nusantara and Senen, is to some extent not sufficient. Traffic congestion along Pantjoran (Glodok) must be eliminated in the long run, so that the down-town area has one desirable trade centre. Accordingly, there must be a new highway south of Pantjoran to take over the Djalan Gadjah Mada traffic in the direction of Djembatan Lima and Djalan Toko Tiga. If this plan could be accomplished then Pantjoran would be free from traffic congestion.

In the Pasar Baru complex, the opportunity of going in and out is very scarce. If this region would be reconstruct, each shop must have a by-road and if possible more parking places.

Djalan Nusantara has developed as being a multipurpose street, viz. schools, public and private offices, banks and shops. It is recommended to lead the main shops in such a way that this region may develop as a business centre in the future, in view of its favourable location.

In the Senan region the traffic congestion at present is very acute, but according to the plan a part of this traffic should be removed to the highway project from Priok to Bogor, as well as to the planned through-way substituting the railroad in the centre of the city.

#### Lay-out for social activities.

The consequences of the stream of migration from rural areas into a city is already known. The major pattern is: the city life has its own habits

and conduct, quite different from the traditional group life in the village. In this new sphere, the people often lose their sense of responsibility, and tend to violate the laws or rules which are rampant in many cities throughout the world.

Sociologists and physical planners know very well that lack of responsibility with regard to the society is one of the symptoms leading to disintegration in large cities life of today.

To meet this challenge, an American expert on physical planning, Lewis Mumford has evolved the concept of "neighbourhood units" within the city. The purpose is that the people feel as being a member of a small family in an urban society, thus different from the feeling as being an unknown member in a big community. Consequently, the city in the future consists of organizational neighbourhood units covering the city centre, and each zone equipped with schools, shops and other community services.

Meanwhile, it is suggested to support the process of social structure, if facilities like local administration, sanitation, child and mother welfare are given by one village institution. If possible, it is desirable to locate this institution close to schools and markets in the centre of planning areas.

This case may be assumed as a training development which is already known in the countryside, and in the long run would result in the forming of neighbourhood units as mentioned above.

### Housing.

The important facts relating to housing problems have been discussed in the preceding chapter. In short, the number of the presently constructed houses in the Djakarta Raya Municipality is quite insufficient to meet the steadily increasing population.

Consequently, there must be found ways and means to improve the housing supply. In order to regulate the population growth in the future, and to overcome the temporary housing shortage, the estimated number of houses to be constructed is 14,000 annually.

Compared with the number of the presently constructed houses, that figure is high. However, if great efforts are not made to lead the building companies towards constructing residences, it is

quite clear that the present conditions would be worse. Building companies under assistance, provided with money and lands, could make more houses than today without adding manpower.

Also, emergency building companies - which usually supply illegal residence today - could contribute much in solving housing problems, if properly conducted. Projects based on mutual assistance (gotong rojong), yet in initial stage, are also helpful in this question, particularly in the city fringes. Good co-operation has been given to the pilot project, west of the city, by several hundreds municipal workers, in accordance with the progressive spirit of the project concerned.

The major problems related to lands and finances is still existing. If this problem could be solved, then more projects like Krekot Dalam, may be carried out continuously. It is hoped that the people housing project in Krekot Dalam, which has been realized in co-operation with Pembangunan Perumahan Ltd., would be a pioneer in other undertakings. Experiences throughout the world have shown that storied buildings are the only economical way-out to the solution of housing problems in the heart of large cities.

#### Open Places.

At the present time, open places are lacking. Therefore, more open places must be reserved in the future for public interest and welfare. Flying a kite and other public games on open ground along the Djalan Thamrin, which will be soon constructed, prove the needs of open places. There are many and of several kinds as described below. Furthermore, a survey is necessary to determine a rule for Djakarta. Other countries usually offer about one hectare for every 1000 persons for general purpose, including schools.

The open places in question are:

1. A small open ground; usually 1 hectare or less, especially in the Menteng region. This plan must be accomplished, simultaneously with the housing development so that people can breathe more freely, and make good use of the ground.
2. A large terrain, such as Medan Merdeka and Lapangan Banteng. Open sports like these should be more reserved.

3. Beaches are also lacking. Djakarta located close to the sea must have an open place for public entertainment. This can be required north of the Pluit Polder project.
4. Play-grounds annexed to schools have been discussed above.
5. Grave-yards supplementing the existing ones are already planned by the City Development Division.

Following are the elaborate proposals concerning open places, including those recommended by the City Development Division.

1. The beach west of Pasar Ikan: a path<sup>h</sup>way along the sea-surface.
2. Kali Tjideng: a sport ground and a main road along the river.
3. Tjiliwung: cleaning of illegal homes along the river side as to make way for parks, as suggested by Professor Holliday.
4. Rawamangun - Pisangan: a new park and a play-ground.
5. Manggarai: open grounds besides the existing grave-yards.
6. Kemajoran: two play-grounds at the end of the widened airport.

#### GREEN BELT.

Around the city fringes which is to be reconstructed should have a Green Belt. The advantages of it are:

1. The possibility of giving a shape to the city, and to prevent a spreading outside the Green Belt;
2. To bring the rural areas into the city fringes which could be reconstructed for the benefits of the citizens. Outside the Green Belt it is intended to create self-sufficient areas as described above.

Although these advantages of creating a Green Belt is fully understood, yet the practical obstacles are considerably great. The need of lands is so great that it is difficult to reserve open areas, especially when those areas follow a

road line. Perhaps this situation is contemporary because with the opening of new lands, and constructing new roads both in the city and in the environments, then the pressure on lands would fall off finally. This is also the case with the areas planned for the Green Belt.

To avoid such a situation, the Green Belt line is taken along the river sides as much as possible, where construction progress cannot exist. The drawing of the Green Belt line gives also advantages for fitting in with large projects like: the new students complex in Rawamangun, parks, grave-yards etc. and reserving one within the Green Belt.

#### Planning for industrial expansion.

At the present time the location of industries is still spreading throughout the city. In general, shortage of lands for industry adds difficulties faced by entrepreneurs in setting up a factory. For this purpose it is planned reserve about 1650 hectares. Planning new industrial areas is very important for the urban life in the future, and the opening of such an area would be the key stone of developing "a self-sufficient area" as suggested above.

For this end four major plots has been programmed.

1. Pluit area in north-west of the city. New lands for industrial establishments as soon as the improvement and reclamation scheme becomes a reality.
2. The beach between Pasar Ikan and Tandjung Priok of which the scheme is now carried on by the Harbour Management.
3. East and West of Djalan Gunung Sahari, connecting the down-town business centre. This zone is now developing as an industrial area.
4. Two light industrial areas close to the Kemajoran Airport. In planning future industrial areas, it is important to give due consideration to workers' housing problems, particularly its location. Presently, although the factories are spreading, it is difficult for the labourers to reach their place of employment because of the great distance involved in portal to portal transportation.

This fact also presses down on the public transport organization which are actually insufficient, and moreover increases traffic activities in peak hours along the main roads.

This does not mean that workers' accommodation and industrial buildings must lie in a heap. Anyhow, the industrial area must be close to yet separated from the residential districts. This can be achieved in the future through sound planning.

#### Drinking Water.

With the opening of the water cleaning installation at Pedjompongan - one of the largest and most modern factories in the world today - the water-supply for the future can meet all demands. Extension schemes with regard to the water distribution system have been submitted, and shortly the water pipe will reach there parts of the city which formerly did not have this facility.

In the space of 30 years, however, when the city population increased to about 4 million, then the amount of water-supply would be insufficient. Accordingly, steps must be taken to enlarge the present clean-water services. In this context, the plan of the Department of Public Works & Energy to increase the Tjiliwung water cleansing facilities 5 cubic meter per second is being treated.

#### Electricity.

The present electricity supply is still insufficient, especially in the dry monsoon. However, steps have been taken to meet this shortage. The bold and the most essential plan is the Djatiluhur-Tjitarum project, east of Krawang (Purwakarta). When this project is completed within 5 years, the electricity supply could be increased exceedingly, in West Java generally and in Djakarta particularly. Short-run difficulties must be over-come by the Department of Public Works & Energy plans, i.e. by increasing the electric power plant at Gambir to 40,000 Kilowatt, enough for public use.

#### Gas.

At present, gas only serves certain parts of the city. However, plans have been made to increase the distribution. Kebajoran Baru has still no gas, and if such should be the case, there is not yet a final decision.

### Land reclamation.

In the rainy season certain parts of Djakarta always suffer from floods. When the drainage canals are adequately regulated, then the floods could be expelled from the major parts of the city, except the region west of Tjiliwung. The liberation of this area from floods can only be realized when the Pluit project has been accomplished, e.g. the widening of the existing canal, casting up a dam close to the sea, and land reclamation for industrial purposes. The major function of the dam is to absorb the flood water from Tjideng for further pumping to the sea. Therefore, improvement of the marshlands around it is only possible through this planning.

### Dust-yards.

According to estimation, the city of Djakarta produces daily some 6,300 cubic meter of dust. Plans are under consideration for effective removal of this dust-dut involving a large number of dust carts. Acquisition of these carts is being carried out gradually.

### c. SPECIAL PLANNING ASPECTS.

#### City area.

The centre area of Djakarta is quite different from other cities with similar size and influence. In view of the enormous business transactions, office facilities and warehouse capacities are very limited. In the future it is apparent that additional space will be needed, especially most of the existing buildings are not appropriate for the type of business transacted within them. With the growth of trading companies, a part of the city must be reconstructed to give more room, through by block forming.

As mentioned above, in planning Djakarta in the future it is necessary to reconsider the road network which today is quite insufficient to meet traffic needs. One of the recommendations in the Outline Plan is to provide a new highway from Djalan Gadjah Mada and stretching in a westerly direction along the Djalan Naga V line. If this plan is accomplished, then it should be possible that the traffic coming into Djakarta Kota from the South and travelling to the West, could avoid Djalan Pantjoran (Glodok) where traffic activities are notoriously heavy at present.

Furthermore, the roads in the down-town area could still be used in the future, if widened in several places.

#### The Government complex in Gambir.

The region around Medan Merdeka and Lapangan Banteng is primarily planned for governmental purposes. When there are suitable lands not used for governmental ends, then representative buildings for private trading offices could be constructed thereon.

Furthermore, in the long run all the temporary buildings around Medan Merdeka should be removed. Thus, this zone would be free and could function as a park, like the Central Park in New York, the Hyde Park in London, or the Tuileries in Paris.

#### The sea surface.

The land along the sea surface of Djakarta is presently used as fish-ponds. However, in accordance with the above mentioned plan the coastal land between Tandjung Priok and Pasar Ikan would be reconstructed. It is also suggested to use the land, west of Pasar Ikan, as a public terrain, in the form of a boulevard.

Other cities throughout the world have generally made a good use of it by setting up a beautiful residential complex along the seashore. It is recommended to follow this model, and preparations underway to adapt modern architecture for this end.

#### Other special recommendations.

Besides the above proposals, there are other important ones which are not significant enough, in keeping with the theme of this paper, to expound upon at this time yet each of these suggestions will contribute to the city's development in the future. Briefly, these proposals are:

- a) National Museum in west of the city;
- b) a play-wood like the Bogor Botanical Garden;
- c) a zoological garden;
- d) more fish auctions.

#### d. FUTURE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.

Aside from preparing town-planning action, it is important to secure the city's development within the legal framework. Accordingly, it is recommended that the plan must be accomplished phase by phase.

It may be noted, that the time limit for each stage is not fixed, thus it is possible that certain phases develop slower than the others. The important thing at present is to determine which of these phases the city should follow first and their future sequential pattern. Furthermore, to prevent development on lands which are already intended to be in the last stage, it is necessary to issue regulations in accordance with the town-planning law of 1948 (State Gazette 1948 No. 168).

In conjunction with the above, the reserved lands for the first developmental phase can be developed without delay. In general, additional highway accesses to these lands are not prevently necessary as it is relatively easy to gain accesses under present highway facilities.

Lands in the second stage of the progress must be developed as soon as possible. But often new roads must be laid out before the recovery can take place. This is especially the case with lands stretching between the developed city area in the east and the new planned highway from Priok to Djalan Raya Bogor. It is very important to carry on the land opening simultaneously with the suggested road construction as this will be as great factor in planning and in executing there plans regarding the location buildings.

Lands in the third and fourth developmental stage are generally laying within the self-sufficient areas. It may be noted, that the land west of the new highway might not be developed first before those near the city have been developed. This belongs to the fourth phase.

## II. THE POPULATION STRUCTURE.

As enumerated in Chapter I, the total number of Djakarta Raya population at the end of 1957 was 2,2 million, while unofficial estimations were 3 million. The 2,2 million especially concerns civil inhabitants, thus excluding state apparatus residing in messes, the transients and those without settled homes.

If these supplementary figures are summed up, the Djakarta Raya Municipal population computes roughly the unofficial estimations.

According to the Bureau Pemerintahan Umum Pusat Daerah Djakarta Raya registers, in the first quarter of 1960 the urban population has increased to 2,891,586 as illustrated below:-

Nation	Adults		Infants		Grand Total.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	
1. Indonesians	738.722	687.482	590.003	599.052	2.615.259
2. Chinese	61.971	61.203	61.603	60.015	244.792
3. Indians	977	742	931	917	3.567
4. Arabs	3.067	3.155	3.339	3.273	13.434
5. Dutch	2.142	2.123	2.249	2.181	8.695
6. Other	1.673	1.394	1.329	1.443	5.839
Total.	808.552	756.099	659.454	667.481	2.891.586

Among the other group is included the following group of non-citizens.

a. Americans.....	75
b. Australians.....	22
c. Other Asians.....	116
d. Mid-Easterns.....	83
e. Without Nationality.....	82

Total. 378

Thus, the number of this group is virtually 5.461. It may be noted, however, that it is impossible to estimate exactly the present figures without reliable information, and therefore, the Kota Djakarta planning is based on the number of population at the end of 1957, i.e. 2.2 million, as results of research undertaken in 1957, in co-operation with the Statistics Division of the Public Health Department, the Municipal Public Health Office, and a statistician of W.H.O. Dr. Helweg Larsen.

#### The need of a census.

Since 1930 there has been no census, and accordingly only few facts are available which can be used as basis for an analysis relating to the present city population.

Since the situation has changed considerably after 1930, it cannot be used as a starting-point. Moreover, the 1930 census does not provide sufficient data with regard to the age/sex structure. It is hoped that the 1961 census should be able to fill the shortcomings.

### Birth and death-rates, and natural growth.

Usually, the rate of births in a society is related to the number of population within the framework of birth-rate, which represents the average number of births for every 1000 inhabitants annually. This feature also prevails with the number of mortality. The term "natural population growth" means the obtained growth from the discrepancy between the number of births and mortality.

Between 1930 and 1940 the total number of population is based on 1,5 per cent natural increase. This figure has been discussed among demographs in Indonesia whose estimation moves between 1,5 and 2 per cent. According to available sources the birth-rate in Djakarta is 35 for every 1000 inhabitants, while the death-rate is between 15 and 20 per 1000. This estimation represents a natural increase of about 2 per cent, or 4000 annually.

### Migration.

The estimated figure with regards to the annual flow of immigrants in and out and emigrant alters considerably. To obtain an exact figure it is appropriate to make a distinction between short-settled persons and long-settled ones. For the first group it is difficult to make an estimation, while for the latter one the obtained figure from the ward offices might give a good picture of the migration volume.

From the monthly reports issued by Bureau Pemerintahan Umum Pusat Daerah Djakarta, Raya it may be concluded that the annual flow into the city from previous years is approximately 20,000 to 30,000 persons. It may be freely said that above figure can be fixed 40,000 annually. Although some experts consider this figure even higher (between 50,000 and 60,000), however, we may take the estimated figure or 40,000 or about 2 per cent annually as basis for future population estimations.

According to a report on Urbanization in Djakarta, undertaken by the Institute of Economic & Social Research of the Djakarta School of Economics in March 1953, the annual influx of immigrants from 1948 through 1952 is estimated 100,000, as confirmed by the Bureau Pemerintahan Umum Pusat Daerah Djakarta Raja records of this year. However, it is clear that the immigration stream is on the decline.

In fact, it is quite difficult to estimate the rate of population influx in the future because it depends on many unknown factors. Suggestions inserted in the Plan are intended to lessen that drift based on two foundations:

- a) the flow of newcomers is <sup>n</sup>continuing with the present net migration of which is estimated 40,000 annually.
- b) the flow of newcomers is <sup>n</sup>continuing with an increase of 2 per cent, in accordance with the present figure.

In this context, it may be noted that between 1920 and 1930, the total number of Batavia inhabitants including Mr. Cornelis, increased from 306,000 to 533,600. It is clear that in that time too the primary factor in the population growth was the flow of newcomers, of which for the greater part originated from west Java, i.e. 20 per cent born in the surrounding regencies, while the other 24 per cent came from Bogor.

Compare this rate with the latest results of an Urbanization Survey in Djakarta, stating that only 25 per cent of the inhabitants are born in Djakarta. This feature shows demonstrably the characteristics of the migration of inhabitants. More than 60 per cent of the houses/heads (males) are born in west Java regencies, including 21 per cent in the Regency of Bogor, and 10 per cent in the Regency of Tangerang.

#### Age and Sex structure.

At the present time there are no concrete facts about the age and sex structure of the inhabitants. However, it is true that Djakarta contains a "young" population, i.e. the percentage of the young people is high in comparison with West-Europe. It is estimated that the percentage of inhabitants between 8 and 14 years of age is 12½ per cent, thus children who have to attend school. This figure is confirmed by a recent survey, and therefore used as calculation basis.

It often occurs that when a city attracts migration in great numbers, then this percentage of the youth is dominant.

If this should be the case in Djakarta, the greater part of inhabitants belongs to the working group, i.e. persons between 15 and 55 year of age. This estimation is confirmed by a survey undertaken in January 1957, showing that the labour force of Djakarta is approximately 40 per cent of the city

An estimation has been made with regard to the inhabitants residing in the new developmental area suggested in the plan as well as those residing outside it, but still within the municipal area. The elaboration is as follows :

Inside the new area.....	1,747,700
Outside " " " .....	452,300
Total population.....2,200,000	

Generally, a distinction has been made between the birth-rate in the city and that of the rural area. The first is lower than the latter. This feature affects the growth in both areas. On the other hand, the rate of migration in the countryside is lower than in the urban area. In view of these factors, it may be concluded that the annual growth rate in the country of the municipal area is about 3 per cent. . This basis has been used in estimating the number of the increased population in the coming years.

#### The number of households.

The main purpose of housing statistics is to find out how many houses are needed for the inhabitants. For this end it is appropriate to know the size of the average households in the city. From the available data it may be concluded that the size of the average family is about 5. This figure is also used in calculating the housing needs.

#### Estimated population in the future.

As pointed out above, the present rate of the natural population growth in Djakarta is approximately 2 per cent or 40.000 annually. To estimate the number of inhabitants in the future it is likely to follow the natural increasing rate at present.

Accordingly, based on the present estimated population of 2,2 million, the number of inhabitants in the future would be as follows :

	Natural increase (without migration)	Increase by migration (net)	
		Based on migration of 40,000 annually.	Based on migration of 2% annually
1967	2,7 million	3,1 million	3,3 million
	3,3 million.	4,1 million.	4,8 million

To avoid population agglomeration in the municipal area, it is recommended to take legal measures if possible, by controlling the population stream in to the city, e.g.:

- a) to nominate Djakarta as a closed.
- b) to stop newcomers, if they do not get accommodation or occupation.

If these efforts can't be carried out effectively, then the migration rate would increase.

### Conclusion.

As explained above, the Djakarta Raya civil inhabitants in 1957 is estimated about 2,2 million, and each year increase least by 80,000. Thus, it is quite possible that the number of population could reach 3,1 till 3,3 million within 10 years, and 4,1 till 4,8 million within 20 years.

The analysis of the present rate of growth has shown a birth-rate of about 35 for every 1000, and with a death-rate of between 15 and 20 for every 1000. Thus, the natural increasing rate ad.2 per cent could be accepted. According to the available data, the annual migration is estimated about 40,000 and for the greater part originating from the areas near Djakarta.

Despite the absence of exact data concerning the age and sex structure, nevertheless it may be fixed that in reality Djakarta has a very young population. Therefore, it may be true that 12½ per cent of the total inhabitants belongs to that group which has to attend (elementary) schools.

### III. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

As indicated in Chapter I, in economic life the city of Djakarta is not only a business center but also an industrial area, a port, an agricultural region and the like. Thus, in surveying the economic situation in the Djakarta Raya regions, it is necessary to discuss the above mentioned fields especially in order to get an overall picture.

#### 1) Trade.

In the past centuries Djakarta was the very trading center of Indonesia. Even before Batavia was established by the Dutch, the near port of

Bantam had already been an important business center of the archipelago. Due to its highly central position, Djakarta is certainly the future "distributing center" for Indonesia. Moreover, the facilities of the ocean port Tandjung-Priok is of such a kind that it can continue its function as an international port visited by a world-wide shipping traffic. Accordingly, business activities in Djakarta are going to develop extensively in the near future.

Now arises the question : How is the situation at present (1957 - 1958)

Two events occurring at the beginning of 1958 have highly influenced the situation of various economic sectors, particularly import business, inter-insular trade, warehouses, transportation, increasing unemployment, and the day-to-day life becomes more and more difficult.

The two events are:

- a. import restriction, and
- b. the outbreak of the P.R.R.I. revolt in Sumatra and Sulawesi.

a. Import restriction.

1. Owing to import restriction, the majority of importers had reason for complaint because their P.I.I. (Import License Application) was refused, while their guarantee-capital was held over a long time.

2. Consequently, most of the importers had to be idle, especially the national ones living on indent orders had to diminish their working-expenses by reducing the personnel.

3. As a matter of course, the flow of goods were fluctuating more and more, even a great deal of it disappeared from the markets. This state of affairs was misused by speculators by snatching profits as much as possible disregarding the public interests entirely. Such a situation is hard to restrain, for it is well-known that when goods are scarce while demand has increased, then the effect on prices is enormous.

4. Relating to the scarcity of imports, national importers in general only carried out indent orders from foreign dealers. Thus, in practice they know only the bill of lading, whereas the foreign indentors

secure the goods and control the markets. These indentors can manipulate as much as possible; they need not report stock on hand like the importers. Accordingly, it is quite difficult to know the exact quantity of the supplies or even to obtain an estimate. Automatically, the middle dealers and retailers feel the effect on prices too.

b. The revolt in Sumatra and Sulawesi.

1. Since the outbreak of the revolt in Sumatra, the military law came into effect. For instance, all ports were in military hands and the sea-transport mainly intended for operations.

Owing to the stagnation in sea-carriage, the inter-insular trade was crippled because neither the imports nor the domestic products could be transported. Especially in Tangjung Priok many goods were piled up, because ships were not available. Even a lot of goods were damaged from being stored too long. Furthermore, a higher warehouse-rent must be paid. Such was the case with goods from outside Java. Transport troubles and other factors affected the course of business.

2. Owing to the hard supply of agricultural products from the outer islands, there was a shortage of cipra, rattan, wood etc. so that the prices rose and the factories could not work full time.

There were even a lot of coconut-oil factories which almost stood still, and therefore had to reduce its personnel resulting in the increase of unemployment.

The consequences of the inadequacy of transportation can be summarised as follows:

- a. the decrease of imports;
- b. ditto of inter-insular products;
- c. sub a & b resulted in the paralysis of warehouses, the unemployed dock workers became "thievish" in the harbour area, and very difficult to counter the situation.

3. The paralysis of import business, inter-insular trade, warehouses, and shortage of goods in general, these influenced the road transportation very much, inflicting a heavy loss upon enterpreneurs. There were even some who closed down their business because the prices of spare-parts and tyres went up while the workers (drivers) demanded wage-advance.

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All these had its impact on the consumers because the prices of imports, coconut-oil, soap etc. also influenced the prices of other articles like vegetables, fish and other foodstuffs.

### SUPPLY

Business activities in general were almost similar as during the third and fourth quarter of 1957, i.e. the purchasing power was still weak and the prices rose continuously.

### Imports.

With scarce import licenses, of course the supply of goods diminished and the prices continued to increase accordingly. Even a lot of goods disappeared from the markets. A part of imported essential articles were still enough to meet the needs, but the tendency of diminishing increased steadily.

### Rice.

As mentioned above, the situation of most of the essential goods was not alarming, only rice : troubles reached its culmination in February 1958. From an amount of 12,000 tons of rice only about 6,000 tons was distributed to the people in January, owing to technical difficulties. Every month Djakarta Raya needs approximately 20,000 tons.

Also in February an amount of 20,000 tons should have been distributed (i.e. 8,000 tons for the army, Police, the cooperative society "Siliwangi", Pusat Kooperasi Pegawai Negeri and social bodies, while the other 12,000 tons was intended for the people).

Evidently, there was only 1.980 tons early in February. The other amount was still underway (from Italy and China), and until February 20, the expected rice was not received. This caused social unrest. Fortunately, by that time an amount of 9,052 tons came in from Egypt, and on March 1 followed another 5,000 tons. Thus, for February the needs of Djakarta Raya could be met with :

a) remnant of January.....	6,000 tons
b) of February 20 .....	9,052 tons
c) of March 1.....	5,000 tons

---

Total 20,052 tons

For March it would be provided with rice arriving :

a) of March 4 ..... 9,800 tons  
 b) of March 16..... 12,000 tons

Total.... 21,800 tons

During the second quarter the rice situation in Djakarta Raya became easier again, due to the harvest time in the areas outside the city, viz. Krawang, Tjikampok, Purwakarta etc.

#### Sugar.

Early in the second quarter, the sugar situation was not quite stable. The supply was already small and the sending from NIVAS came too late because of transport difficulties. Consequently, the sugar price jumped from Rp. 5.50 to Rp. 6.50. At first glance, the coming Lebaran could be the cause of it. But obviously, after the Lebaran the situation did not change. Later on the Trade Department allowed the first hand buyers to sell their buffer stock directly to retailers. The situation became quiet again, so that at the end of the second quarter the retail price did not rise more than Rp. 5.50 per kg, S.H.S. quality.

#### Cement.

Until mid- 1958, the number of certified cement distributors was 7, though those interested became approximately 200. They asked for USINDO to enlarge the allocation in such a way that new admissions could be done.

During the second quarter the amount of distributed cement was as follows (in sacks) :

<u>Nr.</u>	<u>Distributors.</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>May</u> (Bags)	<u>June</u>
1.	Saleh & Co.	-	-	-
2.	Sindo	-	-	-
3.	Intraport	-	-	-
4.	Udami	6,000	11,000	6,000
5.	Pebni	-	-	-
6.	Daddy	-	4,600	15,117
7.	Pesaman	-	-	9,025
Total		6,000	15,600	30,142

Thus, only 51,742 bags or about 2,587 tons Gresik Cement had reached the markets. This means an average of about 862.33 ton per month. Considering this figure, it was clear that the allocation was still below the plan (about 3,000 tons), and naturally the shortage of portland cement at the market was felt very much. Consequently, the price was far higher than the fixed retail price.

With the taking over of the Indarung (Pedang) plant by the BAPPIT, a sizeable part of its production would be thrown to the markets via Gebr. Veth's (nationalised Dutch firm). In addition, national wholesalers would be appointed amongst the Indonesian middlemen. But it was not yet known when the plan was going to be realised, and how much Padang portland cement would be distributed in Djakarta. Nevertheless, it is a fact that due to the short supply of cement the prices would rise firmly.

#### Textile.

As to textiles there was not yet any disturbance because the domestic production had already begun to overflow the markets. The textiles imported by Central Trading Company could not find the market-price.

#### Soap.

During the first quarter the flow of copra was very unsteady. The following quarter, however, a large amount from Djambi and Sulawesi come into Djakarta. The copra price which formerly rose to Rp 800, at the end of the second quarter showed a tendency of going down to Rp 650. So early in the third quarter UNILEVER was able to enlarge its production. During the second quarter Geo. Wehry, as sole distributor, got 20,000 cases, however, Sunlight soap was difficult to obtain in the market-place because 60 per cent of it (22,000 cases) were blocked by the Military Authorities, while the other 40 per cent was distributed by the agencies of Geo. Wehry.

#### Indonesianization.

Early in 1958 the Indonesianization process in local business activities showed an obvious progress. Among the national enterpreneurs was found an interest to act as commission agents of paints, BAT-products, matches, Sunlight soaps etc. However, it is not known whether their requests have been granted or not. This matter is left entirely in

the hands of the producers, whereby of course experience and solidness of the national enterpreneurs concerned play an important role.

Development of commercial undertakings and industrial groups.

a. The Indonesian middlemen.

In developing their enterprises the Indonesian middlemen have to face many problems. Their working-capital and business experiences are still "under-developed", and moreover other factors are still in full play, viz.: (1) import restriction; (2) import of middlemen's articles, which are regarded as luxury, is severely restricted due to the scarcity of foreign exchange.

Because import activities are stopped completely, they swayed to local business where in the risk is not so much. In this way the national middlemen as a distributing apparatus would become commission-agents gradually.

In addition, the slack trade still existing at the moment also influenced the marketing. Due to the weak purchasing-power, in general, the people prefer to buy primary provisions. In this context the returns of the enterpreneurs were not proportionally to the expenses, so that many of them had to reduce their personnel. There were even shops which did not run at all because of its unfavourable location, and accordingly doomed to failure.

If the existing conditions are left as they are, the Indonesian middlemen should be doomed. The following figures show that the number of applications to be qualified as "Middenstand"-importer is declining :

first quarter of 1957	.....	21
fourth " " "	.....	10
first " " 1958	.....	3
fourth " " "	.....	<u>nil</u>

Based on a circular of the Trade Department of October 5, 1957, they are put to the choice between becoming general importers or holding the present position until the limited time, the end of March 1958. The result is as follows :

a) to become general importers .....	28
b) to remain as "middenstand"-importers	98
c) new nominations.....	<u>13</u>
Total.....	139

#### Industrial group.

The industrial group organization appointed by the Trade Department can act as a representative body. In this connection, it may be noted that most of these organizations represented as an organizational center operating in the whole area, though its activity has a local character. The ambitious managers often pretend that they have the power over the local organizations.

In the Djakarta Raya area there are also many industrial groups officially recognised, but they have no contact at all with the trade agency.

The number and field of operations of these industrial groups is described below:

<u>Field of operation</u>	<u>Number</u>
a. Tailoring	11
b. Batik-printing	3
c. Bag making	1
d. Rubber articles	1
e. Leather-goods	1
f. Footwear	1
g. Fishery	1
h. Butchery	1
i. Trading (import, export etc.)	24
j. Press	2
k. Contracting	1
l. Printing	1
m. Storage	2
n. Banking	<u>1</u>
Total	51

#### Credit.

The Djakarta branch of the Lembaga Djaminan Kredit is administered by a Board of Managers consisting of :

- a. Chairman/member - Bupati at Biro Pemerintahan Umum Pusat.

- b. Members:
1. Representative of Bank Indonesia.
  2. Head of Dinas Perindustrian Djakarta Raya.
  3. Head of Kantor Perdagangan Dalam Negeri.
  4. Head of Dinas Pertanian Rakjat Kotapradja.
  5. Head of Djawatan Perikanan Darat.
  6. Head of Djawatan Kehewanan.
  7. Head of Djawatan Perikanan Laut.
  8. Head of Tjabang Inspeksi Kooperasi.
- c. Advisors:
1. Representative of Bank Negara Indonesia.
  2. Representative of Bank Industri Negara.
  3. Inspector of Bank Rakjat Indonesia Daerah Djakarta Raya.

During the first and second quarter of 1958, the creditor-account was better than previous year as stated below:

repayments in the fourth quarter of 1957 .....	Rp 61,875.61
repayments in the first quarter of 1958 .....	154,057.13
repayments in the second quarter till May 1958.....	97,743.03

During the first half-year of 1958, loan applications amounted at:

first quarter total	Rp 200,000
second " "	Rp 200,000

From 1952 through May 1958, credits to the amount of Rp 1,467,000 have been provided to 8 enterprises by the LDK Pusat. Properly, 7 of the 8 borrowers had to repay, but in reality they still have an arrears of Rp 1,125,184.62, while usually the outstanding debts is only Rp 113,000.

Though the Lembaga Djaminan Kredit Daerah, loans to the amount of Rp 1,029,000 have been provided to 15 enterprises. It appeared that 10 companies still have an arrears of Rp 693,651.82, while the other 5 contained an amount of Rp 181,800.

Thus, instability in the economic situation has its impact too on credits.

Such was the business life in 1958. This trend still continued in 1959.

Compared with foreign currency, the value of our Rupiah slumped more and more. The money in circulation increased day by day, and at the same time the supply of goods decreased, while there was disequilibrium between import and export. Consequently, the prices jumped at any moment so that the commission people could not afford it.

In accordance with the new course in politics, principal changes have taken place in the political economy, known as "guided economy", to replace the liberal system which is not suitable under present circumstances. In the Political Manifesto of the Indonesian Republic is outlined the main efforts in the economic field as follows:

1. Retooling of production and distribution apparatus, i.e. reorganising and directing it towards the enforcement of article 33 of the 1945 Constitution along the way of Guided Democracy.
2. All the vital tools in production and distribution must pass under Government control.
3. All progressive funds and forces may take part in the upbuilding of Indonesia.
4. Foreign capital and skill remaining in Indonesia, and willing to support the cabinet programme may participate in the industrial development, for example in light industries, which is still open for private enterprise.
5. To scratch out "recht van eigendom" (proprietary right on land) from the Indonesian agrarian law, and only recognise land ownership of Indonesians, such in accordance with article 33 of the 1945 Constitution.

Because the exchange rate of our Rupiah abroad went down continuously, the gold reserves had decreased, and the gold price in the home market until mid-1959 showed an alarming fluctuation.

Then, after the monetary measures taken in August 1959, the prices became somewhat quiet. However, prior to the end of 1959, the gold price moved upwards again because the money in circulation turned out to increase once more, even similar to the amount before the monetary reform.

Another cause of the rising prices is the effect of the new import system whereby public corporations play a vital role. This means actually the reduction of the number of private importers, so that their capital has become idle. Moreover, they got back their deposits.

Accordingly, they attempted to throw their money into the free market, especially to buy golden articles and durable goods (textiles, lands, motor-cars etc.) because this way is better than keeping the money.

Concomitant with the Government policy, since early in July 1959 (prior to President's decree and followed by the forming of the present Working Cabinet) the economic life in the home market has been altered too. Many factors have produced this change.

The prices showed a tendency of declining, either textiles, vegetation or import articles, such as wheat flour etc.

The main cause of this trend is to be found in the firm confidence of the people in the Government policy relating to food and clothing program within the shortest possible time. Also, in view of the coming articles imported by the state enterprises, among other things textiles from China, Japan and Hong Kong.

On the other hand, the passion for import by the private importers was still little. They are frightened that their money would be kept too long in banks, and therefore, they swayed to the inter-insular trade.

Although the supply of goods in Djakarta was inadequate, the markets could still be supplied with articles originating from barter trade with Singapore.

In order to meet the sugar needs, an amount of 30,000 ton (Allocation of July 1959) had been imported by sea, so that the retail price calculation became Rp 5.80 per kilogram. Furthermore, after the reorganization of the sugar distribution system, since August 1959 sugar troubles in Djakarta were off, while the retail price was stable too. The price in the free market also did not differ much from the official one, whereas before the re-ordering the black market price was Rp 12,- per kilogram, and very scarce too.

In the framework of guided economy, Djakarta Raja has introduced a compulsory registration of the existing enterprises in order to facilitate the control with regard to, for example, tariffs, prices, hoarding etc. A screening of wholesalers, and registration of foreign enterprises was also done.

The drastic monetary measures taken by the Government on August 25, 1959, i.e. the devaluation of the 1.000 and 500 notes to 10% of their value, and the freezing of 90% of bank deposits above Rp 25,000 was intended to draw hot money out of circulation.

Another step was the abolition of the Bukti Ekspor System and replaced by Pungutan Impor (PUIM) and Pungutan Ekspor (PUEK)- system, whereby the imports is divided into 6 groups, i.e.:

group	1	surcharge	0%
"	2	"	25%
"	3	"	50%
"	4	"	100%
"	5	"	150%
"	6	"	200%

while the surcharge for exports was 20%.

Right before August 1959 the amount of money in circulation was Rp 32 billion. Due to Currency Cutting measures, that amount had been reduced to Rp 17 billion. The elaboration was as follows:

- a) Currency Rp 25,359 million (August 26, 1959) reduced to Rp 17,185 million (September 2, 1959).
- b) Deposits Rp 4,528 million increased to Rp 5,058 million.

Besides above results, there were on the other hand numerous setbacks faced by the community. For example, there were many enterprises sustaining a small liquidity as a consequence of currency cutting and bank deposit freezing measures.

Under these circumstances the Government paved a way-out by providing credits to the necessitous enterprises on terms. However the

credit allowances were not so smooth, and the worst of it was that the partially withdrawn money in circulation became liquid again, thus the money in circulation tended to increase again .

At the outset, when the money cutting measures were taken, indeed, the business situation showed a tendency towards improvement; the prices went down a little. Nevertheless, the market was still dull because many enterprises needed ready money for paying their personnel or other liabilities insured before the monetary reform. Accordingly, many goods formerly hoarded were thrown into the market in order to get cash money as soon as possible. But from the buyers side there was no reaction because of the money cutting, and they still hoped for the further declining of prices.

This situation did not last long. Especially after the flow of credits and Government expenditures, the money in circulation for a part frozen was going to inflate again.

As a matter of fact, this also influenced the prices of goods because the increasing volume of money in circulation was coupled with the decreasing supply on the market.

Commodities imported by the state enterprises were already dropped into port, but the spreading of it was still difficult because of bureaucratic practices, manipulations and transport problems. Moreover, in accordance with the proposed changes in the tax laws in 1960, the prices of daily necessities jumped continuously at the end of 1959.

Meanwhile, for the distribution of primary goods to the public (viz. sugar, textile, petroleum, coconut oil, etc.) 34 "sandangpangan"-shops have been established in Djakarta as initial stage.

The estimated number of such shops to meet the needs of the capital city is approximately 1,000.

These sandang-pangan shops have not achieved its object because it creates again a new

speculation i.e. a great part of the distributed goods are found again among the speculation.

### The Cooperative movement in Djakarta Raya

In accordance with the Government policy, the cooperatives are also going to play an important role in distributing food and clothing besides the above mentioned sandang-pangan stores.

The cooperative movement in Djakarta Raya during 1959 made an advance on anything that appeared before. It may be seen from the table below.

a. In 1958 there are registered 355 cooperatives consisting of:

(1) Central cooperatives	.....	7
(2) Primary	"	1
(3) Village	"	4
(4) Credit	"	207
(5) Production	"	22
(6) Consumption	"	107
(7) Other	"	8

b. In 1959 this number has become 465:

(1) Central cooperatives	.....	8
(2) Primary	"	7
(3) Village	"	4
(4) Credit	"	250
(5) Production	"	13
(6) Consumption	"	179
(7) Other	"	6

Cooperatives which did not run or dissolved are 29 in total, i.e.

(1) Credit cooperatives	.....	7
(2) Production	"	10
(3) Consumption	"	10
(4) Other	"	2

Other than this number there are yet unregistered cooperatives.

In its effort to distribute primary goods directly to the people, the Government decided

a quantum of 15% of the goods via cooperatives:  
Pusat Kooperasi Rakjat Djakarta, Pusat Kooperasi  
Wanita and Perwabi.

In this case the Pusat Kooperasi Rakjat  
Djakarta distributes the goods via its members  
(cooperative organizations) throughout Djakarta  
Raya to the consumers. As a case in point it  
may be mentioned the distribution of 224 tons  
of wheat-flour at the price of Rp 240 a bag  
(Australian flour), and Rp 210 for French flour.  
Textiles and salted fish could be found too.

Pusat Kooperasi Pegawai Negeri (PKPN) Djakarta Raya

During 1959 this Government Employee's  
Cooperative operated on its 1958/1959 program,  
while at the same time improvements have been  
made in accordance with the changing situation.

Until the end of 1959 the PKPN has:

- a) 22 incorporated members and
- b) 141 non-incorporated members.

a) principal savings	.....Rp238,230.47
b) compulsory "	..... <u>704,862.43</u>
Total	Rp.943,092.90

During that year, next to distributing rice to  
government employees, this cooperative channel-  
ised also the Japanese war-reparations textiles  
to its members (in total 1,629,430 yards).

Since July 1959 the PKPN is appointed as  
sugar distributor (500 tons per month). Further-  
more, it has also to serve employees of semi-  
official instances, such as GIA, PELNI, sub-  
sidiary schools and the like.

The PKPN was not free from the monetary  
stabilization measures on August 25, 1960.  
It appeared that PKPN and its primary coopera-  
tives had deposits at the banks. Afterwards, it  
had been decided to make a petition for exempt-  
ion from money cutting.

In September 1959, the PKPN took part in  
the working committee in establishing "sandang-

pangan" stores for government employees in Djakarta Raya, and now let us review the next major problem.

## 2) Industry.

Presently Djakarta is not an industrial city. Although various large plants have been established, and more businessmen should be attracted here due to its favorable location - large markets, abundant labor force, adequate port facilities in Tandjung Priok - the industrial development is not sufficiently advanced so that it can be regarded as a main source for municipal income.

The city of Djakarta appeals to capital of Indonesia, and two major functions. First, as the national capital of Indonesia, and second, as the top trading center.

Before examining industrial possibilities in the near future, it is appropriate to take into consideration whether those two functions could stand firm or not.

Generally speaking, trading activities in Djakarta would be constant in the future. As long as the country makes a good recovery, opportunities of getting jobs in business life will increase.

It may be added that this function must expand to become the source of the city's wealth. However, this cannot be realized effectively unless the business center in the down-town area is rebuilt.

If these two functions could be preserved, perhaps the industrialization in Djakarta need not be extensive as in other cities which do not have the same position.

What is the percentage how much per cent of the inhabitants that should be engaged in the industry sector in order to obtain a proper standard of living for all?

The response to this question is hard to evoke and at the present time a simple answer is just to be used as a guide.

In countries with a high-developed industry like Britain and the United States, among 10 and 20 per cent of the total population is engaged in manufacturing industries.

In Djakarta it is estimated about 7 per cent of the total inhabitants working in industries, but mostly in small-scale factories utilizing manpower without machinery. In fact, the number of labourers in factories using power machines is estimated about 80,000, however, only 25,000 to 30,000 persons work in factories with more than 100 men. According to this estimation, probably 2 per cent of the total inhabitants are engaged in big concerns. If it were 5 per cent, then the city welfare would be improved undoubtedly.

The above figures may be compared with other available data. The 1930 census recorded 13½ per cent of the Djakarta inhabitants working in the industrial sector, while for weltervreden the figure was 19½ per cent. According to an urbanization survey, 43,8 per cent of the masculine household heads coming into the city work as such. Among these are many who possibly work for themselves, or in small factories, thus belonging to the discontented profession. The figure 5 per cent of workers in big concerns provides many job opportunities in small ones accordingly.

Based on 5 per cent of the people working in large industries this feature would produce the following estimations.

<u>Total inhabitants</u>	<u>Employed in big industries</u>
3,5 million	175,000
3,75 "	187,500
4. "	200,000
5. "	250,000

In view of industrial expansion, sufficient land be reserved, and as basis it may be assumed about 1 hectare for every 100 workers frequently, for example, in Puerto Rico and Singapore. For this purpose, Djakarta reserves approximately 1,650 hectare. A part of it is intended for industrial purposes. However, as a great part of the lands along the sea surface is unsuitable for that end, actually only about 1,200 hectare is sufficient for industrial establishments, unless large dams would be constructed first for land reclamation.

Based on the above estimation (1 hectare for 100 workers) that land is adequate for about 120.000 workers. This amount could be added with:

a)	number of labourers in large industries..	30,000	
b)	" " " " industrial estates.		
	within self-sufficient areas based on		
	5% of 75,000	....	....
			... ..
			..37,500
		Total	67,500

In this way it is assumed that the whole available industrial land is adequate for 187,000 workers who can support 3.75 million inhabitants.

It may be reminded that industrial expansion to such extent requires considerable capital, in the public sector as well as in the private one. Consequently, active steps must be taken by the central or the local government to stimulate industries in the proportional size. The question whether this highly industrial expansion could be achieved or not, and what measures should be taken, all depend on government policy.

Another problem, not less important and faced by the government is reserving adequate lands for industries. In this case, a remarkable initiative came from the Board of the Tandjung Priok Harbour management with the intention to arrange the whole coastal land between Priok and Pasar Ikan for industrial zoning.

It is hoped to reserve drained land for industrialists at fair rent.

Planning in industrial progress is already discussed in Chapter I.

### 3) Agriculture

#### (1) Outline of peasant agriculture

Since early in 1957, the climate has been somewhat dry compared with previous years. During that time the rainfall was appropriately high but only until April. Following figures show the situation of previous years in comparison with 1957.

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Measuring place	Height from the sea level	Height of rain during one year			Rainy days during one year		
		1943	1953	1957	1943	1953	1957
Djakarta	7m	2037	1213	1425	137	111	106
Tjengkareng	9m	1669	883	851	112	45	49
Kebajoran	25m	3545	1096	1779	141	48	75
Pasar Minggu	35	2270	1280	1592	121	92	113

Looking at these figures, it may be concluded that the rainfall during the last 5 years was far less than during the preceding years, while in 1957 it was nearly the same as 1953. Early in May the climate became drier. Although in several Kewedanan, rainshowers were still to be found, yet the peasants in general were becoming restless.

This drought culminated in September and October, there being critical months for rain. Since the beginning of the second quarter the atmosphere was so hot that the average temperature noted 30-34° C. At the same time the wind was precarious, although generally the East Wind was still blowing, instead of from the West as usual.

The next rainy season of 1957-1958 began in November with an average height of 110 meter and 5 rain-days, and in December the average height was 155 meter and 9 rain-days.

This unfavourable climate effected the plants considerably, furthermore about 400 hectare paddy plants fell through, so that necessarily the stalks must be cut off, and sold as cattle-feeding. Fortunately, the effect on other plants was not so bad, especially on fruit-trees.

#### Land used for agriculture.

According to gathered data from various agencies except Land Registration Office, principally concerning tenure by long lease, freehold land, proprietary right etc. relating to foreign rights - the planted area was as follows:

Main area of paddy fields	18,861	hectare
Main area of landed-estates	19,680,884	"
Main area of arable land (town & kampongs)	14,452.116	"
Total.....	53,000	hectare

This figure computes roughly the Djakarta Raya area, of which is estimated about 555 sq. kilometer.

Specifications of each area is described below.

#### Paddy fields

Its status is still unknown. The specification is based on water supply whether it is easy or not.

Irrigated lands.....	9,602	hectare
Sem-irrigated lands.....	6,871	"
Non-irrigated lands.....	2,388	"
Total....	18,861	hectare

#### Landed estates

The status is still dark.

Rubber/coconut estates.....	1,820,320	hectare
Tidal forests.....	1,800.775	"
Fish-pounds.....	1,498.533	"
Agriculture lands.....		
Garden-grounds (fruits, vegetables etc).....	13,222.250	"
Total	19,680.884	hectare

#### Arable land

The status of town, kampongs and yards is not yet known. The whole area of arable land is approximately 14,458,116 hectare. For Djakarta Raya the problem of the status is difficult to

solve. It appears, not a single competent agency dealing with land registration has complete data. The several instances have obviously no relationship with each other.

Therefore, it is necessary to elaborate on the land area within the Djakarta Raya Municipality. The Djawatan Pertanian Rakjat (Extension Service) has indicated land specification based on available data from competent agencies, added to its own. This is closely related to the needs in determining agricultural area which may serve as a guide.

Planted area: 22,538 hectare with irrigated paddy and "gadu" (dry sawah) respectively 18,703 hectare and 3,486 hectare. Non-irrigated paddy "gogo" area: 1,495 hectare of which 795 hectare is harvested (plant of previous year). Vegetation yields is 9.634 hectare of which 6,383 hectare is harvested. Aside from that, about 3,000 hectare is planted with vegetables.

Thus about 14,000 hectare or 70% of the landed estates is agricultural, although not the whole is intended for that purpose.

#### Plantation, growth and food crops

During 1957 the situation was more favorable than the previous year. In spite of the drought the morale of the peasants was stable. Natural plague destroyed 444 hectare irrigated paddy as being withered, so that the stalks must be cut off for cattle-feed.

At the same time, plant disease damaged about 45 hectare non-irrigated paddy (padi gogo), mostly due to locust plague, and 51 hectare lombok (Capcium annum).

The paddy area was far less than previous years, yet this feature was not caused by non-planted fields but due to the narrowing land area of which a part was used for industrial establishments and housing.

The following table shows the plant situation and production.

Plantation	1957			1956			1955		
	Area ha	crop ha	Prod	Area ha	crop ha	Prod.	Area ha	crop ha	Prod.
Irrigated paddy	22982	19793	47503	25107	21156	52890	25251	18957	47392
Non-irrigated paddy.	1540	795	1192	1180	340	408	835	588	705
Maize	788	344	860	614	356	1068	727	417	1668
Cassava	5513	3451	27608	5799	3107	23302	6970	4611	35304
Sweet potatoes	1336	1152	7488	1414	968	5808	1410	861	54307
Peanuts	1997	1436	2872	1706	1278	2300	1641	1393	1690

Next no main foods plants, in the environments on Djakarta the peasants plant vegetables, lombok and the like.

#### (I) Irrigated paddy

The paddy situation in general was favourable. The greatest plague came from nature. The longer dry monsoon which highly differed from previous years, required more water supply. Beginning in March, the rainfall was far less than usual and continued through October. Only in April, June and July the rainfall reached about 50% of the same period of previous year.

Such a situation was fatal to irrigated paddy covering an area of 22,830 hectare.

As a consequence the natural plague, water shortage and burning air caused the damage of 444 hectare. Sawah to beside that, army worm plague had damaged the non-irrigated paddy almost completely. But, fortunately, just on that critical moment the rains came and destroyed the army worms. The sawah area along the seashore, especially in Ket-jamantan Tjengkareng, suffered from this plague destroying about 20 hectare paddy completely.

Although the acreage as well as the crop was somewhat less than previous year, there was no reason that the production would fall off. The decline is

(2) Non-irrigated paddy.

In April 1957 the harvested non-irrigated paddy (padi gogo) of 795 hectare was practically the remnant of previous year. The locust plague attacked an area of 45 hectare and had to be cut off. Despite the considerable dry climate and plague, the average crop increased from 3 quintaal/hectare to 15 qt./ha. This increase was due to qualified seeds and good cultivation.

The supplementary plant area had reached about 700 hectare only, which means 140 hectare less than previous year. This was on one hand owing to lack of seeds because a part of the reserved seeds was stamped for daily food as a consequence of rice shortage and on the other hand, due to the extension of vegetables area which is more productive than padi gogo.

(3) Maize

In relation to the situation in previous years the planted area in 1957 was more. Although maize in general is not a mono-culture, yet the acreage was equal to padi gogo area. Of 788 hectare maize area, 258 hectare is harvested in January, February and March while the other yield was incidental.

Different from other plants, the average crop was decreased in comparison with previous years i.e. 5 qt/ha less than 1956, or 10 qt/ha less than 1955 because no improvement has been made in using high yielding varieties.

(4) Cassava.

Looking at the total acreage and compared with that of previous years, the cassava area was 825 hectare less than 1956. In 1957 there was 2,821 hectare plus 2,692 hectare of the preceding year.

The narrowing acreage was due to plant alteration and land use for non-agricultural purposes. Despite the long dry season, the situation was not serious.

(5) Sweet potatoes

In 1957 the harvested acreage was 1,152 hectare thus about 200 hectare more than previous year.

Although the crop was less, yet interest in sweet potatoes was sufficient due to good markets and the sharp price of rice.

(6) Peanuts.

The planted area has been highly increased. Compared with previous year the acreage as well as the crop had a surplus of about 200 hectare. Due to the long drought, the nuts were generally very bad and accordingly not suitable for seeds.

(2) ECONOMIC LIFE.

a. General remarks.

During the first quarter of 1957 the economic situation in general was not so bad. The price of foods was relatively stable, while business underwent a slackening because of the dull market. The internal politics reflecting the cabinet crisis in mid-March had its impact on the prices of primary food-stuffs, and created speculative elements accordingly. However, due to the government drastic measures, this situation could be guarded against, for example, trade in D.O. of SAC rice has been reduced. Although the tendencies were favourable traders - with regard to New-Year, Sentyia and Ramadhan - the situation did not become worse. The sugar price which in the last month of the first quarter was alarming, could be put back proportionately.

The paddy crop in April, May, June, July & August brought no good effect to the rice price which was extremely high. Strange enough, in August while the harvest was at its height, the rice circulation almost disappeared in the free markets.

From the end of August through September, October and mid-November, the retail price jumped everyday, and reached its highest peak of Rp. 10, Rp. 12,50 a kilo.

Due to the rice ration to government employees and rice injection in the Kampongs - though it is far from adequate - this fact has more or less reduced the steady rise of price. However, it was not the case in December. The rice ration to Government employees which at the outset brought pressure on the rising retail price, also in relation to hearing that there would be rice distribution to the people which accidentally could not take place in that month, these gave good chance to traders in taking profits as much as possible.

b. Food Situation.

The local production of main foodstuffs is shown below:-

Plantation	1957	1956	1955
Irrigated paddy .....	47,503	52,890	47,392.5
Non-irrigated paddy.....	1,192	408	705,6
T o t a l	48,695	53,298	48,098.1
Maize .....	860	1,068	1,617
Cassava .....	27,608	23,302	35,504
Sweet Potatoes .....	7,488	5,808	4,305
Peanuts .....	2,872	2,300	1,690

Looking at above figures, it may be said that the food production developed exceedingly. The fall irrigated paddy production was caused by the narrowing planted area. In general, the production of vegetation reached a surplus of 6,350 tons compared with previous year, due to the improvement of cultivation technics. Although there was generally an increase in production, the food situation was not in proportion to the very large consumption. Rice had therefore to be imported from abroad or from the environments of Djakarta Raya.

The rice or rice price, and other foods was not because the supply had fallen off or disappeared from the markets, but rather due to the trade policy of merchants who snatched profits as much as possible, in view of the troublous internal politics. The people's menu has changed since September, and became clearer in October through the close of the year. This changing menu was caused by the extremely high prices so that the purchasing power of the people was not in equilibrium.

c. Price fluctuations and trade.

The situation of Prices and trade of foodstuffs, textiles as well as small-wares was very striking. In the first months of 1957 till May the market as well as the flow of goods was quiet. But beginning with the end of June, the prices began to move ahead extravagantly, especially imported articles such as metal-wares, pharmaceuticals and small-wares, while the prices of textiles and provisions & drinks were stable or silently increased step by step.

Incompetent brokers and commission - agents turned up in every kind of business. Next to foodstuffs which played a vital role in price formation and the economic situation in general, were found

implements such as Z.A., D.S. etc. Early in October, the wholesale price of fertilizer jumped from Rp. 180,- per quintal to Rp. 200,-. The price increase reached its peak in December and this applied integrally to all goods, imports as well as domestic production.

#### Paddy and rice.

Since early in 1957 the price of rice played an important role in economic affairs, although there was once a moment the price was lower than previous year. Nevertheless the average price in general was higher. The retail price of paddy in May was Rp. 120,- Rp. 150 per quintal, while in the previous years there was no paddy trading. The price fluctuation in Djakarta Raya does not depend on its own production, but merely on the political situation which has its direct impact on the goods circulation and trade policy.

Following are the figures of the average price of 1957, illustrating a price level as never before.

Sort of rice			price unit.	Average price in one year		
				1957	1956	1955
Milled rice	I		1 Kg.	6.45	4.75	3.03
"	II			6.30	4.31	2.85
Stamped rice	I			6.09	-	2.81
"	II			5.81	-	2.65
Tjere rice	I			5.50	4.15	2.45
"	II			5.26	3.98	2.41

#### Vegetation.

According to the sharp increase of rice price, vegetation also went up. Different from the previous years, the periodical increase of vegetation price coincided with the dull season, i.e. the time of land cultivation. In reality, the difference between dull season and harvest time is very little for Djakarta because the local production is not a measuring staff to food supply.

During 1957 the price rose sharply compared with previous years especially vegetables. Cassava and sweet potatoes received a good price early in August, and the market was also lively. The average highest retail price reached in October, November and December, respectively Rp. 0,93 a kilo.

### Working opportunities and wage.

In 1957 both working opportunities and wages were indeed more serious and alarming. The scarcity of working opportunities was not only caused by the slacking of enterprises which could not procure raw materials anymore from abroad, but also because of the stream of unemployed persons from the rural areas. Although the wage level in general was the same and partly even increased, yet owing to the extraordinary prices of main foodstuffs this fact weighed heavily upon the working - class.

### Selling and hiring of land.

Generally, selling and bargaining of land for agricultural purposes is very scarce. However, selling and bargaining of land or housing or industrial purposes will happen. In general, the fixed price is based on land classification determined by the buyer himself. In this case there is no certain price standard, while hiring is quite absent, except with regard to farm-yards which is usually used for agricultural purposes.

### 4. Live stock.

The municipal office livestock has to arrange all the tasks related to livestock within the Djakarta Raya Municipality, except quarantine performance in Tandjung-priuk and poultry-breeding "Pantjoran" at Pasar Minggu which is transferred to Pusat Djawatan Kehewanan. This agency consists of the following divisions:-

- a. Slaughter-house;
- b. milk control;
- c. draught-horses and stock-farm control;
- d. extermination of cattle-plague
- e. poultry-breeding; and
- f. protection of animals.

### Finance

With regard to finance, the slaughter-house has drawn up a temporary balance-sheet showing a profit of Rp. 139,886.31, i.e.

butcher's fees during 1957 .....	3,121,152.93
expenses .....	2.981.266.62
	-----

Profit      Rp.    139.886.31

The revenues during 1956 - 1957 consisted of:-

	1957	1956
a. examination pay and abattoir rent	Rp 2,016,299.40	Rp. 2,036,559.76
.. (buffaloës, cows, sheep, goats etc)		
b. ditto pigs.	Rp. 782,361	788,770,50
c. freezing-chamber rent.....	Rp. 145,015.70	147,844,65
d. extra revenues.	Rp. 177,476.83	210,086,35
Total:	Rp 3,121,152.93	Rp. 3,183,261.26

The decrease of revenues in 1957 compared with 1956 was due to the increasing price of goods in general and the incapacitation of freezing machines. However, the revenues still exceeded the estimates. In the expenses is included charges of new building construction.

#### Building and equipment.

As usual, each year buildings and roads within abattoir complex are repaired or improved where necessary. The sub-abattoir in Tandjung Priok, Tanah Abang and Klender are also repaired and expanded. The water supply in Klender at the end of 1957 has been joined with the municipal water-works, which means an improvement seen from the viewpoint of cleaning and sanitation. Furthermore, for observation of wild or mad dogs in preventing rabies, the complex of dog's home in Djalan Gunung Sahari, a property of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, is still used by Djawatan Kehewanan Kota because kennels are lacking.

The realization of a 5-6 million Rupiah plan or a new park-butcher's shop has not yet to come because the municipality is still waiting for the settlement of compensation from the part of the Department of Public Works. In view of the present park-butcher's shop is nearly going to ruin, efforts have been made to get the money quickly, if necessary by means of credit.

The renovation of the entire freezing - installation started in December 1957, while the abattoir equipment has been renewed too.

Livestock, slaughter, control on slaughtering and handling or illegal meat.

Early in 1957 the number of livestock in the Djakarta Raya municipality was as follows:-

District	Number of					
	Horses	Cows	Buffaloes	Goats	Pigs	Sheep
Tandjung Priok .....	224	17	734	2841	306	78
Pendjaringan.....	629	153	3681	5027	7600	2441
Gambir.....	541	274	165	5393	43	451
Matraman .....	941	237	3629	9665	73	379
Kramatdjati .....	825	4480	3663	12916	95	1161
Kabagoran.....	625	318	2536	7872	46	488
Pulau Seribu .....	-	-	14	330	-	60
(ketjamatan)						
Total	3785	5779	14472	44044	8163	5058

Slaughter.

The number of cattle slaughtered during 1957 was far less than the preceding year, particularly cows, buffaloes and sheep, because of the general economic situation in the last months.

	<u>1957</u>	<u>1956</u>
Cows.....	60,243	62,145
Buffaloes.....	11,291	12,950
Goats.....	71,312	71,573
Sheep.....	17,307	23,858
Pigs.....	89,598	89,811
Total:-	249,751	260,337

Furthermore, 59 horses (1956 = 19) were slaughtered, especially in Kramatdjati region, as being dismissed as draught-horses.

Cattle slaughtered in the suburban areas was more or less constant. Examination could not be taken as it should be, because abattoirs are lacking, except in Klender. Compared with previous year, in 1957 the number of cattle slaughtered in the country side deputed a progress as seen below:-

Region	Cows		Buffaloes		Goats/Sheep	
	1957	1956	1957	1956	1957	1956
Klender .....	145	159	219	2019	5645	5968
Kramatdjati.....	23	49	238	732	8753	5442
Pasar Minggu.....	133	193	503	625	1101	1242
Mampang Prapatan....	429	185	622	860	2	-
Kebajoran.....	340	501	677	950	4090	3697
Tjengkareng.....	3	-	45	48	25	118
Other places.....	53	289	1459	818	245	216
Total:-	1126	1376	6196	6052	19836	16682

Furthermore, during that period 108,894,5 kg. of fresh meat was imported from Tangerang and Bekasi (1956=75.707.4 kg.), and 1,536 kg. from Bali (1956=11,502,5 kg.).

Although the meat is examined in the areas concerned, it must be re-examined in Djakarta before to be sold to the public. It happened once that a part of it was condemned because of bad conditions.

#### Control of slaughter and black meat.

In spite of abattoirs having been added in Tandjung Priok, Tanah Abang, Klender and other suburbans in facilitating the public in those areas, illegal slaughter and import of black meat from outside was still existing, although somewhat less compared with the preceding year. During 1957 municipal officers have attached on black meat.

- a. 14 kg mutton,
- b. 97 kg beef,
- c. 109.5 kg pork.

#### Butchery.

In 1957 there were 10 butcher's shops, among which 3 owned by Netherlanders (later on nationalized) and 2 by Chinese. The conditions of the foreign owned butchers are generally more satisfactory than ours, especially when compared with butchers in market places. These places formerly modern and hygienic are not falling into disrepair.

#### Cattle plague.

In 1957 accrued also cattle plague, i.e.:

76	time food-and-	disease among cows,
74	time septichaemia epizootica	" pigs,
4	" "	" buffaloes,
2	" trypanosomiasis (surra)	" "
3	" cysticercosis	" cows,
51	" "	" pigs.

Milk control.

Dairy-farming have to face numerous difficulties because of the high exploitation; even in the second half of 1957 the price of raw materials was considerably high, including feed, while the price of milk was relatively stable. Accordingly, many dairies are forced to sell cows in order to cover their daily expenses.

Although the number of dairies has been increased from 198 to 200 at the end of 1957, the number of milk-cows decreased from 4262 to 4121. Also milk production fell from 13.914 to 13.773 liter a day.

The price of milk-cow and milk was relatively constant due to the weakening purchasing power, especially at the end of 1957 when many foreigners left Djakarta.

Following is the situation of Dairy-farmings:-

Number.	1st class		2nd class		3rd class		4th class		Total.	
	1957	1956	1957	1956	1957	1956	1957	1956	1957	1956
a. Total of stock-farms.	60	54	82	80	45	48	13	16	200	198
b. Cows.	2128	2000	1444	1600	460	539	89	123	4121	4262
c. Milk production a day.	7522	6924	4773	5052	1238	1583	24	355	13773	13914

Among the 4121 cows only 2658 are milk-cows, 69 bulls, 65 young milk-cows, 896 male calves and 433 female calves. The one and only Dutch dairy "De Friesche Terp" at Pasar Minggu was closed early in 1957, and taken over by Lacta Murni Ltd.

Aside from 13.733 liter of milk production 1,100 liter is imported from Bandung, Bogor, Tjipanas and Depok, so that the total is 14.873 liter a day, but this is still far less than the pre-war production (17.000 liter).

Examination of tuberculosis among milk-cows through "tuberculin intradermal" is carried out as usual. During 1957, cows have been examined, and no disease was found.

An infectious disease, Anthrax, and foot-and-mouth-disease occurred in some dairy-farmings in desa Bangka, ketjamatan Mampang Prapatan.

To improve marketing and milk supply in Djakarta, it is intended to establish a co-operative of dairy-farm owners, and a central marketing annex Pateurization apparatus. However, this object can not be carried out due to financial difficulties. It is hoped to realize this project in the coming years, if the conditions are improved.

Examination of horses, stables and stock-breeding.

An examination of horses and carts is set up twice a year for the purpose of maintaining good conditions for transport services, and also to avoid accidents.

On the first examination, 1628 horses, 37 cows and 1498 carts were tested, of which 266 horses and 11 carts are rejected. On the second, 1758 horses, 30 cows and 1580 carts were tested, of which 291 horses and 17 carts are rejected.

The number of horses and carts is gradually declining each year because the cost of horses, carts and other equipment is increasing steadily as well as strict competition with becha's and motor-vehicles except in the hinterland.

Examination of horse-stables, pig-breeding and tannery is still continuing. The stables in general are unsatisfactory, in the short run, however, improvement is impossible because of the sharp prices of building materials.

In 1957 registered horse-stables and pigs were as follows:-

1443	stables	with	2734	horses.
548	"	"	19662	pigs.

The movement of pig-breeding entered in Mangga Dua, Petjah Kulit, Angke and Djembtan Dua can not be carried out, due to financial difficulties. Meanwhile the people in these regions, especially the Moslems, are still insisting on the removal of the pig-stables.

The conditions of tanneries are in general better than stock-breeding. The maintenance as well as the cleanliness are more satisfactory. The number of tanneries under supervision of the Djawatan Kehewan Kota is now 54.

### Extermination of animal disease.

The fight against animal disease will be emphasized by the extermination of rabies, which since pre-war-times reged Djakarta Raya. The following measures will be intensified:-

a) dog vaccination, which virtually should be done once a year;

b) capture of wandering dogs.

Mass vaccination will be practice each year in an effort to prevent Anthrax, septichaemoe epizootica and pseudopest. Full attention will be paid to the fight against other diseases such as foot-and-mouth-disease, surra and malleus.

During December 1957 there occurred 12 rabies, viz. 2 times in Pendjaringan, 5 in Gambir, 1 in Kramatdjati and 4 in Kebajoran Baru, 15 buffaloes in desa Petukangan (Pulogadung) and 13 ones in Kebon Djeruk suffered from foot-and-mouth-disease.

With regard to stock-breeding, efforts will be taken mainly in the improvement of poultry, because Djakarta Raya is less suitable for cattle breeding, with exception of milk-cows, goats and sheep. To improve the existing livestock, efforts will be made to get hybrid stock. It is also intended to arrange an annual cattle show.

### 5) Land-fishery

As a result of low rainfall in 1957, the fish culture in sawahs (ponds) suffered from the drought. Consequently, the fish farmers had difficulties in breeding and hatchinf. The area and proceeds of fish breeding during 1957 was as follows:-

Sub-districts	Alternate H.A.	Vegetation H.A.	Paddy H.A.	Total H.A.	Yields H.A.	Production kg.
Pasar Minggu....	1	225	4.5	230.50	230.50	35.727.5
Pasar Rebo.....	-	279.50	-	279.50	279.50	43.322.5
Kebojoran.....	-	113	-	113	113	17.515
Kebon Djeruk....	-	8	-	8	8	1.240
Total:-	1	625.50	4.5	631	631	97.805
Total in 1956:-	38	824	20	882	882	136.745

The total area for fish breeding in sawahs in generally is fair. But much different compared with that of other regions (Priangan) as the sawahs in Djakarta Raya mostly depend on rainfall. Also, the seed-growing is not practiced on large scale due to teasing of "ikan gabus", especially in the case of gold fishes.

The area of fish breeding in ponds in 1957 was slightly more than the previous year. This was due to the fact that in each sub-district inquiries had been made on the extent of every pond. But unfortunately during 1957 many ponds suffered from water shortage so that many fish farmers were forced to clean up their ponds, in order to prevent a great loss.

Following table shows the area and production in 1957.

Sub-districts	Extent in ha	Area in ha	Production in kg
Pasar Minggu	541.5	593.8	219.778
Pasar Rebo	350.246	526.22	142.511
Pendjaringan	168	135.97	69.844
Kampung Melaju	108	42.135	45.846
Kebon Djeruk	59.438	56.051	24.012
Kebajoran	75.686	65.808	31.589
Mampang Prapatan	31.036	90.950	11.550
Total	1.354.406	1.510.934	545.130
Total of 1956	1.170	-	473.145

According to an examination, the water breeding ponds in Djatipadang and Kampung Pulo contains P.H. 6.3-6.4 (Such water condition hampers the experimental hatching of gold fish). Although this experiment was done intensively, the result were not satisfying. Thus, it may be concluded that water containing P.H. 6.3 - 6.4 and mixed with stable dung is the main requisite for above experiments.

Following table indicates the results of spawn of gold fishes :

Month	Place	Area in ha	R e s u l t s			Total
			Tawes	Mas	Size	
March	Djatipadang	1.55	-	2.000	1-3 cm	2.000
April	"	"	-	4.000	1-3 cm	4.000
May	"	"	-	5.365	2-3 cm	5.365
June	"	"	-	7.350	2-5 cm	7.350
July	"	"	2.800	-	2-3 cm	2.800
August	"	"	-	600	1-3 cm	600
September	"	"	-	5.150	1-2 cm	5.150
October	Kampung Pulo	0.75	11.000	-	5-8 cm	11.000
November	Djatipadang	1.55	-	7.700	5-8 cm	7.700
December	"	"	2.980	-	2-4 cm	2.980
Total		-	16.780	32.165	-	48.945

During the year the extension of breeding-grounds showed a progress because the farmers earned had good returns. In mid-1957 the breeding grounds suffered from water shortage, however, the people's needs could still be provided.

To get a clear picture, the following table may be of some use.

Sub-district	Area in ha	Yielding area in ha	Production	Description.
Pasar mIngg	67.250	139.250	102.845.000	The roes consist of ikan tawes 45% ikan gurami 24% other 31%
Pasar Rebo	9.396	20.070	13.815.000	
Kampung Malesju	10.500	3.500	15.350.000	
Kebon Djeruk	5.000	1.200	7.675.000	
Kebajoran	6.037	7.634	9.210.000	
Mampang Prapatan	0.850	0.550	1.535.000	
Total	99.033	172.204	150.430.000	
Total in 1956	70.75	-	133.912.000	

The area and production of fish in lakes/dams in 1957 was as follows:

Sub-district	Name of lake/dam	Area in ha	Production in kg
Pasar Minggu	1. Manggabolong	8	
	2. Babakan	6	
	3. Bandan	6	
	4. Sabung	2	7.500
	5. Kepala Dua	3	
	6. Rawa Situ	8	
Pasar Rebo	1. Arman	6	
	2. Kepala Tiga	5	
	3. Tjeger	2	9.000
	4. Domgkal	1.5	
	5. Tjipajung	3	
Kebajoran	9 places	22	8.500
Kebon Djeruk	1. Kopi	13	
	2. Duri	2	5.250
	3. Bunduk	2	
Kampung Melaju	1. Bilat	9	700
Matraman	1. Pondokklapa	32	2.000
Total		141.5	32.950
Total in 1956		135.5	21.170

According to above figures, the area of lakes within Djakarta Raya is approximately 141.5 hectare. The water level has changed much, especially early in 1957, when the rainfall was high.

With regard to fishing in rivers, it may be noted that in 1957 the proceeds was 32.950 kilogram (1956 - 21.170 kg).

The area of diking fish-ponds (tambak) was expanded, but the production had been decreased because it was not practiced on a large scale due to the stream of sea fish from other regions.

The situation was as follows:

Sub-district	Area in ha	Yielding area in ha	Total fish production(kg)				Total kg
			Bandeng	Belanak	Mudjair	Others	
Tandjung Priok	1164.95	1294.175	94441	8927.4	53809.4	27290.4	184.468.
Pendjaringan	1261.75	725.650	256985	39951	168035	23349	488.320
Tjengkareng	101	171.100	30020	4794	12540	4798	55.419
Total	2527.70	2190.925	381416	53672.4	234384.4	55437.4	728.207.
Total in 1956	2372						807.250

The area and production of salt lakes in 1957 was as follows :

Sub-district	Name of lake	Area H.A.	Production (kg)
Pendjaringan	1. Kapuk		
	2. Manggadua	535.50	25.950
	3. Tjengkareng		
	4. Rawa Putih		
Tg. Priok	1. Suneter I	49	10.250
	2. Pademangan	100	13.370
	3. Tjilintjing	18	8.500
	4. Sunter II	200	17.200
Total		918.50	75.270
Total in 1956		910.50	67.025

Breeding of fish in free waters spread from Kamal to Marunda, laying in forests along the coast. The production, however, is generally intended for self-consumption.

These are some data concerning land fishery, and finally, the whole production may be summarised as follows :

Specification	Total production in 1957		Description
	For consumption (kg)	For germs	
I. <u>Fresh Water</u>			The production of "tambak" fishery owned by the municipality in 1957 was worth Rp.6.703.03.
1. Sawah fishery	97.805		
2. Pond "	545.130		
3. Breeding-ponds	-	150.430.000	
4. Municipal pond fishery	-	48.945	
5. Lake fishery	32.950	-	
6. River fishery	107.255	-	
II. <u>Salt water</u>			
1. People's "tambak"	728.207.20	-	
2. Municipal "	370	60.000	
3. Salt lakes	75.270	-	
Total	1.586.987.20	150.538.945	
Total in 1958	1.586.987.20	133.912.000	

It may be added here that the price of fresh water fish in 1957 was as follows :

Sub-district	Sort of fish	Total (kg)	Average price per kilo in Rp.
Pasar Minggu	Gurami, mas t <sup>a</sup> wes, tambakang	33.966	13.53
Kebon Djeruk	ditto	13.267	13.73
Mampang Pra-patan	Gabus, mas, tawes lele etc.	10.749	13.96
Kampung Mela-ju	Tawes, mas gurami, tambakang, gabus, lele, mudjair	13.310	13.70
Pendjaringan	ditto	193.270	14.64
Tandjung Priok	ditto	27.224	14.21
	Total	291.786	13.96

Generally speaking, the fish sale in the Djakarta Raya Municipality is satisfactory. The above prices seem to be "quite", so that the fish farmers are becoming more active.

#### 6) Sea fishery.

##### F i s h i n g.

##### a. Stream, wind, wave and water.

It is already known, that the conditions of stream, wind etc. can influence fishing, for instance, fishing for yellow fish cannot be carried into effect if the sea is very calm, and no stream at all because the bags and nets for fishing cannot be spread out.

In Djakarta there is an Institute of Sea Research, which is a unit of the Department of Agriculture. But the sea fishery business in general displays little interest in the institute.

Following is a brief sketch of the character of wind etc. on the sea around the Bay of Djakarta during 1957 :

Month	Wind	Stream	Wave	Water
January	North-west/East west	North-west	wild	troubled
February	West/East	West	wild	"
March	West/east	West	wild	"
April	South-east/ East-west	South-east	wild	"
May	East/West	East	wild	"
June	East/West	East	wild	"
July	East/West	South	mild	clear
August	East/West	South	mild	"
September	East/West	North	mild	"
October	East/West	North	mild	"
November	South-west/ East	North	mild	"

'\*This line has been omitted'  
' in the original copy.'

b. Number of proans and motor-boats.

The number of fishing proans in 1957 was as follows:

large ..... 110

medium ..... 250

small ..... 200

Total \* 560

Besides there were 143 motor-boats (1956 = 117)

c. Fishing equipment.

The various kinds of equipment usually used  
by the District

Otoshiami - a Japanese pattern - this operation necessitates large capital expenditure for fishermen which makes it prohibitive.

The number of fishing equipment is illustrated below :

Pajang.....	93	price per unit Rp.	
			8.500.-
Muro-ami.....	21		50.000.-
Sero 4 fathoms.....	55		25.000.-
Bubu buton.....	40		250.-
Bubu kendang .....	250		150.-
Pantjing tonda.....	150		50.-
Otoshiami.....	3		250.000.-

d. Number of fishermen.

The number of fishermen within the Djakarta area is approximately 3.335, i.e. :

Kepulauan seribu.....	1.010
Kamal.....	325
Pasar Ikan.....	1.500
Tandjung Priok.....	500
Total	<u>3.335</u>

e. Fishing area.

(1) Muro-ami.

At the present time the fishing area by means of muro-ami is around the islands of Banka and Billiton, where many corals are still intact. In the water around the Seribu Islands the fish are diminishing, so that the catch is not very profitable. Other than the above water, our fishermen are also operating around the island of Karimun Jawa (Central Java), and the island of Bawean. According to muro-ami experts these areas are still rich in ikan ekor-kuning and pisang-pisang.

(2) Majang.

Fishing by means of majang was for a long time practiced in the area around Djakarta Raya, i.e.

around "Lampu Putih", Ujung Krawang, and in water with a depth of 26 to 36 fathoms. In recent years the catch of "ikan lajang" was very low in relation to the number of boats. The reasons are still unknown.

(3) S e r o.

The fishing area by means of "sero" is (a) between Tandjung Pasir and Muara Kalibaru; (b) between Tjilintjing and Muara Gembong.

In 1957 fixing of "sero" was prohibited between the dam of Tandjung Priok in the east and Tjilintjing, because an oil port was under construction.

(4) B u b u : around the islands of Klapa Dua and Lampu Putih.

f. Fish production.

In 1957 the fish production was lower than the previous year:

1958 ..... 6.209.955 kilogram

1957 ..... 5.922.119       "

---

less       287.836 kilogram

This decrease was due to the deploying of motor-boats to other areas, especially to Tegai. And the catch of muro-ami in the water around the island of Bawean was sold in Surabaya.

The selling of fish in other places was as follows :

in Tegal .....200.000 kilogram

in Surabaya ..... 307.645       "

in Pontianak ..... 29.605       "

---

Total 438.250 kilogram

Thus, if entire catch fish were sold in Djakarta, the total production would be 5.922.119 kilo + 438.250 kilo = 6.360369 kilo.

The table below shows the production and its value :

Sort of fishing	1956		1957	
	Kilogram	Rupiah	Kilogram	Rupiah
Majang Motor	1.544.629	9.501.633.50	1.831.696	9.823.906.80
Majang Lajar	1.104.892	4.378.696.50	748.234	4.359.384.00
Muro-ami Motor	560.919	3.125.053.50	919.970	4.592.120.20
Muro-ami Lajar	116.548	786.904.00	50.298	382.049.00
B u b u	6.534	61.620.00	3.702	30.601.00
Djaring	299.421	833.108.50	206.064	811.250.00
Pantjing	186.227	1.162.670.00	195.850	1.260.509.00
S e r o	1.380.351	6.331.435.50	967.672	5.543.423.00
E m p a n g	160.065	1.424.132.00	220.204	1.631.194.00
Others	850.369	4.529.074.50	778.428	4.493.878.50
Total	6.209.955	32.134.328.00	5.922.119	32.928.315.50

According to sorts of fish :

Sort of fish	1 9 5 6		1 9 5 7	
	Kilogram	Rupiah	Kilogram	Rupiah
1. Lajang	141.500	828.106.00	321.861	1.268.453.50
2. Bawal	197.373	1.956.400.00	349.998	2.681.825.50
3. Kembung	227.291	1.805.261.00	437.516	3.295.537.00
4. Salar	1.519.732	8.409.984.00	1.728.796	8.450.404.00
5. Tembang	600.507	3.158.082.00	458.204	2.434.129.50
6. Udang	114.828	575.386.50	122.045	582.749.50
7. Rebön	2.238	5.073.50	6.323	18.105.00
8. T e r i	1.459.008	3.952.066.00	597.732	2.456.978.00
9. Tongkol	108.076	1.160.157.00	138.980	1.443.749.00
10. Bandeng	59.694	1.042.411.50	144.023	1.141.840.50
11. Lemuru	177.813	770.275.00	245.385	1.097.954.00
12. Tjakalang	-	-	-	-
13. Tengiri	5.965	53.795.00	3.507	44.869.00
14. Ikan terbang	-	-	-	-
15. Djulung-djulung	-	-	-	-
16. Samge	13.387	71.547.00	14.912	75.815.50
17. Ekor kuning	100.850	694.406.00	95.497	781.194.50
18. Kerang	-	-	-	-
19. Lajur	83.979	521.699.00	47.390	283.813.50
20. Others	1.397.814	7.129.678.50	1.209.950	6.870.897.50
Total	6.209.955	32.134.328.00	5.922.119	32.928.315.50

Source: Fish-auctions in Pasar Ikan, Kamal and Tandjung Priok.

Actually, the decrease of fish flowing into the city's markets was more than the above figure c.q. 5.922,119 kilo. The number of fish not being sold was estimated 10 - 15%, which meant a loss for the fishermen as well as for the municipal cash-office.

g. Some sorts of fishing.

(1) Majang Motor.

In 1957 the catch of the motorised majangs was 287,067 kilo more than the previous year. This increase could be more, if the boats were not travelling to other areas, for instance to Tegal. In that year about 200.000 kilo was sold in Tegal. Thus, if the boats were not staying away, the catch would be more than 2 million kilo. This was one of the reasons why the ikan lajang production is becoming less.

(2) Majang Lajar.

The catch of majang lajar was 356.658 kilo less than the previous year, because the proans from the Krawang coasts etc. declined to cast anchor in Pasar Ikan due to the strict regulations.

(3) Muro-ami motor.

In 1957 the efforts of muro-ami have made progress, particularly due to the increase of carriage-vessels. The excess of production to be sold in the public sale was 359.051 kilo.

(4) Muro-ami lajar.

On the other hand, this kind of fishing is declining. At present there remains only one company which still uses vessels, i.e. the "Barat" Company from Pulau Tidung. The 1957 production was 66,250 kilo less than previous year.

(5) S e r o

In view of the expensive materials, prohibition of fixing sero in certain plots etc. the sero production was 412,679 kilo less than 1956.

(6) B u b u

The Bubu production from year to year is decreasing considerably particularly because of :

- ...110
- a. unsafeness on sea (robbery), and
  - b. many fishermen have turned from "bubu" to "muro-ami".
  - h. Fish processing.

About 20% of the fish production coming into the city of Djakarta is salted or dried at Kamal and Tandjung Priok. The production of salted fish from Pulau Seribu in 1957 was 90 tons.

#### FISH MARKETING.

The sea around us represents one of our abundant natural resources and must therefore be explored as intensively as possible for the benefit of our people and country. But on the other hand we must find new methods of fish distribution in such a way that it could be spread more among the people.

At present the fish trade in general is characterized by profit yielding as much as possible. It is thus considerably hard to attain a price level which fits in with the purchasing power of the general public. Especially when the production of sea fishery does not sufficiently provide protein to the people's food.

There are two kinds of fish trade, i.e. : (1) fresh fish, and (2) salt, dried, preserved fish.

##### (1) Fresh fish.

According to the Djakarta Fish Auction Ordinance of 1926, all fresh fish coming into the Djakarta Raya Municipality must be sold publicly at Kamal, Pasar Ikan and Tandjung Priok. One of the main objectives is that the fishermen (producers) do not sell direct to merchants but must sell through the public auction, so that speculations can be avoided.

But unfortunately, this theory of price stability, as proposed by the ordinance, is in practice not working because big business plays an important role and dominates the whole Pasar Ikan.

To overcome this practice, a committee was formed to investigate this problem intensively. This practice is indeed untenable in view of disadvantages suffered by the fishermen.

The average price in 1957 was as follows:

Sort of fish	Price		Month	
	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum
1. Lajang	Rp. 2.54	Rp. 8.06	June	September
2. Bawal	6.35	9.25	June	November
3. Kambung	5.23	10.50	June	February
4. Selar	3.32	6.80	June	October
5. Tembang	4.35	6.31	June	February
6. Udang	4.10	5.73	June	March
7. Rebon	2.20	3.33	June	January
8. Teri	3.40	5.46	June	February
9. Tongkol	6.06	12.17	June	July
10. Bandeng	6.68	13.73	August	January
11. Lemuru	3.38	8.37	June	October
12. Tjakalang	-	-	-	-
13. Tengiri	9.--	20.17	June	July
14. Ikan Terbang	-	-	-	-
15. Sange	4.33	6.33	January	February
16. Ekor kuning	7.11	10.57	June	January
17. Lajur	4.46	8.67	June	February

(2) Salt/dried fish.

It may be said that the whole salted fish trade is in Chinese hands with its central market in Pasar Pagi. Salted fish originating from the municipal area represent only 10% of the total amount of fish marketed.

Almost all the salted fish retailers are Indonesian retail dealers. Prior to reaching the consumer salted fish passes through numerous commission-agents which increases the price considerably.

Besides home-made salted fish from Began Siapiapi, West Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, etc. it is also imported from abroad. As it is known, our own fish production is not sufficient to meet the people's needs. Thus the shortage has to be fulfilled with imports from abroad.

The amount of imported salt fish in 1957 was as follows:

Sort of fish	Country of origin				
	Dangkok	Singapore	Hongkong	China	Total
Peda merah	8,810.000	-	-	-	8,810.000
Peda putih	215.000	60.000	-	-	275.000
Teri	-	20.000	1.833.664	-	1.853.664
Kembung	-	121.150	-	-	121.150
Lemuru	-	517.220	-	-	517.220
Selar	-	878.650	-	-	878.650
Tawes	-	770.000	565.000	25.625	1.360.625
Djapu	-	255.700	-	-	255.700
Belis	-	-	-	75.000	75.000
Samge	-	-	-	105.000	105.000
Bandeng	-	36.500	-	-	36.500
Lajur	-	-	-	75.000	75.000
Peperok	-	26.000	-	-	26.000
Lajang	-	157.100	-	-	157.100
Bulu ajam	-	-	-	80.000	80.000
Kembang	55.000	718.500	324.793	155.000	1.253.293
Total	9.025.000	3.560.820	2.723.457	515.625	15.879.902

About 75% of the imported fish via Tandjung Priok is distributed in the hinterland of the Province of West Java.

The following table shows the decreasing amount of imported salted fish during the last years as a result of the tight-money policy.

1951	20,796,180.50	kilogram
1952	21,837,877.00	"
1953	17,720,294.00	"
1954	16,313,371.50	"
1955	10,240,899.80	"
1956	15,981,960.00	"
1957	15,879,902.00	"

Actually, this import of salted fish creates a serious problem for the development of sea fishery in Indonesia. In many cases, this import injures the national fishing enterprise because the key to business is in the hands of foreigners who can speculate as they like. And in turn there is no co-ordination between production, import-export, distribution and consumption of our own fish products.

The average price of salt fish in the free market is as follows:

Sort of Fish	Jan	Febr	March	Apr	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec
Pada merah	10.-	12.-	12.-	12.-	11.50	12.-	12.-	12.-	12.-	10.-	10.-	12.-
Peri	6.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	13.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	9.-	10.-	12.-
Sepat siam	10.-	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.-	12.50	12.50	12.-	12.50	11.-	10.-	-
Kabus	11.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	14.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	13.16	20.-
Peperék	3.-	7.50	7.50	7.50	8.-	7.50	7.50	7.-	7.50	7.50	8.12	50.9
Lembang	8.-	11.-	11.-	10.-	11.-	11.-	11.-	11.-	11.-	11.-	-	-
Pengiri	10.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	13.50	15.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	13.-	17.-	-
Ikan merah	10.-	14.-	14.-	14.-	12.50	14.-	14.-	14.-	14.-	14.-	12.50	-
Pjutjut	7.-	7.-	7.-	7.-	7.50	7.-	7.-	7.-	7.-	9.-	12.50	-
Kajang	5.-	8.-	8.-	8.-	8.50	8.-	8.-	8.-	8.-	7.-	7.50	8.-
Djambal	15.-	16.-	16.-	16.-	15.-	16.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	-	-	-
Pongkol	14.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	14.-	15.-	15.-	13.-	14.-	15.-	15.-	14.-
Kor kuning	13.-	14.-	14.-	15.-	15.-	15.-	14.-	14.-	13.-	15.-	15.-	-

### CONCLUSIONS.

Based on above facts and figures, relating to sea fishery in the Djakarta Raya area, the conclusions are set forth below:

1. It has been realized that sea fishing is always an effort in providing enough protein to the people. Also it could economize the foreign currency of the State, if this effort is done rationally, in the sense that modernization in the sea fishery development is a condition sine qua non.
2. For the most part the fishermen have little education, thus good instruction and adequate training are necessary. For this purpose sea fishery schools (including application courses) should be established to provide practical training to the younger men.
3. Economically speaking, the fishermen are in general weak. Thus to improve this situation, agencies like cooperatives, banks etc. should be established. These existing organizations should be managed efficiently in order to eliminate malpractices of those who will overthrow the development of sea fishery. Furthermore, the fight against robbery on sea as well as on land should be intensified.

IV. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION.a. General considerations.

Like great cities in other countries, the city of Djakarta as the national capital of the Republic of Indonesia - also faces numerous social problems e.g. victims of conflagration and spate, displaced persons, prostitutes, orphans, street-walkers etc. All these problems attract special attentions of the municipal office of social affairs.

In connection with fire and flood, it may be noted that these problems have been faced for a long time by the city of Djakarta in the course of its growth until becoming a metropolis. In the dry monsoon there is shortage of water, while in the rainy season floods are inevitable. Each year Djakarta suffers time and again from numerous fires and floods.

Following tables indicate the size of fires within the municipal area during 1957, 1958, 1959 and the first half of 1960.

-----							
1957							
Period	Outgoing fire- brigade.	Fire Houses	Others	Help to Drown- ing.	Number of burned houses	No. of homeless persons.	Loss
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
January	12 x	2 x	10 x	-	-	-	5,200
February	8 x	1 x	7 x	-	-	-	3,350
March	11 x	5 x	6 x	-	82	784	1,061,500
April	16 x	5 x	10 x	1 x	42	1,542	393,500
May	23 x	7 x	16 x	-	44	1,941	1,295,212
June	10 x	2 x	8 x	-	10	40	80,000
July	24 x	7 x	17 x	-	385	6,500	2,964,035
August	27 x	10 x	17 x	-	330	1,949	3,570,000
September	33 x	8 x	25 x	-	87	1,359	1,915,450
October	39 x	14 x	25 x	-	1,602	21,378	11,971,550

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
November	22 x	10 x	11 x	1 x	1,133	24,147	25,136,750	
December	12 x	3 x	8 x	3 x	251	2,070	1,450,100	
Total:-	237 x	74 x	158 x	5 x	3,966	61,710	49,846,647	

Causes of fire:

Fire-pan	26	times
Short-circuit	25	"
Oil	17	"
Pil-lamp	6	"
Candle	1	"
Cigarette-end	16	"
Asphalt	4	"
Heat	53	"
Gas	4	"
Light	5	"
Carbid	1	"
Matches	3	"
Locomotive-spark	3	"
Intentional	10	"
In Investigation	58	"

Total:- 232 times.

Period	Outgoing Fire fire- brigade	Fire Houses	Others Help to Drowning	1958 No. of houses	No. of burned persons.	No. of homeless persons.	Loss.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
January	14 x	6 x	7 x	1 x	65	536 Rp.	229,500
February	12 x	5 x	7 x	-	35	655	1,236,158
March	9 x	2 x	6 x	1 x	23	201	547,741
April	23 x	10 x	11 x	2 x	49	344	2,565,050
May	16 x	5 x	9 x	2 x	5	26	190,550
June	30 x	14 x	16 x	-	153	3,173	11,648,125
July	12 x	3 x	9 x	-	7	47	5,270,000
August	13 x	3 x	9 x	1 x	140	870	1,701,500
September	12 x	5 x	7 x	-	263	3,745	1,574,000
October	23 x	13 x	9 x	1 x	245	2,657	1,111,355

November	22 x	11 x	11 x	-	64	629	2,648,100
December	11 x	2 x	2 x	4 x	6	102	73,200
Total:-	197 x	79 x	106 x	12 x	1,055	12,985	28,795,279

Causes of Fire.

Fire-pan	27	times
Short-circuit	24	"
Oil	12	"
Oil-lamp	8	"
Candle	2	"
Cigarette-end	8	"
Asphalt	2	"
Heat	21	"
Light	2	"
Mosquito-killer	1	"
Gas	2	"
Lightening	1	"
Matches	9	"
Collision	2	"
Locomotive-spark	2	"
Intentional	7	"
In investigation	55	"

Total:- 185 times

Period.	Outgoing fire- brigade	<u>1959</u> <u>Fire</u>		Help to Drowning	No. of burned houses	No. of homeless persons	Loss.
		Houses	Others				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
January	17 x	3 x	11 x	5 x	9	128	559,600
February	13 x	6 x	8 x	4 x	18	455	2,096,757
March	12 x	3 x	8 x	1 x	2	7	22,800
April	16 x	5 x	10 x	1 x	5	62	820,000
May	12 x	5 x	6 x	1 x	1	5	336,300
June	20 x	6 x	13 x	1 x	104	2,312	4,891,000
July	17 x	6 x	10 x	1 x	28	623	11,918,400
August	34 x	10 x	24 x	-	68	1,452	1,690,450
September	24 x	6 x	17 x	1 x	77	6,267	7,029,300
October	24 x	6 x	17 x	1 x	709	3,944	6,598,293
November	20 x	7 x	11 x	2 x	55	855	2,337,500
December	16 x	4 x	11 x	1 x	10	4	25,200,500
Total:-	230 x	67 x	146 x	17 x	1,086	16,114	63,500,900

Causes of fire.

Fire-pan	35	times
Short-circuit	37	"
Oil	7	"
Oil lamp	8	"
Candle	3	"
Cigarette-end	12	"
Asphalt	3	"
Heat	26	"
Light	1	"
Kitchen-fire	6	"
Rumour	2	"
Mosquito-killer	1	"
Matches	1	"
Locomotive-spark	5	"
Collision	1	"
Carbid	3	"
Intentional	3	"
In investigation	59	"
	<u>213</u>	<u>times</u>

First and second quarter of 1960.

Period	Outgoing fire- brigade.	<u>Fire</u>		Help to	No. of	No. of	Loss.
		Houses	Others	Drown- ing.	burned houses	homeless persons.	
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
January	15 x	1 x	13 x	1 x	1	21	Rp.103,750
February	5 x	-	3 x	2 x	-	-	10,000
March	6 x	-	5 x	1 x	-	-	- - -
April	15 x	6 x	8 x	1 x	25	338	906,500
May	16 x	2 x	14 x	-	4	12	434,400
June	18 x	7 x	10 x	1 x	166	1,131	2,627,800
Total:-	75 x	16 x	53 x	6 x	196	1,502	4,082,450

Causes of fire.

Fire-pan	14	times
Short-circuit	6	"
Oil	7	"
Oil-lamp	5	"
Candle	2	"
Cigarette-end	5	"
Asphalt	3	"
Matches	1	"

Flat-iron	1 times
Intentional	5 "
Lightning	3 "
Heat	2 "
Kitchen-fire	2 "
In investigation	13 "
	-----
Total:-	69 times
	-----

Obviously, the fire question may be regarded as one of the many problems confronting the Djakarta Raya Municipality. This is mainly caused by agglomerations of runaway houses disregarding building technique at all, so that the chance of loss by fire is becoming greater, especially in the dry monsoon when water is lacking.

Furthermore, with regard to the social aspects, Djakarta contains a more various urban characteristic. In the economic field Djakarta is on the one hand a business center, and on the other hand an industrial region, a port-town, an agricultural area, etc. In the political field, due to its position as the states capital, Djakarta is becoming a centre of both national and international political activities. Moreover, there are many other aspects of a complex community living. As manifestation of the existing social forces, there are to be found numerous problems with which the municipal administration has been confronted i.e. ranging from urbanization, housing needs, traffic congestion to social problems.

During 1957 Rp. 758,133.84 has been spent for relief for victims of natural disasters (1956 = Rp. 483,300.73), especially or conflagration.

For the intercept of displaced persons Rp. 51.400 from the Municipal Office of Social Affairs, and an addition of Rp. 60,117.50 from the Department of Foreign Affairs has been spent.

For the fight against social evils, particularly prostitution, Rp. 144,569.91 has been authorized.

For the care of needy children, adults, invalids etc. Rp. 778,907.17, Rp. 1,493,368.27 and Rp. 1,116,219.93 respectively.

### Social organization in Djakarta Raya.

The municipal office of Social Affairs <sup>tant</sup> consists of Divisions of which the four most impor/  
are: (1) Guidance and Instruction, (2) Assistance  
and Rehabilitation, (3) Child Welfare, (4) Fighting  
of Social Evils.

Now let us consider their activities during 1957.

#### 1. Guidance and Instruction Division.

The 1957 program consisted of:

Internal: the consolidation of the organization, &

External: the introduction of its objective to the public.

In order to attain a picture about the social situation in the capital, let us take data from a research report undertaken at the end of 1955 by the institute's report/the population growth by birth during 1948 until 1953 was approximately 18,000 a year. If this growth may be regarded as constant until 1957, then the population usually have increased by the (registered) immigrants approximately 30,000 in 1957. Of this total, of course, not all had a means of livelihood or got a job immediately upon arrival in Djakarta. Also, accommodation were scarce, and consequently social problems increased more and more.

According to this study, 60.7% of male household heads were born in Western Java; 29% in Central Java; 2.7% in Eastern Java; 7% in outside Java.

Among those originating in Western Java (outside Djakarta) are: 1,455 persons or about 35% came from Kabupaten Bogor; 996 persons from Kabupaten Bekasi, Krawang, Subang and Tangerang; 839 persons from the regencies in Priangan; 525 persons from Tjirebon, Indramaju, Kuningan and Madjalengka; 303 persons from Banten.

From the areas close to Western Java, the majority came from Pkalongan, Tegal, Brebes, and Pemalang i.e. 1,044 men or about 50% originating in Central Java.

In 1954 similar inquiry was conducted among 200 becha-drivers. The result showed that 15% came from the Residency of Bogor, 15% from the Residency of Priangan, 9% from the Residency of Tjirebon, 11% from the Residency of Pekalongan, 5% from the Residency of Semarang, 8% from the Residency of Kedudan 47% from other areas.

It is thus clear that Bogor, Priangan, Tjirebon and Pekalongan are areas of producing migrants. The productive period of migration was after the transfer of sovereignty; the institute's report mentions the period 1950-1953.

According to that report the reasons for migration are:-

- 34.4% because of financial pressure;
- 17.3% improving one's income;
- 12% because of unsatisfactory position;
- 9.2% joining family relatives;
- 1.6% for trade.

If we take into consideration these five reasons, it appears that the motives of migration are of economic nature. Living difficulties have pushed them to leave their residencies and to settle in Djakarta hoping to find better living. These economic reasons represent 85.5% of their motives for moving into Djakarta. Migration because of insecurity is not in accordance with the assumption that a great deal of the migration into Djakarta is caused by the insecurity still prevalent in Western and Central Java. It seems that those who have left the unsecure areas have mostly settled in the neighbourhood of their former homes and not in the capital.

In a UNESCO report (Unesco/SS/Conf.Urb/W/20;Ecafe/Urb/20, August 17, 1956) is mentioned some reasons why the cities in Asia attract rural people, i.e.;

- 1) The population growth in rural areas producing food:
  - 2) The change from agricultural economy into modern manufacturing industry, and
  - 3) A close relationship between developing areas and the growing world market.
- The rapidity of the urbanization process accrued in recent years, and particularly in the new independent countries. Its economy changes from

a colonial economy into a National one, and its population growth is for the most part manifested in the extravagantly growing cities.

The above mentioned sketch may give some data to the efforts in improving the social conditions in the capital. The report of the Institute of Economic and Social Research has also indicated the reasons for migration into Djakarta.

### INSTRUCTION

#### a. Oral Instruction.

Oral Instruction has been given by sub-offices of social affairs mostly in co-operation with the information office.

#### b. Written Instruction.

Written Instruction by means of a magazine can not come out because of the lack of personnel.

#### c. Social Movement Week.

In 1957 the office of social affairs took the initiative to set up a Social Movement Week. The main purpose was to arouse public interest towards social work.

#### d. Social Course.

Social courses have been conducted. It may be noted that in spite of the characteristics of a metropolis like Djakarta, its inhabitants, especially those living in Kampongs, are not as individualistic as it has been the common assumption. The traditional "gotong royong" principle, peculiar to the indigenous people, is still alive and practiced.

Speaking of social organizations, there are 45 registered Foundations and Clubs which may be divided into two categories, i.e.

- a) 31 clubs/foundations operating in the social field only, and
- b) 14 operating in educational field.

### Social Foundations.

The social foundations work is generally satisfactory. In 1956 there were only 30, in 1957 48, and each year the number increases gradually.

The nature and purpose of these foundations are, naturally, to improve social conditions, especially the rural life, through flexible ways and means.

Its activities are various, viz. establishing elementary schools, improving health, taking care of orphans, aiding the infirm, medical help and the like. There are also social organizations opening up land, shops, repair-shops, cattle-breeding, fishing and etc.

## 2. Assistance and Rehabilitation Division.

This Division deals particularly with:

1. Repatriation of displaced persons.
2. Assistance to persons who voluntarily go outside Java.
3. Rehabilitation of invalids.
4. Rehabilitation of ex-prisoners.
5. Providing accommodation to labourers.
6. Aid to victims of natural disasters.
7. Help to persons in need outside workhouses.
8. Care of poor people and the blind.

## 3) Child Welfare Division.

There are 14 orphan-houses, 2 shelters for homeless children and a foundation for establishing a sanatorium for school-children. Special attention has been paid to juvenile delinquency.

In June 1957 a subsidy of Rp.129,000 was given to the orphan ages.

Finally, attention has also been paid to students from outside Java who meet lodging difficulties.

## 4. Fighting of Social Evils.

The fight against social evils is mainly directed against prostitution.

The increase of prostitution is particularly noticeable in Djakarta. While formerly it was limited in certain parts of the city, now

prostitutes and brothels are to be found in almost every kampong. The local administration has taken every effort to oppress this social evil, even the police has several times made a clean sweep of street prostitutes, but the results are not affirmed. Secondly, the office of social affairs is always active in giving instruction, education and rehabilitation wherever possible. However, this system likewise appears to be somewhat ineffective.

What should be done now? Perhaps the penal provision is too modest, and the community itself has not taken action. Nevertheless, while waiting for more effective steps, an attempt has been made to localize prostitution which does not mean legalization.

This localization is purposed to make easier a continued control, instruction and education of prostitutes. This process of rehabilitation may be more defensible, and it is hoped that within 10 - 15 years the problem of prostitution will be banished from Djakarta. Furthermore, punishment of visitors of public morality may have to be made more stricter. And, women organizations should be more forceful in their fight against this social evil.

These then are the activities of the social organizations within the Djakarta Raya area. Let us now review the social stratification of Djakarta, both as the capital of the country and as an international city.

#### b. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION.

We have seen above that the community life of Djakarta Raya has many varieties of social aspects. Thus we can distinguish types of social classes, such as entrepreneurs, wage-earners, farmers and fishermen, artists, intellectuals, veterans, etc. These classes may be divided again according to their political ideology and faith.

##### 1) Political Parties.

The general election held in 1955 has shown that the Djakarta Raya area contained 52 political parties/organized groups, and in addition 10 independent candidates participated in the elections. Among the 62 parties/organizations there were 10 which received over 10,000 votes as illustrated below:

No.	Party.	Number of votes.		
		Parliament.	Constituent Assembly.	Local People's Council.
1.	Masjumi.	200,454	180,488	153,707
2.	P.N.I.	151,959	173,580	124,955
3.	N.U.	120,665	124,923	104,892
4.	P.K.I.	96,339	89,612	137,202
5.	P.S.I.	34,949	27,136	20,204
6.	Baperki.	26,946	23,384	26,941
7.	P.S.I.I.	23,245	19,971	23,039
8.	Parkindo.	17,456	17,667	15,618
9.	Partai Buruh.	15,541	17,139	14,426
10.	I.P.K.I.	14,558	12,313	10,120

The power of the political parties, which so far formed the quintessence of the liberal western democracy, began to decline since the realization of the Guided Democracy. Its influence, obviously, is decreasing after the launching of the President's Conception, which among others is intended to ban political parties in our country. Many mistakes have been committed by the parties which were in power alternately, and took advantage of their position to further their own interests. The idea of builded Democracy was to replace the old system i.e. to diminishing the control of the parties in the administration.

In 1959 the execution of the above idea became explicit after the President's Decree on July 5, 1959, which contained the decomposition of the Constituent Assembly, the abolition of the Transitional Constitution of 1950, and the return to the 1945 Constitution. Then followed successive regulations, diminishing the power and influence of parties, for instance, prohibition of higher civil servants being members of certain parties, and recently simplification of party's existence.

The decomposition of the Constituent Assembly is a severe blow to the parties, which so far formed a battle field of ideologies.

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Return to the 1945 Constitution means also the discarding of the liberalistic elements which animated the whole social life. The Parliament, being the only tool of liberal democracy, must also adjust to the spirit of the 1945 Constitution. In this way, the Parliament would be no more a tool of political parties in hindering governmental function, but a tool of Guided Democracy in making up laws.

The prohibition of political activities such as propaganda, demonstration, strikes, etc. indicates that political parties activities are reduced both in public and in government. All their protests are in vain. Due to the martial law the parties are becoming increasingly more impotent.

In the case of the prohibition of higher civil servants from being members of political parties, for instance, the P.N.I. did not comply with this decision, because its members were mostly offered by it. On the other hand, the P.K.I. is apprehensive about the further consequences of the prohibition i.e. the annihilation of parties as stated in the well-known President's Conception.

The other parties too, such as N.U. Masjumi, P.S.I.I., are principally against the ban of political parties.

In order to obtain a clear picture of the revolutionary changes during 1959 in our political history, it is necessary to present a brief sketch of (1) the President's Decree and its impact on the political situation of today, and (2) Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia.

↓  
1. President's Decree.

In the "wait and see" situation, there is strained relations between the pressure groups, or form of the Army Staff prohibited all political activities in the whole country, beginning from June 3, 1959. This explosive situation lasted a month i.e. since the Constituent Assembly refused the government's proposal of returning to the 1945 Constitution. On June 29, the President returned from abroad, and finally the Djuanda Cabinet surrendered its mandate to the President. Therefore, on July 5, 1959, the well-known President's Decree was announced. All the power is now concentrated in the hands of the President, and the Working Cabinet was to be appointed instead of

elected, consisting of Ministers, Ex-officio Ministers, Deputy Ministers, and the President/Supreme Commander as Premier.

The program of the new cabinet is as follows:

- 1) Providing food and clothing to the people within the shortest possible time.
- 2) Maintaining the people's and state's security.
- 3) Continuing the struggle against economic and political imperialism.

In accordance with the return to the 1945 Constitution within the framework of guided democracy the President was to form State's bodies as stated in the 1945 Constitution, i.e. the Madjelis Permusjawaratan Rakjat (People's Congress), the highest body which determined the state policy and prepared the permanent constitution; the Dewan Pertimbangan Agung (Supreme Advisory Council); the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat (Parliament), and finally the Dewan Perantjang Nasional (National Planning Board).

The execution of the state policy is arranged by Presidential decisions, in the place of laws, which will be justified later by the Madjelis Permusjawaratan Rakjat.

Besides his power and authority on political, economic, social and cultural affairs, the President remains the symbol of people's unity, and the great leader of the Indonesian Revolution.

In the execution of his power, the President is assisted by the state's bodies, functional bodies, military, police, and the public prosecutor.

## 2. Political Manifesto.

As Leader of the Revolution, the word of the President is accepted as the guide as to where to our revolution must be directed. With the realisation of Guided Democracy, it also means the approximation between the people and the leader of the revolution. The return to the 1945 Constitution means the "sweeping" away of the liberalistic way of thinking, and the performance of a national way of life. For this purpose, numerous radical changes must be carried

out in the social life entirely, then follow a definite policy. This is to be found in the Political Manifesto which the President launched on August 17, 1959.

The Manifesto accepted as state's policy aims to the realization of the Cabinet program, and the building up of a socialist society in the long run.

For the attainment of these short and long term objectives, liberalism must make way for Guided Democracy and Guided Economy.

Ordering, re-ordering and retooling must be carried out in the fighting forces, in the executive and legislative bodies, in the means of production and distribution, in the political, social and economic organisations.

#### Political reordering.

It must never happen again that the people become the "riding-animal" of the leader; that the people become a tool of democracy. On the contrary, democracy must be a people's tool for the attainment of "a just and prosperous society".

- a. Everybody must serve common interests, the society, the nation and the country.
- b. Everybody has the right to acquire a reasonable living.

#### Economic reordering.

The whole national economic structure must be retooled towards a just and prosperous economy. At least, all vital means of production and distribution must be in the hands of the government, or controlled by the state. In the agrarian sector, the right of property must be wiped out from the Indonesian agrarian law, and only Indonesians have proprietary rights in accordance with Article 33 of the Constitution.

#### Social reordering.

The enforcement of the "gotong royong" spirit and the people unity is a condition sine qua non for the fulfilment of a just and prosperous society. In connection with the struggle for the liberation of West Irian, Dutch capital will be abolished if the Dutch still

remain obstinate in the West Irian dispute. Other foreign capital must submit to the Republican laws.

Inasmuch as the Political Manifesto is confirmed as being the state's policy, the social and political life must adjust to that policy completely as reflected in the measures, variously called "retooling."

#### Youth Movement.

In 1959 the role of the youth organizations were limited. This was due to the fact that the political and cultural development was still in an reordering phase. For the most part their activities were channelized through the Badan Kerdjasama Pemuda Militer (Youth-Military Alliance) under the banners of the National Front for the Liberation of West Irian.

Then, the All Indonesian Youth Congress held in Bandung on February 15, 1960, had opened new view-points in the framework of the Political Manifesto.

It may be noted that the (young) ex-fighters of Indonesia's Independence have good perspectives in the future in view of the reconstruction plans in all fields.

#### Women's Movement.

Indonesian women are interested both in national and international affairs. It is understandable because world events of today have also its direct impact on our country, our people, our women and children. For example, resistance to experiments of atom and hydrogen bombs.

During 1959 large events had taken place which affected the role of women organizations, and accordingly had to adjust to the course of events. The most important of these are :

1. The introduction of the "Guided Democracy/Economy" means more or less a limitation of parties' activities, including women organizations.
2. The return to the 1945 Constitution means the abolition of liberal democracy/economy, and the forming of political institutions in conformity with the spirit of the Constitution.

3. The performance of Indonesian personality means the maintenance of national culture adapted to modern way of life.

4. The emergency act on militia means a step further in the emancipation, although its role is a different one.

5. The monetary reform had no results as it had been initially aimed. The money in circulation remains high, while the prices are still increasing which are felt seriously by housewives.

6. The 50 Years Commemoration of World Women's Movement has its impetus on the Indonesian women.

7. The draft-bill on marriage is a test-case for the women's movement.

The Indonesian women's movement, generally, still is in the stage of emancipation attempts to obtain positions in the political institutions as well as in the lower regions. Also, they are active in social, economic and cultural fields.

#### Labour Movement.

Labour activities in general are slack owing to the State of Danger. At best the labour organizations' demands are for rises in wages in view of the rising standard of living, or give evidence of their support to the government policy.

The consequences of the "West Irian Action", the withdrawal of K.P.M. ships from Indonesia, the fall of home production and other sectors of the economy, the increase of the money supply, the import restriction - in short, the steadily deteriorating economic situation reflected in the decline of total output and in the rapidly advancing inflation are causing great hardships among the workers.

Enterprises are facing more and more difficulties, and this leads to a slowdown of production and a discharge of workers, especially after the monetary reform.

This, of course, would add to the number of unemployed which was estimated to have been 2.2 millions at the end of 1959, excluding the

disguised unemployment, while the labour force increases about 600,000 each year.

#### Farmers Movement.

With regard to the farmers movement, there is little to say. Farmers' associations in the capital bear the character of central organizations. Farming is to be found in the suburbs only, where the farmers cultivate vegetables, fruit and flowers.

#### Islamic Movement.

Due to the State of Danger action of organizations both political and non-political is restricted to internal matters only. Practically speaking, there are no longer any political activities.

Early in 1959 the atmosphere in the Constituent Assembly was one of uneasiness as the Islam bloc was confronted with the Pantjasila bloc and the Atheists.

After the Constituent Assembly had been decomposed in concordance with the President's Decree of July 5, 1959, the Pantjasila bloc nourished high hopes to the new government, while the Islam parties are morally oppressed.

#### Other activities.

On November 10, 1959, the labour world observed the birth of a Confederation of Moslem Workers' Association.

The Moslem Youth Organizations meet with moderate advancement according to the situation in general.

Islamic organizations are also active in social work, such as construction of mosques and houses for worship, religious schools, collection of alms for the orphans and the poor, religious instruction in boarding-establishments, barracks and so on.

#### Mystic Movement.

During 1959 mystic activities were not as smooth as before the State of Danger. Due to the fervour of prominent religious figures in the capital, there occurred but little deflections

in the various mystic doctrines.

It may be noticed that the Badan Kongres Kebatinan Indonesia (Indonesian Spiritual Congress) is doing well in controlling mystic activities to avoid undesirable practices.

## B. MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND ITS PROBLEMS.

### 1. a. Formation of new-style Local administration.

The introductory note describes the historical development of the City of Djakarta, from the Netherlands Indies Government area until today. It appears that the city of Djakarta, being an autonomy, nears its own mark of historic shaping and growth. In the course of its history, the autonomous Djakarta area had been twice through an expansion of its region. With its present-day territory, the Djakarta Raya Municipality has a specific pattern not to be found in other autonomies. On the one hand the centre of Djakarta Raya Municipality represents an urban area, but on the other hand rural one too. Moreover, the Djakarta Raya Municipality forms a unit like that of a main land, and its parts are like a group of islands scattered in the ocean.

Such characteristics also affect the performance of administration. According to its position as stated in the decentralization law of the year 1957, the Djakarta Raya Municipality forms a first grade locality, directly under central supervision, thus, similarly with the status of other provinces.

With the formation of the municipal apparatus based on the decentralization law concerned, two instances exercising the civil administration, are to be found within the Djakarta Raya area, namely:-

1) the municipal administration headed by the Kepala Daerah, and

2) the Bureau of Pemerintahan Umum Pusat Daerah Djakarta Raya, executing and co-ordinating the task of Pamong Pradja (general administration), headed by the acting Mayor of Djakarta Raya.

This dualistic form remained until the enactment of Presidential Regulation No. 6/1959, containing the perfection of local administration.

This new regulation is actually a follow up of the President's Decree relating to the return to the 1945 Constitution. This means that the Indonesian State has entered into a new period in its political history.

It involves also the breaking away of the liberal democratic system so far followed by the Transitional Constitution is concerned which produced a dangerous state of affairs for the unitary Republic.

Further, the return to the 1945 Constitution means the execution of the guided democracy system, and since July 5, 1959, the government policy is the responsibility of the President to the People's Congress.

Accordingly, the governmental bodies being a tool for the salvation of our revolution must adjust to the spirit of the 1945 Constitution in the framework of the guided democracy.

In the meantime, two major problems should be taken to heart i.e.:

- a) the policy of deconcentration and decentralization goes on up-holding the principle of territorial decentralization.
- b) for the benefit of public interest and of the compactness and smoothness of local administration, dualism in the leadership must be abolished.

Continuing the policy of deconcentration and decentralization means asserting of the delegation of rights to localities to conduct and manage its own affairs with considering the capacity and capability of each locality concerned.

In this way public affairs now will be more and more delegated to the local government in accordance with article 18 of the Constitution.

To uphold the unitary character of the Republic of Indonesia, such a policy of deconcentration and decentralization must involve a condition which guarantees the proper relationship between the central and the local government in concordance with the spirit of the unitary Republic and the proclaimed Constitution.

Based on the above factors, and to attain the greatest efficiency, the local government has been given a composition and the authority, task and duty as follows:-

- a) the performance of general administration in the locality, and that of local administration is entirely laid in the hands of the local head (Kepala Daerah);
- b) the executive power carried out by the Kepala Daerah is not collegiate, but it does not deviate from the principle of mutual consultation in our government system.
- c) members of the Badan Pemerintahan Harian (Executive Committee) act as assistants of the local head, and they must be free from any party membership (President's directive No. 2/1959).
- d) the local head is a State Official, who cannot be discharged by a decision of the local people's council;
- e) the local head has the authority to postpone any decision of the local people's council concerned, and that of the lower local government if it is considered to be in conflict with the state policy, or with public interests, or with a higher law;
- f) the local people's council has the authority in the legislative field, the local estimates and the local reconstruction.

In this connection it may be noted that the above Presidential Regulation aims to being the local government, as soon as possible, in conformity with guide/democratic principle. As follow up on January 29, 1960, the local head of Djakarta Raya and his deputy were appointed, and later installed by the Minister of Internal Affairs and local Autonomy on February 6, 1960. Accordingly, the existence of dualistic administration came to an end, and since that time both the general administration, and the autonomy and co-administration are concentrated in the hands of the Kepala Daerah.

Strictly speaking, the Local People's Council was first installed on October 28, 1959. Then on March 9, 1960 the members of the Executive Committee (consisting of 5 persons) were appointed and installed by the

Governor, Kepala Daerah Djakarta Raya on April 9, 1960.

b) Composition and Organization of the Apparatus.

According to article 1 of the Presidential Regulation of the year 1959, the local government consists of:-

1. Local Head, and
2. Local People's Council.

The word "Daerah" means autonomous areas based on Act No. 1/1957. As mentioned above, the executive power carried out by the Kepala Daerah is not of a collegiate character; and consequently, the Presidential Regulation No. 6 does not provide for a Government Council, but an Executive Committee assisting the local head in his function.

KEPALA DAERAH.

In view of the important function of the local head as single holder of general administration as well as local administration, thus the Kepala Daerah in this case is appointed by the Central Government (President), and his position is that of a Central government official. This appointment is a result of mutual consultation between the civil and the military authorities (due to the State of Danger).

A local head must first meet the requirements of education, capabilities and experience in administration. Because a local head is not responsible to the local people's council, he cannot be discharged by it although his nomination is approved by the council concerned (article 4 clause 2). In case of hindrance, the appointment of deputy will be regulated by the Minister of Internal Affairs & Local Autonomy (article 5).

BADAN PEMERINTAHAN HARIAN.

According to article 9, the Executive Committee consists of at least three and at most five members. ~~At present~~ the Djakarta Raya Municipal Committee has five members.

DEWAN PERWAKILAN RAKJAT DAERAH.

According to article 18 clause 1, the existing Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah becomes the new-style local people's council.

In conformity with Act No. 1/1957, junction Emergency Act No. 8/1957, the municipal people's council is composed of 41 members.

c. Task and Authority.

Kepala Daerah.

As mentioned above, the local head of Djakarta Raya has two functions, namely:-

- a) as apparatus of the central government, and
  - b) as apparatus of the local government.
- With the concentration of the dual administration in one hand, dualism in the direction of local government has been abolished.

As an apparatus of central government, the local head:

- a) manages order and peace within the locality;
- b) co-ordinates the central agencies in his region, and between these agencies and the local government;
- c) controls the performance of local administration;
- d) exercises other powers lying in the range of central administration.

Further, as an apparatus of the local government the Kepala Daerah of Djakarta Raya is responsible to the municipal people's council, both with regard to autonomy and co-administration, in the sense that he cannot be discharged by the council.

The local head holds the competence to postpone any council's decision if it is considered to be in conflict with the government policy, the public interests or a higher law. The Minister of Internal Affairs & Local Autonomy alone has the power to cancel local government decisions.

Badan Pemerintahan Harian.

The members of the Executive Committee assist the local head relating to autonomous affair and co-administration. The task of the committee is:

- a) to give advice to the local head, either requested or not;
- b) to exercise certain duties given by the local head, and therefore responsible to him.

Because the task of the Executive Committee is to assist, thus, the local head has the authority to determine the working method as well as the scope of their duties.

The respective duties of the executive committee members are as follows:-

1. S. Utarjo : Public Health, Personnel, Labour and General Affairs.
2. Superanoto : Finance and Stock-breeding.
3. G. Sjahlan : Education, Religion and Social Affairs.
4. Sapi-ie : Public Works.
5. Tb. M. Ma'mun : Trade, Agriculture and Fishery.

Dean Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah.

Article 13 of the President Regulation No. 6/1959 determines that prior to a new regulation regarding the formation of the local people's council, its shaping must follow the existing law. Now arises the question: what is the position of the old-style council before the Presidential Regulation comes into effect? This matter is regulated in article 18 clause 1 (Transitional Regulation).

In accordance with the above regulation, the municipal council was installed on October 28, 1959. Its power task and duties are as stated in article 17 and article 21 of the Presidential Regulation.

In conducting the autonomy and co-administration, four sections and four special committees were established.

d. Apparatus.

The Secretariat (Balai Kota) and several agencies form the apparatus which assist the local government.

The Secretariat consists of 10 sections, the Bureau of the Secretary and the Bureau of the Kepala Daerah.

The municipal agencies cover:

1. Public Works
2. Public Health

3. Veterinary
4. Education, instruction and culture
5. Economic Affairs
6. Social and Labour Affairs
7. Public Security
8. Sea-fishery
9. Agriculture
10. Public Accounts
11. Inspection

Beside this the local head has at his disposal another apparatus for the co-ordination of the duties of Pamong Pradja (general administration), formerly called "Biro Pemerintahan Umum Pusat" and later altered to "Urusan Pemerintahan Umum".

The Office of the Governor, Kepala Daerah Djakarta Raya (general administration) consists of these sections:

1. Secretariat
2. Personnel
3. Finance
4. Administration
5. Economic Affairs
6. Politics
7. Village
8. Civil registration and Minority settlement
9. House-rent and buildings
10. General Elections
11. Ground-tax
12. Security
13. Census.

To date there are still public affairs of local character which are not delegated to the Djakarta Raya Municipality.

With regard to co-administration, the Municipality still carries out its duties like the former Stadsgemeente Batavia. Several affairs formerly managed by the Stadsgemeente Batavia were done by the Central Government after the war. However, those affairs were transferred gradually to the Municipality.

In social works the Djakarta Raya Municipality has created "Jajasan Kas Pombangunan" (housing development), "Lembaga Sosial" (improvement of social conditions), "Jajasan Bea Siswa" (scholarship), and administrative and mounter course for the personnel.

## II. Relationship between Municipal Authorities, Local and Central Government.

The tasks and duties of the local head has been described previously. In the meantime Presidential Regulation No. 5/1960 regulating the new-style people's council called Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Gotong-Rojong was introduced.

According to this new regulations

- a. the local head - officio is speaker of the council, not a member.
- b. the local head together with the council exercises the power, task and duties of the local government in the legislative field.
- c. the local secretary is elected and appointed by the council from candidates proposed by the local head. With the formation of one Local Secretariat, dualism had been abolished.

Now it becomes explicit regarding the relationship between municipal authorities, local and central government in solving emerging problems. However, this fact depends much on the financial capacity of the municipality itself. It is appropriate, therefore, to study first the income resources and the annual expenditures.

The financial ratio between central and local government, collection of local taxes retributions are regulated in Act No. 32/1956, containing the arrangement of financial resources of local autonomies throughout Indonesia, and the possibility of granting

subsidies from the central government. Collection of local taxes and retributions is respectively regulated in Emergency Act No.11/1957 and Emergency Act No.12/1957. Transfer of state taxes, and granting of grant, subsidy and aid to local autonomies is also regulated in Government Regulations No. 3 & No.4 of the year 1957.

### III. B u d g e t.

The Djakarta Raya Municipality still collects local taxes as it was done by the former Stads-gemeente Batavia, except that the tariffs were scaled upward. The same is true with retributions, which also includes licence and parling rates. Municipal undertakings up to now are the same as they were in pre-war days, with the exception that Pasar Bank granting credits to retailers in municipal markets were added.

Due to its extending task and enlargement of personnel, the municipal budget tends to increase year by year, whereas its revenues cannot balance its expenditures so that each year the Djakarta Raya Municipality gets subsidy from the central government.

Beginning with 1959, the municipal expenditures is estimated at Rp. 170.000.000 i.e. :

routine expenditures.....	Rp. 141.440.730
extra routine expenditures...	4.500.000
for reconstruction.....	<u>24.059.270</u>

Total Rp. 170.000.000

Evidently the amount was as follows:

routine expenditures.....	Rp. 197.102.022.33
extra routine expenditures	400.000
	(estimated)
for reconstruction.....	<u>6.183.245.84</u>

Total	Rp. 203.685.268.17
Revenues	<u>179.784.327.95</u>

Deficit Rp. 23.900.940.22

1 9 6 0.

The 1960 routine expenditure is estimated to be Rp. 242.286.810. This amount is Rp. 45.184.787.67 higher over last year. The increase of petrol, oil, etc. is not included. Furthermore, the Public

Health Office needs an increase of Rp. 15.559.933.86 and in education there is needed an extra amount of about Rp. 2 million. Other increases are due to extension and prices changes in general.

The 1960 planned revenues is about Rp. 206.701.130, thus Rp. 26.916.802.05 higher than last year. This estimation is based on taxes which were scaled upward by the central government. If the Municipality could reach Rp.190.000.000 (conservatively speaking), then for routine necessities alone there would be a deficit of about Rp. 50.000.000. The only outlet is asking for subsidy, and/or extension of its own revenues. In regard to this question, the municipality is still negotiating with the Department of Internal Affairs & Local Autonomy.

Expenditure for reconstruction.

From the above mentioned Department, an amount of Rp. 5 million has been obtained for dredging of rivers. The First Minister promised Rp.20 million for the Pluit-Plan. Aid from the Japanese War Reparations is now being realized also, i.e. in the form of fire-extinguishers and cleansing-equipment.

Estimation of 1960 expenditures.

Ordinary services		1959 Budget	1959 Expenditures	1960 Request
1.	Deficit	-	-	-
2.	General Management	Rp 13,593,980	Rp 19,945,383.15	Rp 23,388,290
3.	Public Works	45,027,620	74,756,128.23	72,131,320
4.	Public Security	6,501,560	7,385,508.69	8,992,270
5.	Public Health	12,004,740	15,069,256.14	30,629,190
6.	Education	32,789,960	49,810,190.87	48,853,650
7.	Building revenues	4,358,850	4,036,944.59	5,388,060
8.	Burial places	1,595,410	1,723,000.51	1,698,280
9.	Markets	-	-	-
10.	Sanatorium	-	-	-
11.	Cattle health	778,780	772,193.04	1,182,190
12.	Agriculture	1,811,030	1,353,509.57	2,019,950
13.	Ferries	-	-	-
14.	Social & Economy	889,710	10,697,402.50	14,136,660
15.	Interest	321,550	602,320	2,934,000
16.	Salaries	4,853,530	4,788,008.38	6,077,000
17.	Undertakings	2,687,720	-	10,926,710
18.	Other expenditures	13,786,290	9,404,522.50	13,129,240
19.	Unforeseen expenditures	440,000	3,340,900	800,000
	Extra routine "	4,500,000	-	-
	For reconstruction	24,059,270	-	-
		Rp 170,000,000	Rp 203,685,268.17	Rp 242,286,810

Extraordinary services	1959 Budget	1959 Expenditures	1960 Reques
1. Deficit	-	-	-
2. Overhead capital	Rp 34,703,040	Rp 39,387,114.43	Rp 224,952,340
3. Public capital	5,000,000	1,000,000	5,000,000
4. Current debt	2,200,000	2,200,000	2,200,000
5. Reserve	3,557,280	-	1,160,710
6. Other settlement	6,535,000	5,277,501.08	8,225,000
	Rp51,995,320	Rp 47,864,615.51	Rp 241,538,050

Estimation of 1960 revenues

Ordinary services.	1959 Budget	1959 Revenues	1960 estimation
1. Surplus	-	-	-
2. State's aid	Rp 53,573,500	Rp 57,382,690	Rp 11,268,500
3. Taxes & Customs	86,682,420	112,042,072.15	178,406,630
4. Rents, etc.	479,240	1,025,669.46	892,880
5. Undertakings	22,660,760	-	9,825,410
6. Other revenues	6,604,080	9,333,896.36	6,307,710
			Rp 206,701,130
Deficit			35,585,680
	Rp 170,000,000	Rp179,784,327.95	Rp 242,286,810

<u>Extraordinary services.</u>			
1. Surplus	-	-	-
2. Capital receipts	21,730,570	65,523,513.18	5,218,420
3. Aids	191,580	-	5,481,410
4. Credit	-	-	-
5. Reserve	5,740,020	-	3,484,830
6. Other settlement	6,535,000	5,059,104.87	8,225,000
	Rp 34,197,170	70,582,618.05	22,409,660

#### IV. General service

##### a) Transportation.

As mentioned in Chapter one the number of motor-vehicles in Djakarta in 1956 was almost the same as that in Singapore. Also there were about 50,000 bicycles and bechas. In the past years the number of registered motor-vehicles has increased by 10,000 annually. Also, the number of bicycles and bechas is increasing by 20 - 30,000 each year.

Due these facts, it may be forecasted that motor-traffic would increase three or fourfold within the next 20 years, or less.

The rising number of vehicles often causes traffic congestion along the Djakarta highways particularly in peak hours. To overcome this traffic agglomeration the municipal administration has planned a long range programme. It is intended to add more traffic roadways around Djakarta. The most important proposal is the opening of a highway between Tandjung Pri k in the north and Djalan Bogor in the south, so as to remove the traffic from Djalan Gunung Sahari - Kramat which is very dense, and secondly to provide an extra connection between port and its hinterland.

At present, the important traffic artery is around the Gambir complex (Medan Merdeka/Lapangan Banteng), and around the business center in Djakarta-Kota. The problem in the Gambir region is not so serious, but traffic along the arterial road towards Djakarta-Kota is becoming so acute that a comprehensive survey is necessary. Traffic-returns along Djalan Gadjahmada in peak-hours (between 7 - 9 a.m. and 12 - 15 p.m.) shows a stream of 2,000 motor-vehicles per hour (excluding 2 and 3 wheel vehicles).

It is assumed that one traffic-ribbon can receive only 900 vehicles per hour. For smooth traffic monement, accordingly, there must be provided three ribbons to the North along Djalan Gadjahmada. With regard to Djalan Gunung Shari, perhaps its traffic problem is just the same.

b. Public health.

During 1957 there occurred some important events which may be noticed here, among which the flu epidemic was caused a stir. This flu was first signalized at the end of April, then aggravating at the end of May and early in June 1957.

The increase of the death-rate in 1957 especially in June - was increased by this flu epidemic. As a result of good cooperation between the government and the people, this a epidemic was cured within a short time.

Later, the Djakarta community again frightened by cholera rumours. After a thorough investigation it appeared that the anxiety was merely caused by an El Tor-germ infection - looking like a cholera-germ - an autochthon disease in Djakarta.

In October 1957 the Djakarta area was declared as being infected with small-pox, and since then vaccination against typhus, cholera, small-pox etc. was reinforced.

The fight against epidemic, except tuberculosis, has achieved good results.

Morbidity.

Diseases mentioned in the Epidemic Ordinance being reported to the Public Health Office are as follows:

No.	Sort of disease	Number of cases			Recovered	Dead	Remnant on Dec. 31, 1956
		old	new	total			
1.	Typhus abd	14	309	323	204	41	18
2.	Para typhus A.	11	180	191	177	3	11
3.	Para typhus B.	-	8	8	8	-	-
4.	Bac. Dysentery	12	165	177	154	21	2
5.	Diphtheria	8	56	64	45	14	5
6.	Poliomyelitis A.A.	-	15	15	13	2	-
7.	Meningitis G.S.E.	-	1	1	-	1	-
8.	Small-pox	-	6	6	6	-	-
9.	Pest	-	-	-	-	-	-
10.	Cholera	-	-	-	-	-	-

The following figures relate to diseases be found by patients under medical treatment of polyclinics.

No.	Sort of disease	Number of cases			Average prevalence per week
		old	new	total	
1.	Skin-disease	3,244	127,010	130,254	5,728
2.	Flu	276	34,431	34,707	1,052
3.	Bronchitis	253	32,496	32,749	994
4.	Disease of the eyes	407	27,721	28,128	982
5.	Malaria	237	26,977	27,214	830
6.	Ear-ache	409	17,642	18,051	693
7.	Scabies	313	14,784	15,102	657
8.	Avitaminosis	253	16,262	16,515	559
9.	Enteritis	54	14,403	14,457	404
10.	Tuberculosis	778	2,059	2,837	560

#### c. Recreation.

At present open spaces are lacking in Djakarta. For the benefit of the city and public convenience, the following proposals have been made:

1. The sea-shore west of Pasar Ikan: a foot-path along the strait.
2. Kali Tjideng: an open space for sport-events along the river.
3. Tjiliwung: a park along the river-side as suggested by Professor Holliday.
4. Rawamangun - Pisangan: a new park and a play ground.
5. Manggarai: an open space beside the existing burial-places.
6. Kemajoran: two open spaces along the expanded air port.

#### d. Education.

As mentioned earlier about 8,000 children do not attend elementary schools. This fact reflects a lack of school buildings of about 300. Moreover, the conditions of the present schools leanes much to be desired. Most of them are built of inferior materials, and almost without playgrounds. This

shortage must be meant based on a close calculation.

The number of elementary schools, teachers and pupils is shown below.

1. Public School : 304 (morning and noon-classes).
  - a. Pupils : 82,286 boys  
62,517 girls. Total: 144,803
  - b. Teachers : 1,733 males  
1,098 femals. Total: 2,881
  - c. Schoolbuildings: 167
2. State-aided schools : 45 (morning-and noon-classes).
  - a. Pupils : 8,924 boys  
9,228 girls. Total: 18,152
  - b. Teachers : 100 males  
184 females. Total: 284
  - c. Schoolbuildings: 45
3. Training-schools: 6
  - a. Pupils : 1,937 boys  
1,343 girls. Total: 3,330
  - b. Teachers : 35 males  
37 females. Total: 72
4. Private schools: 72 (morning-and non<sup>o</sup>-classes).
  - a. Pupil : 8,517 boys  
7,446 girls. Total: 15,963
  - b. Teachers : 237 males  
215 females. Total: 452
  - c. Schoolbuildings: 71

e. Housing.

This housing represents a major one in view of the steadily increasing population. From necessity the new-comers crowd in existing houses. If there is no more room, then they build houses of inferior materials. These sort of houses are usually overcrowded, badly constructed and dirty. This situation must be improved as soon as possible. However, the housing problem is not a constant one.

As explained in Chapter 1 the population growth in previous years was approximately 100,000 annually, but now that figure is about 80,000 per year. If the city is to maintain its sanitation standards, then houses must be provided for the people.

Consequently, the housing problem contains two aspects: first, the improvement of present conditions; second, provision of houses for the future.

According to estimation, at least 275,000 people are living in poor houses, and 80,000 persons in passable, but overcrowded ones.

Based up on calculations, the Djakarta Raya population would be 5.1 - 3.3 millions within 10 years, and 4.1 - 4.3 millions within 20 years. To meet this population growth, 10,000 houses per year must be constructed.

#### V. Personnel problems.

The number of the municipal personnel increases each year as shown below.

1950	-	2,000
1951	-	4,166
1952	-	4,170
1953	-	4,181
1954	-	4,781
1955	-	5,270
1956	-	5,487

This fact is due to the growth of the Djakarta Raya autonomy in pace with the extending duties resulted from the delegation of public affairs to the Municipality. In 1960 the number of personnel is about 9,000, excluding day-labourers. Nevertheless, capable and experienced personnel is still lacking.

#### VI. Town Planning, Community Development, Coordination.

The problem of town planning was discussed in chapter one. A brief sketch of Community Development, based on Government Regulation No. 2/1957, will be presented here.

That regulation aims:

- a) to coordinate the departments undertakings in cultivating the autoactivity of rural communities;
- b) to give opportunity to rural communities in developing its autoactivity;
- c) to create a single leadership in practicing coordination, both in the upper and the lower agencies.

Principally, the realization of Community Development program should be done by the villages themselves. According to the regulation, the performance, guidance, and control is exercised by special agencies established in the center, in each province, regency and pilot project.

As a result of our revolution, there is arising demand for improving the rural life, spiritually as well as materially. It is, therefore, the task of the Community Development Organisation to give effect to that rising demand. In the first stage of reconstruction, mental change-over of the people is as important as material advance in development projects.

It is intended to execute the Community Development programme reckoning with all aspects of rural life, and for good effect it is appropriate to coordinate first the conduct of affairs. As a matter of principles, the rural communities determine their own the objectives which should be built up.

With regard to the organisation, in the first stage there is established a body called "Dewan Koordinas Pembangunan Masjarakat Desa". To execute the council's decisions and the daily coordination, another body is formed called "Biro Pembangunan Masjarakat Desa".

The task of the Council is:

- a) To determine the general policy concerning community development programmes;
- b) to determine the underlying principles relating to all activities.

The task of the Bureau is:

- a) to prepare pilot projects;
- b) to conduct courses/training;
- c) to conduct conferences and seminars;
- d) to recruit personnel;
- e) to draw up the estimates;
- f) to direct and control the administration.

In each Province/Regency is formed a body called "Panitya Pembantu Tahnis Pembangunan Masjarakat Desa", whose task is to assist the smooth performance of the Community Development Programme.

To achieve efficiency, and taking into account the existing conditions (area, population, technical skill), a Pilot Project represents an administrative District or Underdistrict.

The staff consists of Division Heads of Departments who have direct interests in the Community Development, and Assistant-Wedana's whose regions are involved in the Pilot Project. This staff is assisted by an Advisory Committee whose task is to submit proposals, suggestions and recommendations. Further, several officials are engaged in the Pilot Project acting as specialists.

Let us now observe the situation in the Djakarta Raya area. First of all the administrative divisions of the Municipality is indicated below.

Area	District	Number of	
		underdistricts	villages
1. Djakarta Utara (Underdistrict Pulau Seribu)	1. Pundjaringan	5	15
	2. Tandjung Priok	-	5
	-	1	4
2. Djakarta Tengah	3. Gambir	3	8
	4. Kebajoran Lama	2	25
	5. Kebajoran Baru	-	5
3. Djakarta Selatan	6. Matraman	4	26
	7. Kramatdjati	4	53
T o t a l		19	141

The assigned Pilot Projects are as follows:

Pilot Project	Number of		
	Underdistrict	Village	Population
1. Kramatdjati	3	48	189,699
2. Kebajoran Lama	2	25	107,182
3. Tjengkareng & Pulau Seribu	2	12	41,090
4. Pulogadung	1	15	42,518
	8	100	380,489

## VII. Criminality.

/&amp;

According to a research report undertaken by the Institute of Economic/Social Research at the end of 1953, the annual increase of population by birth during the period 1948-1953 was approximately 13,000. If this increase continued constantly until 1957, the population growth by migration in that year was about 30,000. As a matter of course, not all migrants had an occupation, or got a job after their arrival in Djakarta. Also living accommodations were extremely lacking. Consequently, this situation produces an increase in social problems.

The reasons for migration, as explained in the Institutes' report are:

- 34.4% - financial pressure
- 17.3% - improve income
- 12% - unsatisfactory position
- 9.2% - to join family relatives
- 1.6% - for trade.

The consequences of this disorderly migration from the countryside into the city creates ill effects on the society. People who formerly lived in groups in the village are forced to live in a different sphere of a big city. They often lose sense of responsibility and easily tend to violate the law or rule, which is a usual phenomenon in large cities throughout the world.

The following are figures of criminality during 1959.

Month	Number of criminality					Total
	Theft	Murder	Robbery	Mishalnd- ling	other events	
January	107	1	2	-	3	113
February	83	1	1	-	4	89
March	53	-	6	-	3	62
April	20	1	-	2	1	24
May	61	-	4	-	-	65
June	82	2	-	1	-	85
July	91	4	-	-	3	98
August	60	2	-	1	2	65
September	94	-	1	9	1	105
October	62	-	-	3	4	69
November	70	-	1	3	1	75
December	40	-	-	3	3	46
T o t a l	823	11	15	22	25	896

## c. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### I. Town Planning.

- a) The main plan deals with the arrangement of land use which in broad lines indicates the best sites for housing, occupation and recreation for the benefit of the city's citizens in the future. As the primary step in realising town planning, the outline plan should be concluded first.
- b) Major problems relating to the realisation of town planning could be considered under three headings; finance, legislation and administration.
- c) This process should be accompanied with re-evaluation of income resources, the present-day financial capacity and proposals for improvement. In this connection it is suggested to consider first the following matters;
  1. Land - and development taxation should be enforced.
  2. Tax collection on each land contract.
  3. Illegal land use tax.
  4. A part of sales, petrol and vehicles, tax should be at the disposal of the Municipality.
  5. Increase of road tax.

### II. Population - housing.

Based on available land and possibilities of employment in the city, it is suggested to limit the population growth in the future because of the heavy burden in providing adequate housing accommodation; for the population's increase, this obviously requires a large amount of planning.

### III. Economy.

In pace with the government policy on administration, changes in the economic sectors are also introduced in the framework of

"Guided Economy", which involves retooling the means of production and distribution. Thus, reorganisation on a large scale directed towards the realisation of article 33 of the Constitution using the Guided Democracy system is a necessity.

#### IV. Social.

Progress in the social sector can be expected in view of the accepted manifesto of the President striving for a just and prosperous society.

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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

# ADMINISTRATION OF NEW TOWNS IN THE AMERICAS

BY

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INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

NEW YORK

REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

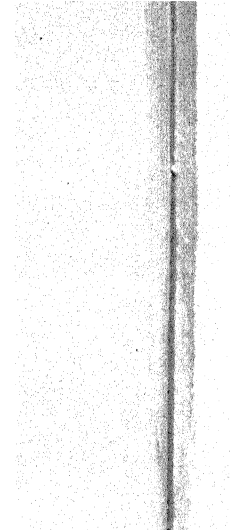
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# ADMINISTRATION OF NEW TOWNS IN THE AMERICAS

by

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# ADMINISTRATION OF NEW TOWNS IN THE AMERICAS

by

Charles S. Ascher

1. The Americas have long experience with new towns, but it has not been a systematic experience resulting from public policies defined by a legislature to further stated economic or social purposes. There have been hundred of new towns in the Americas, not many of which have grown as originally planned or have fulfilled their founders' expectations. It is hard to point to any one new town as a model on all counts. The analysis which follows thus attempts to glean facts and lessons of possible interest and relevance to Asian countries from historic and recent experience with different types of new towns in the Americas, with special emphasis to those in the United States of America, with which the author is most familiar.

## Conflicting Elements and Values in Planning New Towns

2. The administration of new towns, like most activities of government, calls for the balancing of conflicting forces:

The high initial cost of installation of public services for the ultimate population versus the wastefulness of replacing undersized pipes and narrow streets installed at low cost to serve during the first years;

The need for sustained direction to assure the orderly evolution of the plan versus the desire to devolve upon the residents power and responsibility for decisions affecting their community;

The national interest in the town if it is the seat of government or the site of enterprise vital to the national economy (power) or defense (atomic energy) versus the local interest of the residents in their home community;

The financial burden imposed on the local services by the public installation versus the capacity of the members of the community to support services of the desired standard;

The conflicting roles of the sponsor of the new town (whether government or enterpriser) as employer, landlord, governor and supplier of public services and private goods;

Recognition that one must build toward the growth of a community, a matter of decades if not generations away, while meeting the sudden need to accommodate an influx of construction workers, refugees, unskilled labor drawn from rural backgrounds, or other population with unusual characteristics;

The high standard of community services expected in any new town sponsored by government or large enterprise versus the relatively low earning power of the residents to support these services;

The ease of management by experts versus the difficulty and yet necessity of enlisting the self-help effort and civic concern of newly settled residents;

The desire to meet the standards of the intellectual, professional or clerical worker versus the need to provide accommodations for unskilled or low-wage auxiliary workers;

3. It will appear in any review of experience in the Americas that the extent to which these (and other) conflicts have been satisfactorily resolved has differed markedly in time

and place; that in one town some conflicts have been resolved, others not; that a resolution deemed satisfactory in one decade has been rejected in a subsequent decade. The main lesson to be drawn from this experience is the need for circumspection and caution before venturing into new towns schemes; the government of new towns in Asia may profit by examining the difficulties encountered in the Americas.

The First New Towns Illustrate the Need of On-Site  
Planning and the Value of Participation by the People  
concerned

4. The earliest new towns in Latin America were planned by what today would be called the Colonial Office of Spain. The plans were made in Spain and sometimes proved difficult to carry out on the prescribed site because of local topography, so that the town site had to be shifted. These plans and the ordinances for the governance of the towns in the famous laws of the Indies have been reprinted by the Institute for Studies in Local Administration in Madrid.<sup>1/</sup>

5. Many of the earliest new towns in North America were pioneer embodiments of the principles of self-help and community development. The most successful were built with the cement of religious community: a persecuted minority sect seeking freedom to live by its own precepts.

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<sup>1/</sup> Instituto de Estudios de Administracion Local, Garcia Morano 7, Madrid. See also D. Stanislawski, "Early Spanish town planning in the new world", Geographical Review, vol. 37, pp.94-107 (1947), Z. Nuttall, "Royal Ordinances concerning the laying out of new towns", Hispanic American Historical Review, vol. 4, pp. 743-53 (1921), vol.5, pp.249-54 (1922).

6. These were often theocratic communities: the United Brethren, called Moravians, in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; the Church of Latter Day Saints, called the Mormons, in Utah; the Amana communities in Iowa. They were often communal, i.e. all property was held in common. There still stand in Bethlehem, on a knoll above the Lehigh River, the stone houses of the 1770's; the Brethren's House, in which all the bachelors lived, and the Sisters' House, for the unmarried women.

7. In the Amana colonies, the elders met every evening to discuss work arrangements for the following day; they reported to a council of six, which met each morning. Each village managed its own affairs and kept its own accounts, which were reviewed by the elders at headquarters in Amana. The elders were elected by all male members of the group. Every member received an annual allowance for his clothing.

8. The Mormons entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847; for two years there was no civil government. By 1850, the inhabitants applied to Congress to be admitted to the United States as a state or territory. Congress established the Territory of Utah in 1859. The Organic Act empowered the governor and general assembly to institute "townships", which did not take form until 1868. The larger centers like Salt Lake City incorporated as municipalities with a large measure of local autonomy. Statehood was not granted until 1896 because of opposition in Congress to Mormon practices (especially polygamy), the hostility of Mormons to non-Mormon settlers, and clashes between the Mormon Church

and the United States Government over the extent of control. When a national work relief program was instituted in the depression of 1934, the State of Utah at first rejected it; even then the Mormon Church would take care of its own unemployed.

9. Other non-theocratic new towns embodied Utopian experiments: the phalansteries created by followers of the French social philosopher, Fourier; the New Harmony founded on the banks of the Wabash River in Indiana by Robert Owen, the Scottish Industrialist-social reformer, after he had lost control of New Lanark, his early model industrial town in Scotland; the Oneida Community in the Mohawk Valley of New York (producers of bear-traps and table-silver, still marketed as "Community Silver.")

10. It is worth stressing that these pioneer communities were as vital an element in the development of the United States as the legendary lonely frontiersman, the Daniel Boone who moved on when he saw the smoke of another settler's cabin. Common action was needed to conquer the wilderness. The communalities ultimately fell apart when they were surrounded by an industrialized credit society, when production for their own use no longer met the needs of the colonists.

11. Studies of patterns of pioneer settlement in the early XX Century suggest that it would not be easy in North America to repeat XIX Century pioneering. To attract colonists today to exploit underdeveloped areas, the State must first build a railroad, lay out a town and provide credit and marketing

facilities.<sup>2/</sup>

New Towns for a Growing Society at the Outset of  
Industrialization in the Nineteenth Century

12. The second half of the XIX Century produced other types of new towns. In Argentina, La Plata was founded in 1882 as a capital city for the Province of Buenos Aires, 50 kilometers from the city of Buenos Aires. After the first spurt of official buildings, it settled down as a quiet university town. The civil servants preferred to live in the metropolis, until an official regulation of the 1930's required them to live in La Plata. Similarly, in Brazil, Belo Horizonte was planned as the capital city of the state of Minas Gerais in 1894, to prevent the mutilation of the old city of Villa Rica, then already an "art city" like Bruges in Belgium.<sup>3/</sup> The recent creation of Brasilia, as a new capital city, is well rooted in Brazilian history: it was first authorized in the Brazilian Constitution of 1889.

13. In the United States of America, the new towns of the late XIX Century were the "Company towns" -- or as the Canadians now prefer to call them, "single-enterprise towns". They came

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<sup>2/</sup> H.M. Leppard, "Settlement of the Peace River Country", Geographical Review, vol. 25, p.62 (1935). W.A. Maciutosh and W.L.G. Joerg, editors, Canadian frontiers of settlement, vol. 6 C.A. Dawson and R.W. Murchie, The settlement of the Peace River country: a study of a pioneer area. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1934.

<sup>3/</sup> C. della Paolera, Urbanisme (Paris, France) Vol. 22, No.25-26. (1953). (a special issue on new towns)

with industrialization. Thirty years ago a town planner specializing in the design of Southern textile mill villages estimated that 95 percent of the 1200 textile mills in the Southern States had built their own villages. He explained that they were necessarily a paternal or proprietary development, advantageous to the mills, to the country at large, and to the workers themselves. The workers were drawn mostly from the submarginal farms of the Appalachian Mountains, were intensely individualistic, loved their cottages, resisted group housing. They nevertheless accepted the establishment, on a paternalistic basis, of standards and the services to achieve them in order to learn new skills and to raise their level of living. These included the establishment of schools quite equal to those in Southern towns, electric light (since the mills used electric power), piped water and sewerage. Only the better villages had every street paved; but concrete sidewalks were nearly universal because of extensive walking and the need to keep dust out of the mills. <sup>4/</sup>

14. Twelve years later a Southern sociologist recorded The Passing of the Mill Village: textile companies by the hundreds were selling their workers housing. <sup>5/</sup> Possibly the most powerful impetus to this change was the successful entry of the national textile workers trade unions into the Southern mills under the

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<sup>4/</sup> E.S. Draper, "Southern textile village planning", Landscape Architecture, Oct. 1927. Within six years Mr. Draper became the first director of planning for the T.V.A. He was later Deputy Commissioner of the Federal Housing Administration.

<sup>5/</sup> H.L. Herring, The Passing of the Mill Village; revolution in a Southern institution, University of North Carolina Press, 1949.

impetus of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935.

15. The industrial exemplar that dramatized most vividly the difficulties of the benevolent employer as patron of a model town was probably Pullman, Illionia seat of the factory of Mr. Pullman's "Palace Sleeping Cars". This town represented in 1879 unusual recognition by industry of the mutual advantage of superior living conditions for workers in a time of prevailing conflict between labor and capital. Furthermore, the houses were deemed a sound company investment. But the coercion of the workers to live in the town, the restriction on their social life by the company's control of all structures and land, the control of the public machinery by which the resident might have made his voice heard contributed to a bitter strike in 1894, with national political reverberations.<sup>6/</sup> Mr. Pullman refused rent reductions asked by the striking workers; he rejected an appeal of the Governor of Illionois to cancel arrears of rent. When the Governor refused to send state militia to quell the strike, Pullman turned to President Grover Cleveland to send United States troops. The strike leader, Eugene V. Debs, was sent to jail and the Supreme Court of the United States upheld his conviction.

16. Subsequently, the Attorney General of Illionois brought a proceeding in which the State Court forced the Pullman Company to divest itself of its non-industrial properties as ultra vires,

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<sup>6/</sup> R.M. Lillibridge, "Town development in an era of eclecticism". Society of Architectural Historians Journal, Oct. 1959, p.17.

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beyond the powers of the company's charter. The State Court held that ownership of the town was "against public policy and incompatible with the theory and spirit of our institutions".<sup>7/</sup> In 1907 the houses were sold at public sale, some to non-residents as investors.

17. The XIX Century also saw the first examples in the United States of America of model communities developed by land or real-estate companies for profit. Their appeal was to the growing number of families of wealth who would pay a premium for a gracious environment on the fringes of the city, well planned and with the assurance of controlled perpetuation of the plan. The prototype was Roland Park, Maryland, established in 1891, which dominated the market for substantial suburban homes near Baltimore for forty years.

Study Draws Lessons from Early Experience  
with Planned Communities in the United States of America

18. In 1936 a comprehensive study of planned communities was undertaken by the United States National Resources Committee, which became the National Resources Planning Board in the Executive Office of the President in 1939, when that Office was created. "The success attainable through the planning of communities" was "apprised through case studies of 144 of those comparatively few communities which, unlike the ordinary city, have actually been constructed from the start according to a

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<sup>7/</sup> A. Lindsey, The Pullman Strike, University of Chicago Press, 1942.

more or less comprehensive physical plan". <sup>8/</sup>

19. From a "cursory study of towns planned in the past", the Committee's report offered some noteworthy conclusions:

"There was no continuing policy of planning throughout any long period. The consideration of the plan as a finished product failed to recognize the town as dynamic. Thus no provision was made for the disposition of future growth at the periphery...

"These planned towns usually reflected the genius and enterprise of one person or small group and had little to do with the desires of the people as a whole. When this influence was removed, the original concept was lost in a planless period of development."

20. Toward a definition of a model town in the modern industrial era, the Report offered six principles set forth by Grosvenor Atterbury, the architect for numerous communities and housing estates in the United States of America:

- (a) "The most distinctive feature is the essential element of collectivism upon which the planned town should be based -- collective design, development and control.
- (b) "The aim should be toward higher standards and more efficient handling of land development and distribution.
- (c) "The science and art of town planning and good housing should be applied.

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<sup>8/</sup> United States National Resources Committee. Urban planning and Land Policies. Volume II of the supplementary report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee. "Part I. - planned communities, "by Arthur G. Comey and Max S. Wehrly, pp. 3-161. Government Printing Office, 1939.

- (d) "The model town should demonstrate to the individual the advantages of a reasonable self-restraint, of the subordination of his own esthetic impulses to a general esthetic scheme.
- (e) "It should cause actual money saving in lay-out and at the same time provide better conditions than could exist under 'individual methods'.
- (f) "No experiment or demonstrations should be made that could only be duplicated with the aid of philanthropy, charity or paternalism or in which collective action might not be equally possible or safe. It must be organized and developed on a business basis and must succeed as such." <sup>9/</sup>

21. In an effort to classify new towns, the Committee Report deemed the most important factor to be the initiating agency and its immediate objective. The Report distinguished four main groups:

- (a) "Communities developed by industry, interested primarily in an effective labor supply.
- (b) "Communities developed by governmental agencies interested either in (i) a labor supply for governmental projects in peace or in war; (ii) the demonstration of a social ideal, or (iii) the appearance and efficiency of a capital city.

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<sup>9/</sup> op.cit. p.17. The sixth principle is almost the same as the first principle of O.H. Koenigsberger, "New towns in India," Town Planning Review, vol. 23(2), p.92 (1952): model villages and pilot projects are not helpful unless there are the resources to multiply them.

- (c) "Communities developed by real estate organizations interested primarily in profit from the sale of land or houses.
- (d) "Communities developed by philanthropic agencies, interested primarily in making a contribution to social welfare".

22. The Report offers one other categorization that may be useful for the present purpose -- the forms of community government in the planned towns. For those founded by industry or government, the main types are:

- "The private company town", with "a more or less autocratic and benevolent form of government".
- "The incorporated company town which, while...a municipality" with "publicly elected officials, is nevertheless dominated by the policies of the company".
- "The company town which has passed through these transition stages to a town or city no longer influenced by company control".
- "The war housing towns (1916-18) under county, city, or their own municipal government".
- "Other governmentally developed communities which are essentially like 'company towns'".
- "The independent incorporated diversified industrial city".

23. In those founded by land developers or philanthropic interest, "different but no less effective forms of control" may be found:

- "The realty company acting as administrative head of a newly formed community.
- "The appointed association filling the same capacity as a municipal administration.
- "The citizens association with elected officers.
- "The incorporated town functioning in the usual municipal manner."<sup>10/</sup>

### The National Capital

24. The great XVIII<sup>th</sup> Century planned city of the United States of America -- Washington D.C. -- still has important lessons for us, even though new planned capital cities may not be in prospect in large number in Asia. Three lessons may be mentioned here:

- (a) Avoid premature sale of land so that increases in land values will be of public benefit. General Washington caused a board of three commissioners to be appointed for the development of the new town. They proposed to raise the moneys required to install the necessary improvements by the sale of lots. Major L'Enfant, the planner of the city, wrote urgently to the President, over the heads of the commissioners pleading NOT to sell the land:

"To look upon the property at this moment as a source of supply and to use it to defray the first expenses would be to destroy the capital from the very beginning..., I...call your attention to the advantages

which may be expected from borrowing a sum of money on the credit of the property itself."<sup>11/</sup>

25. L'Enfant correctly foresaw that "methods so out of the ordinary for developing a town will presumably meet with your opposition and be objected to by others. As it may effect (sic) public speculation in public property, many will decide against the idea." L'Enfant proposed floating a loan of \$1,000,000. Eleven years later L'Enfant wrote gloomily to the Commissioners that, if progress had not been rapid or brilliant, it was "because of departure from my principles and particularly for having given way to that active Agency of all evil, speculation." Now, he pointed out, "from the sale of house lots and the intermissive supply obtained, it has not in seven years lapse enabled the completion of even one-half the main edifices."<sup>12/</sup>

26. This advice has been offered to developers, public and private for a century and a half, from Washington D.C. to Kitimat, B.C. -- it is, of course, the cornerstone of the British Garden City policy--; it has more often than not been disregarded, always with the same foreseeable result.

(b) Early establishment of private land uses is essential.

"L'Enfant apparently did not think of the street system in relation to any detailed scheme of differentiated private land use. As a result, the subsequent use of land

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<sup>11/</sup> This famous letter of 19 August 1791, is reproduced in part in the Urbanism Committee Report, *op. cit.*, pp.77-78 and more fully in H.P. Cammerer, *The Life of Pierre L'Enfant* (1950) pp.156 ff.

<sup>12/</sup> Cammerer, *op. cit.*, pp.232 ff.

has borne little or no relation to the street system... and has been in part responsible for the present problem of traffic and transportation."<sup>13/</sup> It is also important for administrators to recognize that the physical plan itself may favor "built-in" control of land use or facilitate indiscriminate speculation. This is well exemplified at Radburn, New Jersey where the narrow cul-de-sac streets adapted to the motor age from the British Garden City lend themselves to little more than residential use.

(c) Avoid perpetuation of paternalism in administration. The United States Congress, after 170 years, has still not devolved powers of local government on the residents of the capital city; so that, with the admission of Alaska and Hawaii to statehood, the disposal of the atomic energy plant enclaves (like Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and Richland, Washington), the District of Columbia remains the only area in the country in which citizens are without representation or the right to vote. It is not often remembered that there were several local governments in the District prior to the Civil War, when emergency military government was instituted. The present government by three commissioners appointed by the President and supervision by a committee of the Congress was instituted only after the Civil War. A current proposal would establish a territorial government for the District: a governor to be appointed by the President, but with a locally elected legislature.

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<sup>13/</sup> Urbanism Committee Report, op. cit. 79.

Towns Recently Established by the United States Government

27. It has been the task of two decades or more for the United States Congress and the Federal administrative agencies to resolve the conflict between national interest and local interest in other Federal enclaves, notably the atomic energy towns like Oak Ridge and Richland, and towns created at power dam sites, like Norris, Tennessee, built by the TVA, and Boulder City, Nevada, built by the Bureau of Reclamation.

Sites of Water and Power Facilities

28. The Comptroller of the Bureau of Reclamation, speaking of his experience with Boulder City, wrote 22 years after the establishment:

"The major lesson ... from Bureau experience and ... (that of) any other Federal agency that has been the incubator for government towns is that it is much easier for the Federal government to create a community than to dispose of it. This fact underlines the need for more effective longrange planning. The time to decide the method of disposition of a town is when the town is started. Later, when a community has been nurtured in the atmosphere of Federal subsidy, the selection of a method is tremendously complicated." <sup>14/</sup>

29. Although its population is only 3,000, Boulder City is a prototype microcosm. Federal installations will occupy more land than any private or municipal operation. Interestingly, the small isolated town has attracted other "enterprises" a field

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<sup>14/</sup> D. Denit, "Boulder City -- government town problem", Public Administration Review, vol. 12, pp.97-105 (1952).

office of the Bureau of Mines, a Regional Office of the Bureau of Reclamation, and an office of the National Park Service, because of the recreational uses of the great reservoir, Lake Mead.

30. There is no proper relationship between Boulder City as a government headquarters and the capacity of the local population to maintain it. For example, to assure a tolerable climate in the desert, the town site is on a saddle above the dam; water must be pumped up 1,200 feet from the Colorado River 6 3/4 miles away. It has been sold for domestic use at half the cost of delivery.

31. The contributions of the United States Government to the local services have been financed basically out of revenues from the sale of power from the dam. The large public and private purchasers of power persuaded the Congress, in the Boulder Canyon Adjustment Act of 1948, to relieve them of "non-project" expenditures. The Bureau of Reclamation then commissioned a survey by the Dean of the School of Public Administration of the University of Southern California, which led to an order of the Secretary of the Interior in 1951 appointing a "City Manager" for municipal affairs, with an elected advisory council of local residents. The Bureau thereafter turned to the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the central organ of the Government for the disposal of real property, to prepare for the sale of houses and the transfer of service installations to prospective local government. One of the chief sources of revenue envisaged for the local government was to be the sale for domestic use at retail

prices of electric power which the municipality would be allowed to buy at wholesale "at the draw bar." Many small towns have been able practically to eliminate local taxes (rates) by profits from the municipally owned electric power plant.

32. In 1933 the Tennessee Valley Authority faced the need for a construction camp at the isolated site of its first dam, about 25 miles from Knoxville. To avoid the waste of the usual temporary shelter for 2,000 workers and their families, the Authority planned a town with some substantial homes suitable for its permanent staff; some demountable houses that could be moved to the sites of other dams to be built in its 20-year program; and dormitories that could become recreation facilities.

33. Fifteen years later TVA put the whole town site of Norris up for action, including the houses. An upset (i.e. minimum acceptable) price was based upon cost, less the part that could fairly be charged to the construction cost of Norris Dam, as illuminated by the judgment of the TVA Board. Allowing for depreciation, TVA probably came out even, in the judgment of a former Chairman; at least hostile critics of TVA made no charges of waste.

34. The occupants of the town formed a corporation to make a bid at the auction, but lost to a group of outside real estate developers, who paid 10 percent above the upset price. Within two years the syndicate had resold its holdings, offering the occupants first priority for the purchase of their homes, as required by TVA's terms of sale. The town had been planned originally for twice the population at the time of the sale;

one of the roles of the purchasers was to open up unbuilt lots for development.

35. During the period of dam construction, the population was exceedingly mobile. When the dam was completed, TVA appointed a manager for the town, who received advice from a council elected by the residents, many of whom were senior staff of the TVA. In 1947 the advisory council attacked the TVA for niggardly appropriations for street repair. In 1948, after the sale, when the local government was turned over to the Council of an incorporated municipality, on a referendum vote the same item was rejected by the tax-(rate-) conscious voters.

36. The TVA Board recognized the conflict of forces mentioned at the beginning of this paper: the importance of a sense of participation by the residents versus their tendency to take positions without responsibility. At least the advisory council developed community leaders with sufficient concern to organize a bidding corporation for the sale.

#### Sites of Atomic Energy Facilities

37. It was perhaps the success of the sale of Norris that emboldened the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) to start the devolution of its unique towns, built most remotely, with the secrecy of the highest war-time security, subject to total control of every entrance; yet built to a standard of living to attract the nation's top-flight scientists to endure practical exile for an indeterminate period of time. However much A.E.C. spent for amenities in these enclaves, it was a minute fraction of the cost of the installations for the production of nuclear energy.

(The Hanford plant located at Richland cost over one billion dollars; the community facilities turned over by A.E.C. to the municipality cost about \$30,000,000. In 1940 the population of Richland had been 247. In 1960 it was 23,000.)

38. In 1950 Public Administration Service, a non-profit research organization, prepared a report for A.E.C. on the feasibility of municipal incorporation and real estate disposition in Richland. A parallel report was prepared on Oak Ridge by an advisory committee. Extensive hearings were held by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the United States Congress in 1950 and 1954, leading to the Atomic Energy Community Act of 1955. The declarations of policy and purposes in the first chapter of that Act are an excellent summary of the conflicting forces to be resolved. <sup>15/</sup>

"Sec. 11... It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States of America that Government ownership and management of the communities owned by the Atomic Energy Commission shall be terminated in an expeditious manner, which is consistent with and will not impede the accomplishment of the purposes... /of/ the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. To that end, it is desired at each community to -

- "a. facilitate the establishment of local government;
- "b. provide for the orderly transfer to local entities of municipal functions... installations and utilities; and
- "c. provide for the orderly sale to private purchasers of property within those communities with a minimum of dislocation."

"Sec. 13... It is the purpose of this Act.../to provide/for -

<sup>15/</sup> Public Law 221, 84th Congress, 1st Session (69 Statues at Large 471); amended by P.L.802, 84th Congress, 2nd Session (70 Stat.653). The Rules of AEC implementing this statute, dated 31 January 1956, were published in the Federal Register, vol.21, No. 30, 16 February 1956. Immediately thereafter the President issued Executive Order 10657, dated 14 February 1956, transferring to the Housing and Home Finance Agency the main responsibilities under this act and the regulations. (21 Federal Register 1063, 16 February 1956; amendments in 21 Federal Register 3236 and 22 Federal Register 8275.)

- "a. the maintenance of conditions which will not impede the recruitment and retention of personnel essential to the atomic energy program;
- "b. the obligation of the United States to contribute to the support of municipal functions in a manner commensurate with -
  - (1) the fiscal problems peculiar to the communities by reason of their construction as national defense installations; and
  - (2) the municipal and other burdens imposed upon the governmental or other entities at the communities by the United States in its operations at or near the communities;
- "c. the opportunity of the residents of the communities to assume the obligations and privileges of local self-government; and
- "d. the encouragement of the construction of new homes at the communities."

39. The law provided that the occupants of homes should have first priority to buy them at prices 25 percent below appraised value. The appraisals were made by the Federal Housing Administration, which is in substance the national mortgage insurance corporation and is a constituent unit of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, to which the President entrusted the disposal program. Delegations of occupants travelled across the continent from Richland to appear before the Joint Committee of Congress on Atomic Energy, protesting that the appraisals resulted in prices higher than they should be asked to pay. FHA stated that it had executed the Congressional mandate to appraise "current fair market value", but that it would respect any other mandate. Congress made no change in the law and in the event nearly every occupant bought his home.

40. In preparation for the ultimate transfer, an Oak Ridge Regional Planning Commission was created under the relevant laws of the State of Tennessee, which prepared a zoning plan, a zoning by-law that was duly adopted by the County authorities, a master plan of roads and by-laws regulating the subdivision or allotment of vacant land. The State legislature enacted a statute, based upon a draft of the Oak Ridge (Advisory) Town Council, incorporating a local government under a modified Council-Manager form. Parallel arrangements were made at Richland under the relevant laws of the State of Washington.

41. Until incorporation, there were no municipal taxes (rates). The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) made payments in lieu of taxes to Management Services, Incorporated, which maintained the local public facilities as contractor for AEC. In furtherance of the "policies" and "purposes" of the Atomic Energy Communities Act already quoted, the Act includes a "finding" that "funds of the United States may be provided for the disposal of the communities and for assistance in the operation of the communities thereafter under conditions which will provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare."<sup>16/</sup> Section 91 requires AEC, after transfer of the municipal installations to a local body, to make annual assistance payments "of just and reasonable sums" to the local tax-collecting body. In fixing these sums, AEC is to take into consideration the "purposes" quoted above from Section 13 and also the approximate rates and assessments for

<sup>16/</sup> The last two phrases appear in the United States Constitution among the delegated, limited powers of the Congress. The Supreme Court of the United States sustained Federal appropriations for the TVA under the first, for social insurance under the second.

local improvements that would be payable upon property within the community if it were not exempt from local taxation by virtue of Federal ownership. Congress pledged these payments for ten years, subject to review thereafter upon recommendations of AEC.

42. The Act also deals with a difficulty that has plagued the transfer to local government in many other planned towns, whether from public or private developer. State laws provide the time schedule for the establishment of rolls of rateable property and the collection of rates. In a rapidly growing community the roll is soon out of date and municipal services are required for a larger population.

43. Thus, when the private developers of Park Forest, Illinois, helped the first 175 residents to organize a local government, legal counsel pointed out to the Village Council that rates based upon valuations of April 1949 (population 2,000) would not be collected until July 1950 (population 12,000), yielding only \$10,000 a month in revenues; the returns for 1951, based on the 1950 rolls would be \$50,000. But where to find the money for public services in the interim? <sup>17/</sup> The same question arose at Longview, Washington, the largest preplanned town since Washington D.C., created by the Long-Bell Lumber Company in 1922. At its first meeting in 1924, the city attorney told the new city council -- including many representatives of the sponsoring

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<sup>17/</sup> D. O'Harrow, "Growing Pains of a Village Government, Problems of Developing a New Town with Private Capital", The American City, January 1950, p.80. Mr. O'Harrow, first president of the Village Council in this suburb of Chicago, was then assistant director, is now director of the American Society of Planning Officials.

company, which would be the largest rate-payer -- that the municipality would have to begin by "selling warrants", i.e. borrowing against future rates.<sup>18/</sup>

44. To cope with this difficulty, the Atomic Energy Communities Act permits "special interim payments" to any local public body that will suffer a loss or lapse of rates in place of which it will not receive any other adequate revenues until the new local body is receiving its normal rates and performing its normal functions. (Section 91.b.2)

#### Greenbelt Towns

45. The Greenbelt towns were initiated by the United States Government as a "demonstration in suburban planning". Directly, they were part of a program to make work during the depression of the 1930's, so that hand labor was used instead of more economical machinery. The government later recognized that normal construction methods would have saved well over one-third of the cost. Upon liquidation it was estimated that 53 per cent of the cost had been realized.<sup>19/</sup> It was originally proposed by the guiding spirits of the Suburban Resettlement Division of the Resettlement Administration that such towns be built

<sup>18/</sup> J.M. McLelland, Longview: the Remarkable Beginnings of a Modern Western City. Portland: Binfords and Mort, 1949.

<sup>19/</sup> These demonstrations generated a considerable literature, e.g. P. Conklin, Tomorrow a New World: the New Deal Community Program. Cornell University Press, 1959.  
G.A. Warner, Greenbelt, the Cooperative Community: an Experience in Democratic Living. New York, Exposition Press 1954.  
C.L. Larsen and R. Andrews, The Government of Greenbelt, University of Maryland, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951.

near thirty or more central cities. Economists and planners analyzed 100 metropolitan areas to assess: their steady regular growth, sound economic foundation, diversity of industry, good wage levels, enlightened labour policies, acute need for good housing, cheap land, good topography, farming soil and park areas. Ultimately three "Greenbelt towns" were built, near Washington, D.C.; Cincinnati, Ohio, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The "Greenbelt" name was a self-conscious reference to Ebenezer Howard.

Indeed, an official brochure of the Resettlement Administration in September 1936 stated that the "blending of town and country" had been "tested by experience" in Bourneville and Welwyn (early British Garden Cities), in Radburn, New Jersey (a United States adaptation of such cities), and in Germany, Sweden and elsewhere.

46. In conformity with the admonition of the Controller of the Bureau of Reclamation quoted above, the Resettlement Administration announced in advance its "basic program":

"To obtain a large tract of land... to create a community protected by an encircling greenbelt; ... the dwellings and the land ... to be held in one ownership, preferably a local public agency to which the Federal government will transfer title, which agency will rent ... the dwellings but will not sell them; a municipal government to be set up, in character with such governments now existing or possible in that region; coordination to be established ... /with/ local and state governments so that there may be provided education and other public services required by the community; to accomplish these purposes in such a way that the community may be a tax/rate-paying participant in the region; ... that rents will be suitable to families of modest income."

47. Furthermore, the towns were not to be "Federal islands": "Once construction is finished, the Federal government will withdraw, except for insisting on competent management to protect

its investment and interests." Local public bodies would hold and use the properties. In drawing the charters, "care will be taken that the towns will be permanently administered as planned communities". Land and buildings were to bear their full share of State and local taxation and from these revenues schools and other public services would be normally supported. Since the towns would not have "the hidden subsidy of taxes/rates/ ... on large commercial and industrial properties," the equivalent must be provided, unless the cost of housing could be greatly reduced.

48. Pursuant to this basic program the Maryland legislature in 1937 enacted a charter for a city of Greenbelt, drafted by an advisory committee of the Resettlement Administration, providing for an elected council with the power to make by-laws, and an appointed "manger" (i.e. professional municipal administrator) with specific power to receive payments in lieu of rates and with authorization for the city manager to hold other posts (in fact, to be paid by the Federal government to serve as its "community manager!"). The payments by the Federal government in lieu of rates were established each year by a bargaining conference: in 1950, they constituted about four-fifths of the city's revenue. The only rates paid came from the community general store, built on Federally owned land; the County paid "rent" to the city for the use of the community building as a school. The Federal government, as land-owner, paid directly for the construction and repair of streets and made no service charge for water or sewerage; but

the Public Housing Authority, successor in interest to Resettlement Administration, considered the payments in lieu of rates and the other maintenance items as part of the cost of operating the community and reflected them in the rents charged to the occupants.

49. In conformity with one of the tenets of its basic program the Resettlement Administration, held all the land used for commercial purposes. Indeed, it went further and granted a practical monopoly of retail trade to a Consumers Cooperative store.

50. The low-income families to whom priority had been given in the depression years gave way after the Second World War to veterans (not subject to limitations on income): these began to press for the disposition of Greenbelt, Maryland. The original program of the Resettlement Administration had not taken into account the general laws requiring that all federally owned land be sold by competitive tender, so that a special act of Congress was required in 1949 to authorize an unusual transaction. The residents formed a non-profit Greenbelt Veterans Housing Corporation, to which on 31 December 1952, the Public Housing Authority transferred 1575 dwellings and 707 acres of land for about \$7 million. The mutual corporation in turn leased each house to its occupant, subject to "regulations" giving the corporation the first option to repurchase the lease and the right to approve subleases.

51. In 1953 the Public Housing Authority conveyed to the City of Greenbelt the water and sewerage systems and the recreation areas. Over the protest of the City Council, it sold the electric power plant to the Potomac Electric Power Company.

52. Some 350 flats and 850 acres of undeveloped land were sold to other cooperative corporations which proposed to develop them with the aid of a national technical group, the Foundation for Cooperative Housing.

53. Confronted by the prospect of substantial self-support, the City Council of Greenbelt cut the level of rates almost in half, with substantial sacrifice of current services. The residents accepted these reductions in order to establish a level of rates that would encourage new building on the undeveloped land and thus lead to community growth. (Note clause d in Section 13 of the Atomic Energy Communities Act: one of the purposes of the Congress is "the encouragement of the construction of new homes at the communities.")

54. One must read behind this novel, if not unique, form of devolution many facts. The city manager-"community manager" who mediated between the government as landowner and the municipal council was one of the most experienced and respected professional municipal administrators in the country. He had served in many other cities. The residents of Greenbelt, Maryland, indeed a majority of the city councilmen, were senior civil servants of the United States Government. There was thus a cohesiveness in the resident group and a readiness to spend thousands of hours in the endless committee meetings and consultations,

(not to mention lobbying with members of the Congress) necessary to bring about a successful conclusion to these complicated negotiations toward an untried, novel solution.

55. Greenhills, the town satellite to Cincinnati, was sold largely to a non-profit corporation of tenants and veterans. At Greendale, Wisconsin, no organized group of veterans (entitled to preference under the Act of 1949) qualified to buy the houses en bloc, so they were sold to individual tenants, 97 percent of whom made offers.

56. At both Greenhills, Ohio, and Greendale, Wisconsin, local non-profit organizations came forward to purchase the "greenbelt" so as to perpetuate the permanent open space; part of the Greenhills greenbelt was turned over to the County Park Service. Again, one must guess at the investment of time and initiative to persuade three leading industries concerned with the betterment of Milwaukee to form the Milwaukee Community Development Corporation, a "public spirited private corporation", which purchased all the undeveloped land at Greendale for \$825,000, under a pledge to continue the planned subdivision of 2,200 acres, retaining its original character, under public supervision and control. This corporation acquired the shopping center.

57. Within five years after the sale in 1952, the population of Greendale had doubled and its rateables had increased threefold. The fact that water and sewer facilities were installed in 200 to 300 lots and the basic systems were capable of meeting future needs were the key to Greendale's rapid growth in a metropolitan area short of building sites.

58. In 1952, the level of rates at Greendale was the highest of any municipality in Milwaukee County. These were reduced by the town council by careful capital budgeting, the postponement of services or purchase of new equipment. The permanent green spaces were preserved: some owned publicly by the school authorities or the county park commission, most to be transferred to associations of the owners of adjacent homes. In the opinion of a resident architect, they might not become "polished parks", but they would be serviceable green breaks and recreational spots; they would not be as extensive as original<sup>ly</sup> planned, but would aggregate about 30 percent of the area.<sub>20/</sub>

59. The "basic program" of the Resettlement Administration abjured the "hidden subsidies" of rates from commercial and industrial properties. The city of Greenbelt and the Community Development Corporation have recognized that low income families cannot support local public services out of rates on their homes. Accordingly the Development Corporation acquired the commercial properties from the United States government. A national industry with headquarters in Milwaukee (one of the sponsors of the Development Corporation) has built its research laboratories in Greendale, bringing 200 professional and technical workers to live in the town.

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20/ D.R. Johnson, "A 'Greenbelt' Blooms; One of Three Started by United States, Now Under Private Ownership, Grows Soundly Despite Limited Tax Base", National Civic Review, vol. 48, p.338 (July 1959), Mr. Johnson, a resident of Greendale, has been an architect for the Milwaukee Housing Authority.

Privately Planned Towns in the United StatesSite of Lumber Company

60. "The largest preplanned town in the United States since Washington, D.C." is the boast of Longview in the State of Washington, at the confluence of the Columbia River and its tributary, the Cowlitz. The Long-Bell Company was the largest retail lumber company in the United States, with headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri, when its President, a millionaire in his sixties and a philanthropic religious spirit, persuaded his business associates in 1922 to venture a new base in the forests of the Pacific Northwest. The land at Longview, originally 3,000 acres, enlarged in 1926 to 5,200 acres, cost about \$2,500,000. Great engineering works like a dike against river floods, cost \$3,500,000. The President of the Company created a public service corporation with capital shares of \$2,500,000 to provide electricity, water supply and bus transportation. He also made personal gifts of \$1,000,000 for parks, a library, a Y.M.C.A. building, a high school.

61. Across the Cowlitz River was the incorporated town of Kelso, population 2,500, whose leaders early offered legal consolidation with Longview. The President refused; with the tremendous investment of his company in land and utilities, he wanted the population to grow in Longview. But many employees chose to live and trade in Kelso, -- in the opinion of a competent observer, to show their independence. In 1930 Longview had a population of about 10,000. Kelso had grown to 6,200.

62. The President of the Company envisaged a general industrial town, not a company town, with an ultimate population of 50,000. He first offered the entire development of the town to his neighbor in Kansas City, a real estate developer who had become nationally famous for the satellite residential community, the "Country Club District", with its luxurious homes and its own shopping centers. The developer was not interested in taking over the development but suggested an interesting system of land use control which he had used in the Country Club District, i.e. private control of land use through covenants in the deeds of sale. Since there was then no State enabling act nor any incorporated government of the town to exercise public powers for such controls, the developer induced the Company President to insert clauses in the deeds that in effect provided the sanctions through private contract for the equivalent of a zoning scheme.

63. The early residents of Longview sought jobs and brought no wealth. Tarpaper shacks sprouted. There was no adequate market for building lots at a price to cover the costs of the improvements and associates proposed to the Company President the sale of unimproved lots to poorer families. He rejected this proposal, yet found himself in the dilemma that the costs of operating a community of high standards was insupportable. The Company was spending \$10,000 a month for municipal type services. The President recognized that even after a municipal government would come into being, his company would still carry the main burden as the largest land-owner and rate-payer; he felt it must therefore control the city officials. His planners told him

that he would need a population of 2,000 to 3,000 before he could safely surrender his power to control the use and development of the property.

64. In 1924, with a population of 3,700, the voters established a city government. The company was well represented on the first city council. But by 1928, it was possible for one of the councilmen to break with the Company and to campaign successfully for Mayor on an opposition ticket.

65. A planning consultant recorded in 1936 another dilemma: "the proper provision for reasonable expansion of each separate type of land use without early conversion of land from one use to another". "It was necessary... to start with what might be called 'nuclei of development'," each in its permanent location, and connect these by a system of main and secondary streets with their accompanying services". (This difficulty has arisen in Canberra, Australia, and in Chandigarh in the Punjab).

66. In the depression of the 1930's, the lumber industry suffered and Longview stopped growing. The heavy investment in the public improvements for only one-quarter of the planned population forced the abandonment or curtailment of needed city services. The level of rates was limited by State law; the level of valuation of rateable property had been kept low, and there was not enough income to operate the city. After the depression, with demand for lumber during and after the war, growth was resumed; but the historian of Longview reported after 25 years that the city was not rich enough to take care of its parks as

in the days when the Company President paid the bills. Nevertheless, having found a level that the citizens could maintain, Longview may be considered -- across nearly four decades of ups and downs -- one of the most successful privately planned industrial towns in the United States.<sup>21/</sup>

#### Railroad Center

67. Kingsport, Tennessee, is noteworthy because of its unusual sponsorship. In 1914, the first railroad was extended into an area in northeast Tennessee rich in unexploited resources. The Kingsport Improvement Company built and promoted the city primarily to build up tonnage on the railroad and to yield profitable returns on the real-estate development. Industries were solicited that could use the favorable coal and water supply, that would fit into an interlocking scheme of products and by-products, with balanced male and female employment. Eminent planners were retained by the Company, who provided a town plan to accommodate about 12,000. This population was reached within fifteen years. Within twenty years, the city held 22,000, with another 5,000 persons outside the city limits, where shack towns had sprung up, varying from mountain cabins to modern houses without water or sewerage.

68. At an early stage, the Company retained the New York Bureau of Municipal Research to draft a model charter, which the Tennessee Legislature enacted, providing for a council-manager government. But after twenty years the regulation of land use

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<sup>21/</sup> Data on Longview from McLelland, op.cit. footnote 18, and Urbanism Committee Report, op. cit., pp. 41-44.

was still embodied only in private restrictions, not supported by public sanctions. The Company's gradual withdrawal of enforcement had facilitated what the National Resources Committee characterized as the "creation of miniature slum conditions": The incipient slums within the city resulted from "encouragement given to poor development by temporary or makeshift structures in the attempt to meet the demand for low-cost housing" for unskilled labor. The shack towns outside the city resulted from the failure "to acquire or control sufficient land at the periphery of the original tract to protect its character."

#### Government by Contract in a Housing Development

69. A device worthy of mention for the government of a new town in appropriate circumstances is the "Lakewood Plan", widely noted in the United States. Lakewood is an area of 7.4 square miles in the county of Los Angeles, California. It <sup>was</sup> incorporated as a separate city in 1954, as a substantially developed community of 70,000 people. Essential public services were then provided by the County (one of the largest in the United States). The citizens of Lakewood wanted to control the cost and quality of their services without setting up a large municipal establishment. The City Council therefore contracted with the County authorities to provide municipal services, retaining to the City only the overall directive responsibilities for budget, planning and legislation. Some of the services are self-financing by fees from the user; some are paid for at rates fixed by the state legislature generally: others are paid for at negotiated rates estimated to cover costs to the county, subject to annual

redetermination. These contracts cover the assessment and collection of rates, the enforcement of planning and zoning, law enforcement, fire protection, building inspection, health services, sanitation, street construction and maintenance, street lighting, parks and recreation and water. Thus a city of 75,000 operates with a permanent staff of only 100 employees, while enjoying services equal to or better than those generally provided in the urban parts of Los Angeles County. But the choice lies with the locally elected City Council, not with the County Authorities.<sup>22/</sup>

#### Towns Recently Established in Latin America

70. Latin America has seen the initiation of a few industrially sponsored new towns, such as steel mill towns in Chile and Brazil.

##### Huachipato, Chile

71. This town was established in 1947 by the Compania de Acero del Pacifico, S.A. for workers in its mill on the outskirts of Talcahuano (population 65,000) and six miles from Concepcion (population 140,000). The mill has been in operation since 1950. At the end of 1958, there were 1,460 Chilean and 28 foreign salaried employees and 4,100 Chilean hourly workers. The plan for the town was prepared by the Corporation's Chilean architect, of European original and professional training. The Corporation has not felt compelled to house all its workers: train service is provided from near-by Concepcion. By 1956, 1,200 houses had

<sup>22/</sup> The Lakewood Plan (January 1960) City of Lakewood, 5050 Clark Avenue, Lakewood, California, 15 pp.

been completed. The steel company has sought no hand in the government of the town. Basic municipal services are supplied by the public works authorities and the adjacent city of Talcahuano. In 1959 the Company reported to its shareholders that it was "building Public School No. 16 with funds contributed by the Government", by the Company, "and by the Huachipato workers". The company started the construction of 70 workers' homes in 1958/59; the Corporacion de la Vivienda, the governmental authority for low-cost housing, completed 192 in that year and started another group. The Corporacion, the public works authorities and the steel company joined in drilling for underground water. The steel plant is subject to municipal rates. The Company maintains a welfare department with a medical staff and social service staff.

72. One section of the town is for white collar employees, who buy their lot from the Company and finance construction of their homes through the Social Security Fund (Caja). The land is sold under a covenant to build within two to three years to prevent speculation.

73. The Company considers that it has made a social advance in enabling workers to own their own homes -- unusual in Chile. The manual workers have fifteen years to pay; some have completed payment within five years. If they leave company employment, the company will return their equity with interest. <sup>23/</sup>

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<sup>23/</sup> Note in Town and Country Planning, vol. 25, pp. 221-2 (1957); Annual Report to Shareholders, 1958:59; Interview with Company official, August 1960.

Volta Redonda, Brazil

74. This town was planned by the National Steel Company (Companhia Siderurgica Nacional), a mixed enterprise of which the Government has contributed over four-fifths of the capital with the rest coming from the Social Security Institutes and 45,000 private shareholders. Its purpose is to operate an integrated metallurgical enterprise. In 1941 about 3,000 people farmed and raised cattle on the former coffee plantations near Barra Mansa on the Paraiba River. The National Steel Company, through its staff of engineers, planned a town for about 60,000 about 10 kilometers from Barra Mansa. The capitalization of the enterprise included provision for the costs of public facilities and shelter for the workers. The original installation of public utilities were of sufficient capacity to serve the planned population. They are now approaching their limit after fifteen years. Expansion of the steel mill is planned, but increased automation will not require a proportionate increase of workers. Other industries have come into the valley, employing now about 3,000 workers. An ultimate population of 100,000 is envisaged in another fifteen years. Although the steel company has built houses in Volta Redonda which it rents to its workers, about 1,000 steel workers live in Barra Mansa and pay higher rents to do so (just as workers of the Long Bell Lumber Company live in Kepso, Washington) because of the sense of independence it gives them.

75. The Steel Company accepted from the beginning the responsibility to provide community facilities, including social,

cultural and sports activities, for its workers and their families. In 1955, a municipal government was created, under the laws of the State of Rio de Janeiro, with its own Mayor and Council. As in instances in North America, the municipality had such feeble revenues in its early years that the steel company advanced taxes to the municipality for the first three years. The municipal council includes a dentist, school teachers and steel company workers. The company, as part of its social services, early provided a hospital for its workers and their families. Since the establishment of the municipal government, funds have been raised in the community for a small hospital that has been turned over to the municipality.

76. No fringe slums have grown up around Volta Redonda. The steel company owns the land on which it has erected workers' housing; the municipality controls the use of land for residence by others or for business or other purposes. Writing in 1957, a Brazilian planner said "Substantially it can be seen, Volta Redonda is a company town." Today, officials assert that the company does not interfere in municipal affairs and stress the voluntary movement of other industries into the area. <sup>24/</sup>

#### Canadian Experience with New Towns

77. The Canadian experience with new towns shows more systematic governmental concern than in the United States of America, embodied in special relevant provincial legislation and in special attention by the federal authority, the Central

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<sup>24/</sup> C.Lodi, Town and Country Planning Review, vol.25, pp.473-5. (1957). Interview with company officers, October 1960.

Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The recent opening up of mineral and forest resources in the Canadian north has given dramatic urgency to the provision of new towns. There have been some quickly thrown-up mining camps reminiscent of earlier "gold-rush" towns. A recent list of new towns "having an industrial base and located in primitive or rural areas" shows 25 started since 1945, of which 8 owe their "initial development" to an extractive industrial company -- iron, copper, oil, paper and pulp -- 11 to a provincial government or authority (hydro-electric power, prairie farm rehabilitation agency) and 8 to the Government of Canada.

78. Canada had earlier experiences with company towns that were unsatisfactory to the company, the government and the inhabitants. The readiness of the Aluminium Company to seek the ablest advice on the organization and government of Kitimat was the result of its unhappy experience as employer-landlord-governor of Arvida. The author of an extensive review of the "single-enterprise community in Canada", who visited 60 such communities, notes that quick action for the exploitation of resources still impels company action, although the company views the town as a "necessary evil"; but the paternalistic autocracies of the past are disappearing because of countervailing powers of the trade-unions, the churches and the provincial governments. Another force is the growing impersonality of the large corporation, without the paternal benevolence of a Robert Owen or George Pullman. As a result the Company is ready to cooperate with the

provincial authorities. <sup>25/</sup>

79. As early as 1921 the legislature of the Province of Ontario passed an act incorporating the town of Kapuskasing, authorizing the provincial authorities to enter into an agreement with the Spruce Falls Pulp and Paper Company for the planning and establishment of the town. The enter town site, as subdivided, was owned by the Province, which also owned much of the other land with the municipal boundaries; but the Company, for example, contributed the substantial cost of some vital facilities like a high-level bridge over the river. Under a general provincial law, the province advanced \$400,000 to the Municipal Housing Commission, to build about 100 houses. The Paper Company provided a Community Club as recreation center, a hospital and a hotel. Its policy was to withdraw from all town enterprises, including shops, as rapidly as private enterprise entered and successfully filled the need.

80. In 1956 an official of the Province of Ontario said that "the province has indicated that they do not like company towns and they are going to do everything they can to stop company towns". Thus the Mining Act, as amended in 1954, enabled the government through Order-in-Council (Executive Regulation) to reserve the surface rights of mining claims for townsites.

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<sup>25/</sup> H.W. Falker, "Canadian 'New Towns'". Community Planning Review, vol.4, pp.80-87 (1954), summarizing Single-enterprise communities in Canada, prepared by the Institute of Local Government, Queen's University, Kingston, published by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Ottawa.

81. The New Towns Act of Alberta authorized the Provincial Government to grant or lend up to \$1 million in establishing a new town. For one town in Ontario, the Province made \$600,000 available for the required initial survey and plans, and the installation of roads, water and sewerage. These advances are usually capital loans, to be repaid from the sale of lots or from tax revenue, including the revenue from industry.

82. A French-Canadian sociologist, writing in 1957, asks whether the mining towns of Quebec have not been a failure.<sup>26/</sup> At Schefferville, the Iron Ore Company of Canada made a town plan, but refrained from any social provisions, because it could not foresee the characteristics of the future population. The Company's goal was to establish a technically perfect plan, adequate public services, attractive houses, but to leave the social structure to the future inhabitants. The sociologist asks whether a mining company is the proper organ to build a town.

83. Chibougamau was created under a provincial Act of 1941 for mining villages. This Act was to be administered jointly by the Ministry of Mines and the Ministry of Municipal Affairs. The Provincial government appointed a local administrator for the first five years. The goal of Chibougamau was to provide one town for all the mining companies. The Province laid out a rectangular town plan, installed water and sewerage, appointed the administrator for five years -- and that was all. The defect here was in the shack town that arose because of failure to plan

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<sup>26/</sup> C. Langlois, "Nos villes minières: un échec?" Community Planning Review, vol. 7, pp.52-63 (1957).

or control beyond the original subdivision. The buyers of lots built uncontrolled shacks, three-quarters of which were deemed substandard by the observer.

84. Control of the town by a distant provincial authority in its first years created problems. The sewers were installed only four feet below ground, although the climate required six-foot depth for protection against frost. The solution was to raise the level of the streets two feet. As a result the cost of filling and grading a lot exceeded the cost of the land. More recently a locally elected council of the incorporated town has exercised better controls and has applied greater resources.

85. A provincial Act of 1952 governing mining towns in Quebec is administered by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs alone. The boundaries of a new town under this Act are set automatically at 25 square miles and may include the site of the mine, as a source of rateables. The provincial government names a municipal council of five to serve for the first five years. The town is subject to the general laws governing municipalities.

86. The sociologist notes of Chapais that the enterprise devoted minimum resources to the town -- just enough to avoid a total shack town, -- because the ore was depleteable. But when the mine went into operation, the reserves were found to be much greater than expected. The Province exempts mining companies from taxation for three years. The company stands to make profits and will normally rather ~~con~~tribute money than be responsible for a town. The Province also profits by

industrial development. Therefore, he asks, why should not the company and the Province both contribute to a fund to be administered by an independent non-profit corporation, under the direction of a competent planner, devoted solely to the development of the town. At first, its governing board would consist of representatives of the company and of the government. Later, representatives of the residents should be included.

87. From the Canadian post-war experience one authority derives these conclusions:

1. Governments should accept a general responsibility for the planning of new towns and for the control of development in accordance with general plans.

2. Governments should be prepared to advance money to finance the construction of new towns.

3. The location of new towns should be based on adequate regional studies.

4. Town-sites should be large enough to provide a green belt of substantial width. If there is no effective regional planning, town-sites should be of the order of 20 miles square.

5. New towns should be planned by town planners of high professional standing, at least as consultants. (This task should not be left to company engineering draftsmen as an exercise).

6. New towns should have essential public services of good standard installed before homes are built.

7. Adequate provision should be made for service industry, for the less attractive commercial uses and noxious

industry. <sup>27/</sup>

Control of Fringe Development: A Common Problem Throughout  
the Americas

88. The control of fringe development is reported as a crucial problem of the planned town throughout the Americas.

89. An Argentinian planner notes of Brazilian planned provincial capitals that they present chaotic fringe developments. One reason is a checkerboard plan without differentiation of future use of the areas (see the criticism of Washington, D.C. on page 10. above). In Goiania, planned in 1938 for residential areas and protective greenbelts, population pressure led to abandonment of the plan and uncontrolled expansion. The observer comments that chaotic fringes will result unless the size of the community is limited; he suggests the need of a national plan for population distribution.

90. From its very beginning, the new capital city of Brasilia seems to have generated shack towns and nuisance uses around its fringes.

91. The previously mentioned developer of the Country Club District planned in Kansas City stated to the National Resources Committee, "The expense of protecting scattered suburbs of satellite areas to control property is an enormous undertaking. The heaviest load/such/ a development... has to carry is the control of ample land to give protection." The limited-profit

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<sup>27/</sup> S.D. Lash, "Planning of Recent New Towns in Canada".  
The Engineering Journal (Canada) March, 1958.

corporation that developed Radburn, New Jersey, found itself in financial straits in its efforts to hold the protective open land partly because of the practices for the assessment of rates common in the United States. In the British garden cities the greenbelt pays rates based upon its value as agricultural land. No such classification for tax purposes is permitted under the constitutions of most United States states; as soon as houses were built at Radburn, the rating authorities attributed to the remaining farm lands value as potential building sites.

92. Various devices have been tried in planned communities to protect their fringes, beside the obvious one of acquiring and holding large peripheral tracts. Roland Park, Baltimore, marked its eastern boundary along the heavily travelled interurban York Road by erecting a high stone wall, set back far enough to provide shallow business lots along the Road, but forming a screen and barrier protecting the residential development within.

93. Forest Hills Gardens, Long Island, was developed in 1911 by a philanthropic foundation, as a demonstration of the values of real-estate development under comprehensive planning while yielding a reasonable return as a business investment. Its land extended along the west side of the railroad giving access to New York City. When the owner of the farm land bounding Forest Hills Gardens on the West proposed an unrestricted auction of lots, the Foundation's land-holding company placed barriers on the streets leading from the railroad station to the farm. These, it appeared, were private streets never dedicated to public use. By this device the Foundation forced the farm owner to agree to

sell his lots subject to architectural control by the Foundation to assure conformity.

94. The most widely available device is for a planned town to use the powers conferred generally by the legislatures of many states on municipalities to control the subdivision of land and to exercise regulation by zoning over unincorporated areas within a stated distance from the city's boundaries; usually from five to ten miles.

95. Canada is acutely aware of the need to provide for recreation and leisure inside a new settlement if the peripheral area is not to become a "moral garbage heap for the planned community". The control of the fringe is also important, even though at first a green rural belt seems a fantastic complement to a uranium town in the North. As a device for fringe control, the province of Ontario sets the municipal boundaries of a new town at twelve miles square. Another interesting device is to build one town to serve mines scattered over a considerable area. In the Pembina area of Alberta four new towns are being built by the provincial government within an area about 20 miles square. This seems to be an instance of regional planning that might have applicability in Asia.

#### SUMMARY

96. Circumspection and caution should characterize approaches to proposals for new towns. The establishment and administration of new towns call for a balancing of conflicting forces. The

balance may be achieved through various means but will require careful research and advance planning, a framework of laws authorizing appropriate arrangements for public services at different stages in the development of new towns, extraordinary financial assistance during the initial stages of growth, early establishment of private land uses, provision in public facilities for reasonable population growth, control to avoid excessive growth, measures to ensure that increments in land values may be used for financing future capital requirements for community facilities, and citizen participation in community affairs at an early stage.

97. In meeting the special needs of new towns, care must be taken to avoid an unnecessary degree of paternalism, especially in the governance of capital cities. The time to consider long-range arrangements for the government of a new town is before even temporary arrangements are made for community services.

98. The local public interest should be protected from the earliest stages of any private development that is likely to require public facilities and services. In the absence of public authorities to protect that interest, enlightened private developers may be able to use private covenants to control land-use. Company run towns should be avoided. It will be in the long-range interest of neither employer (whether government or private) nor employee for the employer in a single industry town to have continuing responsibility for providing community services.

99. Governmental plans and authority for new towns should extend to control over the use of fringe areas.

100. The experience with new industrial towns suggests the desirability of creating an independent non-profit corporation, devoted solely to the development of the town and financed jointly by the company concerned and the government. Residents should be given steadily increasing participation in the governing body of the corporation until local self-government can be established in the new town area.



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF NEW AND  
RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

WORKING PAPER

PREPARED BY  
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Public Administration Problems  
of New and Rapidly Growing Towns in Southern Asia

( Working Paper for the Seminar )

I

Trends and causes of Urban Growth

In South Asia, as in other regions of the world, there has been a marked acceleration of urban growth in recent decades. It is usual to ascribe the growth to industrialisation. This is undoubtedly a major factor, especially in the under developed countries which are taking big strides in economic development. But a study of Indian conditions has disclosed that industrial cities grew in recent years at about the average of all cities and at the same rate as administrative cities. Even though industry is concentrated in the urban areas, the predominantly industrial cities represented only 40% of the total city population and were almost equalled in size by the administrative cities. Even among industrial cities there are only a few which have a decidedly industrial character, and in most of them administrative and general service activities are markedly noticeable. The conclusion, therefore, emerged that industrialisation, especially the establishment of large-scale industry, only partially accounts for urban growth. This picture may, however, change with the founding of new towns as industrial bases during the implementation of successive Five Year Plans and the industrial population dependent upon industry may increase as a result.

2. There have been other causes, too, of urban growth. In both India and Vietnam, political division of the country brought about a large influx of population, principally into the cities. Almost 750,000 thus settled down in Delhi. In Vietnam, the majority of the one million refugees who streamed in from the north settled down in Saigon. The absorption and rehabilitation of this population in urban areas was, to some extent, inevitable and possibly more easily accomplished.

In Japan, the Land Reform Act of 1946 reduced the number of tenants on the land. This, and the mechanisation of farms, resulted in the migration of the rural population to the cities, where second and third sons of families would go in search of employment. Similar "push and pull" factors have been in operation elsewhere also.

An unusual factor in Japan was the Central Government law of 1953 which encouraged the amalgamation of towns and villages into "cities" to save administrative costs. Frequently, and despite a surge of democratic trends, the merger of villages and towns was accomplished by resort to considerable coercive pressure. Many small communities were forced to amalgamate into new cities, though the communities themselves wished to be rationally annexed by the large cities on which they bordered. A movement towards amalgamation has been afoot in India too, where large suburban areas, mainly agricultural in character, have been joined to adjoining cities in the interests of a more balanced development of both town and country. But here the change has generally been welcomed.

3. Large cities today present a very heterogeneous character. From a purely demographic viewpoint, a city may be defined merely in terms of population, size and density. But from a socio-cultural angle, a city implies an entire way of life. Some of the Indian cities and the urban complex around Manila, for example, are not cities except in a purely demographic sense. They are culturally villages, with excessively large populations and high residential densities. The villages bring to the city the village customs, habits and way of life, some of which are unsuited to city dwelling. One finds, therefore, side by side, contrasts not only in technology but also in culture and social structure.

4. Some of the recent causative factors in urban growth, such as major political upheavals leading to large migration of population, need not perhaps be given undue importance in thinking of the future. For the rest, some of the questions to be considered are: can urban growth be regulated or canalised so as to reduce the abnormal pressures exerted on the large cities? To what extent, if at all, and how can the desire or compulsion to leave the villages be minimised? In a democratic society, what administrative measures can be adopted to control haphazard and large scale migration to already overgrown population centres? How can the urban situation that prevails in the different countries be remedied? What are the right priorities as between economic development and urban rehabilitation for allocation of resources?

## II

### The Case for New Towns

5. One of the solutions that has been tried for solving the problem of growing urban population is the establishment of new towns. These have come into being for sustaining a large new industrial enterprise, as new State capitals following political reorganization, as the site for the rehabilitation of displaced persons and as a means of relieving congestion in existing cities.

The title to this section suggests that there are arguments for and against new towns. The question has been asked as to why new towns should be created when it is considered less costly to adopt or expand old ones. Such discussion brings up the age-old conflict between the conservative and the progressive mentality.

6. An interesting debate on the desirable pattern for metropolitan growth, on the advantages of a satellite pattern, on the one hand, and of radiating urban growth around a metropolitan core, on the other, has taken place in the American context.

But its applicability to conditions in South Asia, where somewhat different factors have operated in urban growth, may be dubious. Here the problem of easing urban congestion on a rational basis is of relatively minor importance and arises in respect of a few cities only.

A uniform answer is not possible. Considerations of resources enter prominently into the picture and may often dictate resort to the less costly method of adaptation or redevelopment of the city where scope exists. New towns are costly. There is frequently also considerable difficulty in shifting a settled population, however unsatisfactory the present living conditions may be. This has been noticed even in minor shifts (in terms of both population and distance) involved in small schemes of slum clearance and redevelopment. The population that may have to be moved often subserves a local economic need and derives its sustenance therefrom. Any corresponding movement of established employment opportunity to newly-planned population centres also raises problems of resources. It would seem necessary, therefore, in this situation to exploit to the maximum reasonable extent - reasonable in terms of certain desirable levels of environment and services - the scope that exists for the growth of some of these cities. Such growth has been envisaged in Delhi and in Manila through the planned re-densification of sparsely populated areas in the urban core and the balanced development and redevelopment of the city and the bordering hinterland. A corollary to this course of action is the establishment of administrative forms that will be conducive to the harmonious and efficient development of the government of the entire region.

7. But above all this remain the demands that industrialisation creates. These are tremendous demands in countries surging with economic development. In the early stages, some of the new industrial growth took place in and round

established cities. Purely economic considerations seem to have dictated such location, in disregard of the serious deficiencies in services and amenities that plagued the city and accentuating them further. Sociological considerations and the need for creating certain magnets of employment opportunity for a migrating population, were not duly considered. The logical solution is not necessarily the founding of new industrial towns in all cases. The size and nature of the proposed new enterprise and the possibilities of locating it around smaller towns and in regions in which pressure from the rural areas is noticeable must be taken into account. With this approach, one may arrive at the necessity for new towns for the steel industry, as at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur in India, or the location of a new oil refinery on the outskirts of Gauhati in Assam or again at Barauni in Bihar. What emerges is the imperative need for a rational plan for industrial location that takes into account economic, regional and demographic considerations. Interesting comparisons may be made between Chittaranjan and Faridabad in India, on the one hand, and Khulna in Pakistan, Manila, Djakarta and Saigon, on the other.

8. One may, therefore, consider the scope and justification for the expansion and redevelopment of existing cities, the founding of new towns and the growth of smaller towns. The problem can be restated in a different way: how shall city planning be promoted in the future and should there be a redistribution of cities as such according to a master plan? The allocation of resources for Urban physical development must flow rationally from an integrated view of desirable objectives. One sees also need for both short and long term planning on comprehensive lines.

III

New Towns and Regional Planning

9. The factors underlying urban growth indicate the need for looking beyond the mere establishment of new towns or additions to existing ones as an end in itself. New urban settlements must also serve to canalise the outpourings from the villages. Any plan, therefore, of national development must take into account regional needs and possibilities, and so balance new economic or industrial activity that some of the pressures of the area are absorbed in new urban developments in the region. This must apply to both the public and the private sectors. Most countries have now laws regulating the location of new industrial units. But their application has not always been charged with sufficient foresight ; and it is not <sup>unusual</sup> to see more fundamental objectives sacrificed to the experiences of the present. The National Planning Commission of the Philippines observed recently that, in the city of Manila, laxity in the matter of permits and licensing has produced a situation where industries and commercial establishments have been indiscriminately allowed in places where they should not have been tolerated. In Bombay, too, similar unhappy developments have taken place. In the result, both cities and the countryside are harmed: the former through further congestion and the latter through a denial of employment opportunity. The need, therefore, at the administrative level is to study and understand regional needs as a pre-condition to the local of new economic activity. India has recently set up a Regional Urban Planning Organization to assist in the formulation of a regional approach to urbanisation. This ought really to be an apex organisation for purposes of co-ordination but must play a more positive role when regional planning may have to be cut across state boundaries.

But at the level of each State and each major city there is need for an organization that will keep regional needs to the forefront in planning development.

A consideration of the problems involved may cover the types of economic activity suited for regional urban planning, the size of the region for planning purposes, the nature of the planning organization, the manner in which it can be integrated with total planning and, lastly, the arrangements we need for reconciling jurisdictional conflicts.

#### IV

##### The Roles of Central, State and Local Governments in Planning

10. Urban planning set in the regional background and in the context of national development is what we are concerned with. Responsibilities at the different levels of government are substantially determined by the form of the national government, that is to say, by whether it is unitary or federal in character. But even in the latter, and since we postulate a planned, national approach to economic development, a unifying outlook will always be perceived. The Central Government must promote or encourage the adoption of uniform legislation for town and country planning throughout the country. It may be necessary also to enact legislation specifically for dealing with the problems that arise in connection with the establishment of new towns. These problems may relate to land acquisition or control, the creation of suitable development agencies and the role and position of local governments in newly developing communities. In addition, the Central Government as, in the main, the agency for the provision of resources to state and local government must ensure, as far as possible, that economic activity reasonably subserves the requirements of the urban situation.

Lastly, as a major participant in direct governmental development, it must take note of regional needs and the regional approach in undertaking new programmes.

11. The functions of State Governments will be somewhat similar. But they must play a more positive role in enforcing the adequate implementation of town and country planning laws at city levels. The attention paid to town and master planning has generally been languid. Partly perhaps because of this reason, the <sup>urban</sup> scene has deteriorated under recent stresses. Activity on this front has to be revitalised. Some of the needed enthusiasm in local governments may come when resources for felt improvements are in sight. But localised or vested interests must also be overcome.

As far as possible, a master plan for a city must spring from the people for a plan imposed from afar will rarely evoke a sense of active participation. But in the event of default by local governments, the filling of the gap must be regarded as an important State Government responsibility.

Equally, Central & State Government must take the initiative in providing sufficient technical personnel for plan making at all levels. Most of the countries of the South Asia region suffer from a paucity of trained planners. Facilities for training must, therefore, be created or offered on an increasing scale and rapidly.

12. The enlargement of the concept of town planning has necessitated administrative developments at the national state or regional and local levels. But in the first two, the means for coordinating policy and for its execution are inadequate or faulty. A multiplicity of Ministries or Departments competing for power and status make for ineffective coordination; and planning is usually the casualty.

What is needed is a supreme authority, such as a Ministry or a Department for urban development and town planning at the appropriate constitutional level so as to unify diverse facts of responsibility.

13. Does all this mean a lessening of local Government autonomy and responsibility? Planning does impose a certain regimen on the plan maker and the citizen. How can this be harmonised with State and local autonomy? The answer may be that a plan must spring from below rather than be imposed from the top. Perhaps, also, to a certain extent, a centralising effect in plan making can be reversed in plan implementation so as to evoke greater state and local enthusiasm and participation.

## V

### Drawing up the Town Plan

14. Where the task is one of expanding or redeveloping an existing town, the preparation of the plan is primarily the responsibility of the local Government. But generally the problems before our cities have to be approached from the angle of a master plan that will be a guide to long term development of a homogeneous and inter-dependent area.

There has been a good deal of discussion on the question as to whether the planning authority should be separate from the local authority and whether plan-formulation and plan-implementation can be undertaken by separate authorities. Difficulties in this matter arise sometimes from a conflict of jurisdictions in the areas for planning. No uniform answer has been found, though.

a tendency towards centralisation is noticeable, much though decentralisation is desirable.

A master plan is an essential need for both the older towns and the entirely new ones that may be envisaged. The success of a town depends largely on the foresight and knowledge of the framers of the master plan. The key figure is usually a Planner-cum-architect; but here is essentially team work in which the social, economic and administrative needs of the town have to be judged.

The responsibility for getting a master plan prepared for new town development will generally follow the decision about the agency that will be entrusted with the task of building the town. Generally, in the South Asian countries, major new town developments have been undertaken by the Governments themselves for the local of new capitals or large industries Governments themselves for the local of new capitals or large industries or for the rehabilitation of displaced populations. There has been considerable discussion and experimentation on the issue of whether the usual government, agency is appropriate for undertaking these responsibilities. In a single industry town, it may be easier to integrate industrial and town development under one authority, viz., the one that ultimately responsible for working the industry. Experience in the U.K. suggests the desirability of creating 'ad hoc' public bodies specially for the purpose, when the town serves a wider purpose such as coping with population growth and the easing of congestion. Existing local authorities were not considered to be well-adapted for undertaking rapid physical development or meeting the commercial or industrial demands connected with new town development. But any special authority so created must have an adequate measure of autonomy, consistently with public accountability. The Indian experiment with purely departmental responsibility for planning and execution of certain rehabilitation towns has not been very successful. But more has been accomplished better

where, as in the case of the steel towns, this function was vested in a public company with a representative Board of Directors, including people drawn from amongst non officials.

15. The master Plan must indicate the quality of the town we are building. Is it to be a regional centre, that will attract middle class or professional people? Is it to be a genuinely self-contained community with adequate provision for industry and employment for different groups? In the light of unhappy experience over unseemly and unregulated fringe development around new towns, it is imperative that a plan must deal with an adequate natural area. But over and above this, and especially because in many countries the control of land use outside urban limits is weak or non-existent, State and Central Governments must possess and exercise powers for preventing outcrops of shanty towns.

16. The preparation of the Master Plan will start from the selection of the site, against the background of the purpose of the project. The arrangement of space on the land selected must fulfil the functions the town is intended to serve, viz., industrial, administrative or general. The wise planner will also understand that it is not enough just to fill the space, but that imaginative landscaping, the conferring of a character to the town, must be the guiding principle. Certain basic assumptions are necessary; such as the size of the intended population and the place of industry or other commercial activity. On these is built a land use map showing in varying details the allocation of land to housing, industry, shopping facilities, schools, community centres open spaces and so on. Since generally a new town is intended to serve a broad national or regional purpose, it is necessary of course, that the master plan should be administratively approved by the national or state Govt. having jurisdiction. When finances of development come from the Government this is in any case inescapable.

17. The questions that might be discussed under this heading are the desirability of establishing separate planning agencies for the older towns on the verge of rapid expansion and the mechanics of plan implementation; the qualities and the administrative arrangements needed for the preparation of a master plan for entirely new towns as a composite town effort; the sanctions behind the plan and the control of fringe development.

## VI

### The Technique and the organisation for development

18. The organisational needs have been dealt with at some length already. A reasonably autonomous body, whether it be a specialised development corporation, a company management or a local authority must make the plan and implement it. Continuity in this matter, is essential as also continuity of contact between the originators of the plan and the authority responsible for execution. Unless this last is ensured, the central theme of the plan is likely to be whittled down by the forces of expediency. The plan is, of course, not and should not be sacred and rigid in every detail. But the changes that experience may suggest must be fitted into the original concept without yielding on the basic principles. For this, the continued association of the original planner with the constructional phase is important. It may also be noted that the plan is based on various social and economic studies. The town as it grows will have to face and overcome in these matters serious problems of adjustment and adaptation. The development Agency would, therefore, be wise, during the period of growth, to retain, as far as possible, its original band of workers in those fields and possibly also include in itself persons from public life with adequate experience of this type.

19. Developmental work must partake of all or some of the following qualities, as applicable to a particular case; economy; the phasing of expenditure the rate of growth; the phasing of jobs, houses and social services; and the need for diversity.

The building of new towns in virgin areas has often had to face the absence of a suitable labour force anywhere near. Locally available labour may have a low level of efficiency. The importation of outside labour by building contractors will lead to increases in costs. A balance has, therefore, to be struck between efficiency and costs. Two interesting experiments in India may be cited. At Faridabad, a sizeable displaced population which was eventually to be settled in the new township was ~~xi~~ induced and trained to perform various unskilled and skilled task in development. Output in the beginning was low and wages had to be subsidised. But since the population had in any case to be maintained at Governmental expense, these handicaps were to some extent nullified. In the result, too, a continuing rise in skill and productivity fitted the population for gainful employment in the industries that were planned as a part of the town project. This approach was fruitful and economical in the over-all view, because the new town was planned as an integrated community with adequate employment opportunities. At Nilokheri on the other hand, where a similar experiment was tried, there was a boom in employment in the constructional stage and work was done economically. But the town tended to languish after completion, as the skilled workers had few employment opportunities in the largely poor community.

Skill in the phasing of capital expenditure can lighten the financial burden of costly capital works such as water supply, sewerage and roads. We must aim, through careful advance planning, to reduce the period between

construction and use. But care must also be taken to avoid the occupation of under-serviced areas. This has happened in some of the new town developments around Delhi where houses were built for in advance of the arrival of basic services.

While it may be true to some extent that the faster a town grows, the earlier it becomes financially self supporting, the rate of growth must be adjusted to certain other considerations, such as an optimum rate of building operations from the view point of labour and costs; the provisions of ancilliary service such as schools and hospitals; and the problems of assimilating the new population.

The phasing of jobs, housing and social services is a difficult problem. As English experience also proves constructional work cannot start without man power and firms cannot recruit workers until there is somewhere for them to live. Workers cannot move to a new town unless a job is available immediately to provide a livelihood. The town cannot be a satisfactory unit unless there are shops, schools and other public and social services. To maintain this balance is a complex and difficult problem of organization.

In dealing with the problem of employment in the new town, one must take note of the dangers of over dependence on a single major industrial unit. Diversity in industry must as already stated, indicate the towns qualities and ambitions and must provide scope and facilities for an intermixture of ~~xxx~~ classes of people, rather than be patterned on a monotony that may repel others. Amongst multi-purpose towns in the community because from the start it built a certain percentage of more expensive houses. This was an act of faith and courage which has been rewarded. Similar qualities are needed in all new town developments if the schemes are to achieve a social purpose and not merely one of expediency

or economics. These qualities may not be found in a purely company managed new town project. And we see, again the need for a broad-based Development Agency of the nature earlier envisaged.

## VII

### The Financing of new Town Development

20. In the context in which the problem has generally arisen and has hitherto been discussed in this paper, new town development must ensure finance for the acquisition and development of the site, building of houses, shops and factories upto a point and the provision of community services such as schools, hospitals, play grounds. An integrated approach to all these needs is found possible only when the development is undertaken by a public body as the bulk of the finance will then come from government as loans. In some cases, however, such as Chittaranjan and Jamshedpur in India, and Hitachi in Japan, the finances for general development or the provision of sundry services are derived from capital investment by the industry itself, the amounts not being returnable as such but recouped from the profits of the industrial enterprise in the course of years.

Generally, assured finance for site development from the Government is conducive to the growth of a balanced community. The developing authority is freed from the ordinary investor's preoccupation with immediate returns and is enabled to pursue far-sighted policies in disregard of the deficits of the early years. A large initial investment in land acquisition and development will, apart from offering long term financial benefits following the appreciation of land values, also afford a certain measure of social justice to those who may otherwise be subjected to inflationary pressures on land. With these considerations in mind, the Government of India in Delhi has planned for the acquisition of over 30,000 acres of land that is expected to be urbanised in the next two decades or so.

A substantial investment on housing in new towns is essential to get the community going or serve the immediate purpose in view. But in well-conceived schemes of development, the possibility of private enterprise participating need not be disregarded. It is even possible that site-development and house construction can, within limits, be undertaken by cooperative house Building Societies. And in such cases, there is no reason why both the leasing of land and the facility given of private development should not be a source of a reasonable margin of profit to Development Agency. The Agency will under this arrangement, be able to realise, at an early stage, some of the initial investment, and will also be relieved of certain financial responsibilities.

A mixed approach to the development of industrial and commercial sites and facilities is also necessary. The objective to be kept in view is the achievement of maximum gain to the development Agency from the leasing or sale of sites and buildings. One may also bear in mind the monetary advantage of vesting public utility functions in the Corporation and of developing them as a source of profitable investment.

The next difficult problem relates to the development of Community services. Ordinarily, there are the concern of the local authority. Frequently, during the development stage, and even thereafter, a local authority may not be on the scene at all. Where one does exist, its resources may not be adequate for meeting a sudden new demand for capital and recurring expenditure on schools, hospitals etc. From a local authority's point of view, a balance will have to be struck between loan finance and grants for these purposes. A company town has often tended to ignore or under-estimate these needs, and a great deal of highly unsatisfactorily improvisation has been the result. It is necessary that the development Corporation, where one operates, should be principally

responsible for providing a reasonable level of community facilities. But perhaps some of the burden of expenditure can be shifted from the corporation itself through the utilisation of Funds under national plans for education, health and medical relief.

The problems of financing may be considered with reference to land disposal policy; a positive role in the promotion of private residential, industrial and commercial developments; and the necessity for grants or subsidies for rents and community services.

### VIII

#### The Municipal Administration of New Towns (including Personnel Problems) and its relationship to other Authorities.

21. When the new town is being developed by a Public Corporation, it is inevitable that organisation must, at least for the duration of the development process, play a dominant role in the provision of municipal services. . . Frequently, in the area of a new town, no local authority as such may exist to exercise any civic jurisdiction in the beginning. A prefectural or district administration may be remote and relatively weak and ineffective. The public Corporations are rich and powerful. Against them, how is the people's voice to be heard? In the U.K., the Corporations have tried to foster the growth of residents' associations to promote public interest and initiative in local affairs and to provide a means of contact between the people and the Corporation. At a later stage, Urban District Councils have come in. In Kitchener in Canada, the Company that built the town promoted the establishment of municipal government even before a single house was built; that body became responsible for normal municipal services as soon as possible.

In Hitachi City, the two main industrial concerns, which were in fact responsible for the growth of urban communities in the area, took a leading part in the guidance of the municipal assembly in the early days. But in the steel town of Jamshedpur in India, the steel company continues to directly administer major municipal services after 50 years of the town's founding. In Chittaranjan, again in India, an interesting feature of the town administration is the promotion of area committees. Though authority ~~xxx~~ ultimately vests in the General Manager of the works, the area committees provide a machinery for developing the spirit of co-operation and service for harmonious living. The town is divided into a number of areas, each of which elects an area committee that enjoys a measure of initiative in developing what may be called the social services. Some of these committees have, indeed forged ahead and started schools and work centres on their own. The seeds of representative local government have thus been sown.

The growth of <sup>paternalism</sup> in a company town or of aloofness in Corporation built towns are dangerous tendencies that have to be guarded against. Jamshedpur is an example of what the former can do in stifling local initiative and enterprise. It is important in Asian countries that a machinery for local participation in town affairs should be created in one form or another, at the earliest possible moment. It is particularly necessary that the future leaders are trained to play a vital role in the social and political growth of the town to maturity.

22. Is there need or justification for development Corporations or company managements to remain in the picture for an indefinite period? In the U.K., the former will be soon wound up. But a central Commission is expected to replace them all and there will be smaller organisations in each town to manage the Commissions' property.

This proposal has evoked much criticism from local authorities who had hoped to inherit the assets of the development corporations. The question of relationships between the local authority and the property owning Commission has yet to be satisfactorily settled. If local authorities are considered, as appears to be the case as still unfitted or in-experienced to take over full responsibility in a country like the U.K., what answer should one give to the problem in the less advanced democracies of Asia?

23. A peculiar personnel problem that has existed in company towns, whether in the public or the private sector, has been the equation of the municipal employees with the factory worker for emoluments, service conditions and sundry other benefits. The failure to differentiate between their status and responsibility has produced awkward stresses in town administration in times of factory unrest. This is perhaps an argument for building up a municipal cadre as a separate entity from the start.

## IX

### SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN NEW TOWNS

24. The establishment of new towns means also the creation of new communities. It has been said that it is much easier to create a community than to dispose of it. By this we mean that, with proper care, we can more easily create a new community of our choice, but mending it later is fraught with serious difficulties. The creation of a community of our choice is vitiated by the lack of clear understanding as to what kind of community we should create and to some extent by our lack of knowledge of possible adverse responses and reactions of the people. By way of illustration, one may refer to the issues of segregation versus mixing up of people of different income levels in a new township.

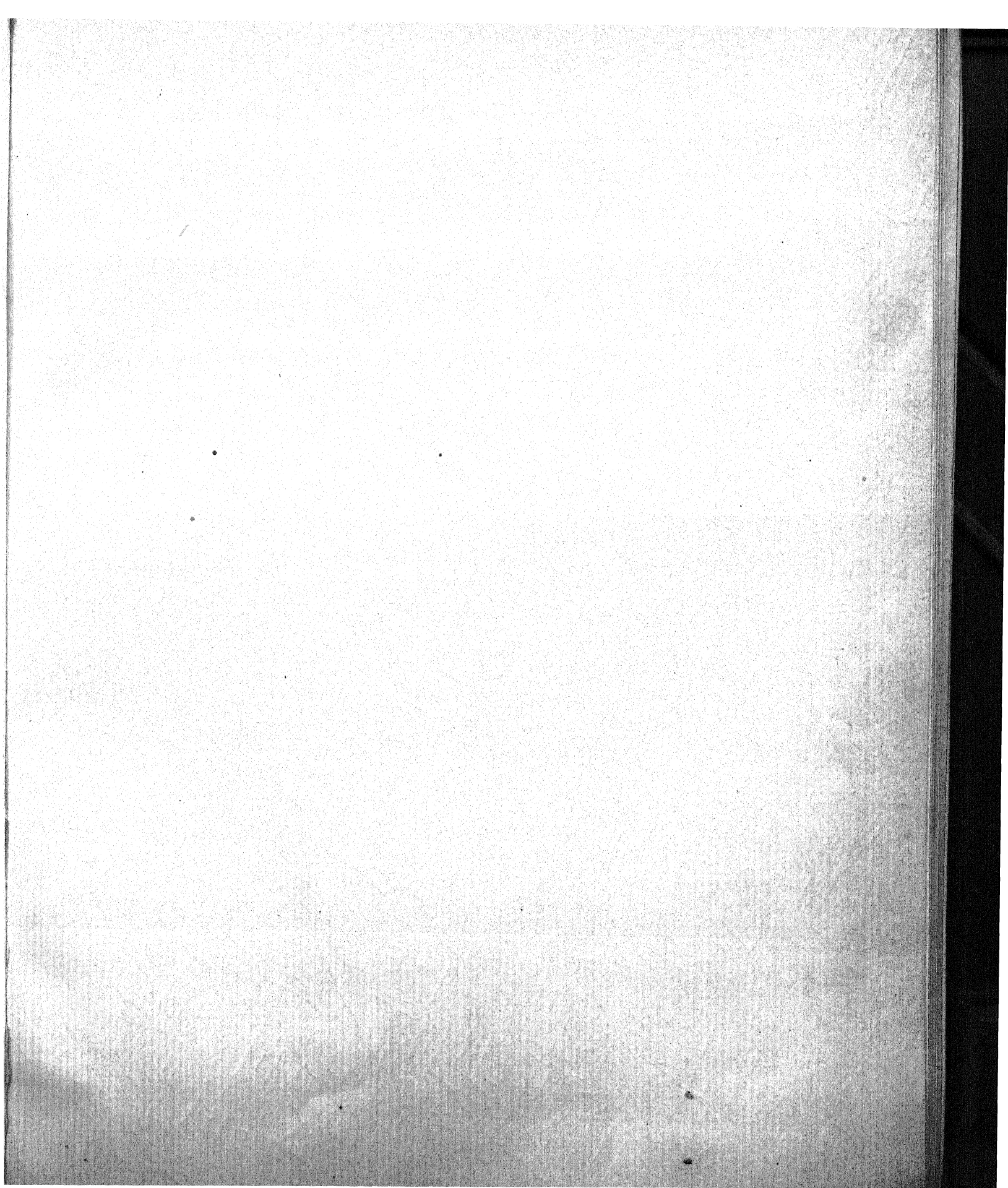
Houses of various sizes are built for different income groups in each sector with a view to assimilate them harmoniously into the community. It remains to be seen whether this leads to a compact community life or whether status barriers will rise in the way of active community feeling.

There is likely to be difficulty in bringing about social solidarity among residents drawn from different parts of a country, as is common in certain new industry or rehabilitation towns. The provision of community centres or community halls for different sectors has helped in bringing about greater community feeling. Moreover, it may be necessary from the start to organise a multi-faceted programme or Urban Community development, especially in the towns where the bulk of the population is drawn from the rural area. This will help towards an easier adjustment to the urban way of life.

Another problem in the social organisation of new towns is the difference in the standard of life and in services and amenities between people inside the industrial belt and outside the industrial belt. This may be illustrated from the "inside-fence" and "Outside-fence" people in Hitachi City and similar industrial cities, and the discontent the glaring contrasts may produce. The absence of active voluntary social welfare organizations hinders the growth healthy social life, and this is aggravated by a paternalistic city administration as in certain company towns.

The following are some of the problems that may be discussed under this heading:-

- (1) How do the class and language differences in the new towns affect community life?
- (2) How can one help to minimise the disparities between people inside and outside industrial belts in the new towns.
- (3) How should one foster voluntary social welfare organisations among residents in the new towns? what organisational form grew desirable.





INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## URBANISATION & NEW TOWNS IN THE ECAFE REGION

BY  
EAST ASIA REGIONAL ORGANIZATION  
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REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

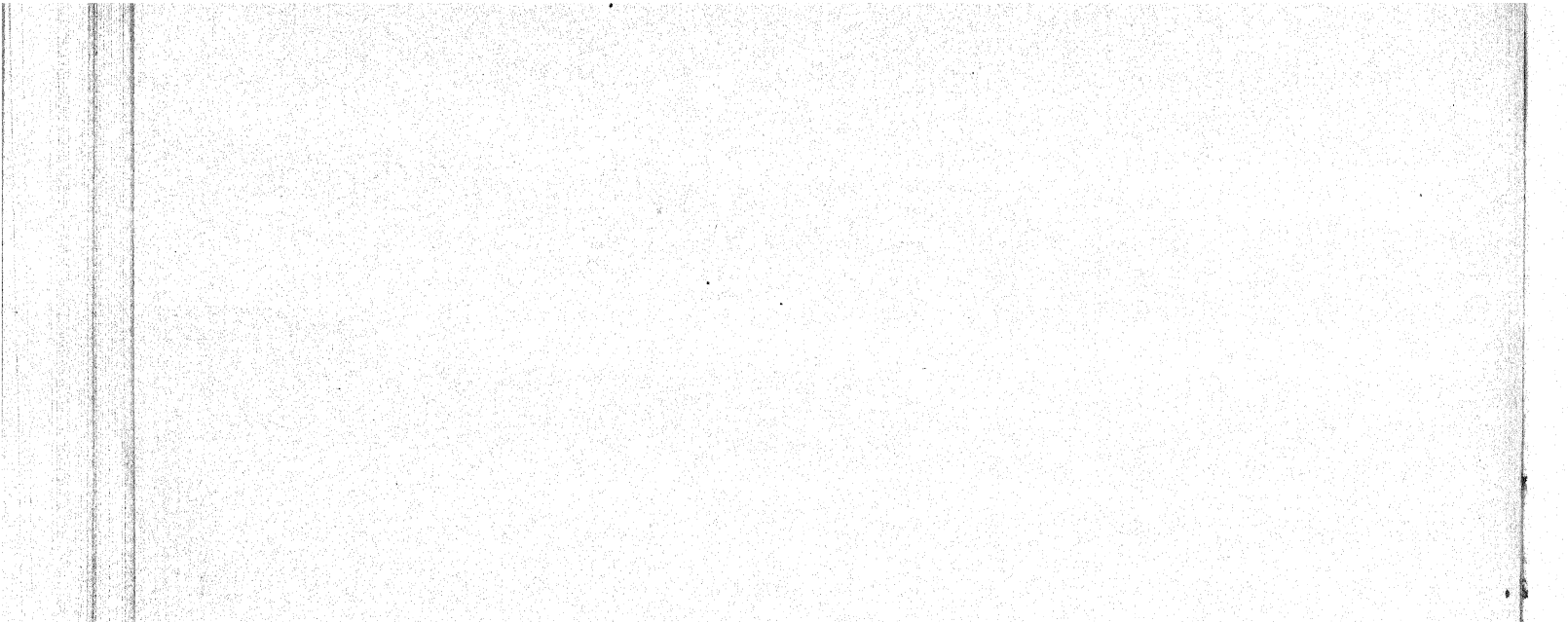
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IN SOUTHERN ASIA)

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INDRAPRASTHA ESTATE, RING ROAD  
NEW DELHI, (INDIA)



## URBANISATION AND NEW TOWNS IN THE

### ECAFE REGION

A paper submitted to the UN-UNESCO Seminar on  
'Public Administration Problems of New Towns'

By

East Asia Regional Organisation for Planning  
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Most countries in the ECAFE region are experiencing two common phenomena, namely, a rapidly growing population and an intense developmental activity with emphasis on industrialisation. On the surface it would seem that the trends of population growth which were experienced in the early days of industrial revolution in the West are being experienced in this region. In actual practice, the factors which are influencing industrialisation and development in the ECAFE region at the present time are far different, from those which influenced the demographic revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries in the Western Countries. The results, however, are similar. There is a spectacular reduction in the mortality rate, and there is no clearly defined decline in the fertility rate. Consequently, it is anticipated that the population of Asia will increase greatly and in 1975 is estimated to reach a figure of 2.0 to 2.2 billion which represents an increase of 51 to 64 percent in the 20 year period 1950-1971.

While this projected rate of increase is not very much above the world's average growth, in terms of absolute increase, it indicates that out of a total anticipated increase

increase, it indicates that out of a total anticipated increase of population in the world of 1040 to 1310 millions, 670 to 840 millions would alone to be in Asia which means a tremendous increase so far as Asia countries are concerned. The anticipated population increases for the countries in Asia are found in Table I.

TABLE - 1

Western experience indicates that the tremendous increase in population which accompanied economic development was in a large measure absorbed in increased urbanisation i.e. a n increase in the proportion of national population living in cities and town. Rapid urbanisation in the modern era is largely the demographic counter part of industrialisation and in the 18th and 19th centuries the major contribution to world urbanisation was from the Western countries. This was natural because industrialisation was proceeding there at a very fast pace. With the rapid economic development that is now taking place in the ECAFE countries, the <sup>rate</sup> of urbanisation will be further enhanced and it is anticipated that Asia's cities and towns will experience a near tripling of the population between 1950-1975. Table II indicates the past and projected trends for urban population in Asia and some Asian countries.

TABLE - II

This enormous increase in urban population, goaded by the 'push' and 'pul' factors of the present urban centres, will pour into the existing towns and cities and cause them to grow in all directions. Such growth is too well known in the case of western cities and Asian cities and towns have during the





past 4-5 decades have also had similar experience. During the 20th century, however, world urbanisation was largely sustained by the rapid growth of urban populations of Asia. In Asia during the period 1800-1854, the urban population increased by 444%, compared to 160% in Europe and North America and against the world average of 254%. In spite of the tremendous increase in city population in Asia, Asia is less urbanised than any other continent except Africa. Only 13% of Asia's population live in cities of 20,000 or more compared to the world average of 21% and only 8% of Asia's population live in cities of 100,000 or more, compared with the world average 13%; 29% in North Asia; and 21% in Europe.

The Western experience also indicates that as the city grows in size and become larger and larger decentralisation tendency becomes manifest leading to the development of suburbs and over larger neighbourhoods located farther away from the centre of the city but depending upon the city socially and economically. Besides the smaller towns around the bigger city become engulfed in the influences of the central city and the activities within the small towns get oriented towards the central city leading to the emergence of the metropolitan pattern of development. Western experience also indicates that neither the expanding city nor the development of suburbs have been satisfactory as a solution to the growth of the urban economy. The accommodation of the new urban population in new towns and cities which has been adopted in the United Kingdom has received considerable attention both in regard to the

success which it has attained in solving the problems of the big cities and also the manner in which it has adequately provided for the growth of urban population.

The problem therefore, is that of accomodating the large anticipated increase of population either in existing urban centres or in new urban centres specially created for that purpose. The conditions that exist today, in our cities, cannot, by any standards, be considered as satisfactory for urban living. Any substantial increase in the population must be preceded by an assessment of the available resources and the extent to which the resources can be developed to meet the needs of the existing population as well as the new population anticipated to come into each city. In the absence of such an assessment existing problems are bound to be aggravated beyond resolution.

Therefore in the planning of the urban areas for providing for new population increases, the main question is how to dispose of the increase in population? Shall we put them into existing urban areas? or shall we create new centres for this population leaving the old to provide only for their natural and normal growth. Reference has already been made to the existing conditions of town and cities. While strangely enough, in some cases the unsatisfactory urban living conditions are due to extreme congestion, in other cases it is due to the small un-economic size of the town itself which, if allowed to grow could become a better economic unit for providing those urban services and amenities which are essential for urban living.

Past experience indicates that the bigger towns have become bigger and as they grow bigger they have been experiencing problems which have required disproportionately larger investments to bring relief to the Urban population. Out of this has grown the tendency to decentralise, a movement which found expression in the Kingdom during the 1940s in the establishment of new towns to house the overspill of population from the congested city of London and at the same time to function as counter attractions for industrial and commercial development.

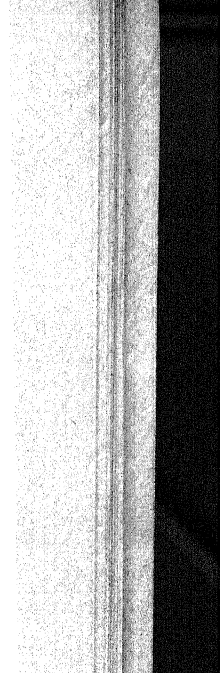
In the metropolitan cities, a decentralisation movement had set in, the population moving towards the suburbs and as it moved out these suburbs became separate neighbourhoods depending upon the main city for its employment, service and amenities but in other respects removed from the city. The ~~new~~ new town idea placed this new suburban growth on a better economic footing making it self sufficient in regard to employment social services and amenities.

The development of transport and the influence of the automobile have also been important factors contributing to this decentralising trend and at the same time they have made it possible to establish a hierarchy of urban communities within a metropolitan system.

Government policies such as the one adopted in the United Kingdom in the 1940s and in India and in the United States for specific purposes such as location of atomic plants or new large industrial establishments etc. have also tended to encourage the growth of new towns in preference to the enlargement of the existing urban areas.

The ECCE countries face the questions whether to establish new towns or to enlarge existing towns and whether both of them should be undertaken and, if so, the basis of such a programme. There have been instances where economic and social factors have justified the enlargement of a smaller community to a more fully developed community by positively encouraging its growth and there have been other instances, where a new town has been established to the detriment of surrounding existing communities but with the specific object of the new town gradual taking over the functions of the existing communities. Planning the expansion of existing urban areas and the establishment of new towns would both be governed largely by national policies, social needs and economic resources available. Each country would need to give close thought to this problem urgently so that the anticipated rapid and heavy increase in urban population which is taking place and which will take place during the next 15 years could be provided for suitably without creating new pressures, stresses and strains in the economic structure of urban areas.

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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

**NEW TOWNS IN INDIA**

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## 1. INTRODUCTION:

1.1. The idea of new towns is not alien to India. In her eventful history, many new towns have served as land marks of different epochs. Throughout the several milleniums that have passed from Harappa to Chandigarh, there has been a continuous evolution of planning traditions in our country, characteristic of the different eras. Mohenjodaro and Harappa, dating back to the Indus Valley Civilisation; Ayodhya, Pataliputra (the present Patna) and Varanasi (Benaras) laid out by the Indo-Aryans during the Vedic Period; Nalanda and Taxila built to serve as University-Towns during the Budhist period; Agra, Golconda and Dacca of the medieval times; Fatehpur Sikri belonging to the Moghul period; Jaipur built by Maharaja Jai Singh during the 18th century and Lutyen's New Delhi are only a few significant examples of new towns built during different periods.

1.2 India is becoming planning conscious. However, there is a remarkable change in the purpose for which new towns are built. The new towns are not built for small privileged groups like the army or the princely rulers but for the location of industry, to serve as the seat of government, rehabilitation of displaced persons, and such other purposes designed to serve the public.

At present many new towns are being built to serve various purposes and they may be classified as follows:-

- (1) New Towns for rehabilitation of displaced persons - Faridabad, Nilokheri, Rajpura and Kalyani.
- (2) Administrative Capitals - Chandigarh Bhubneswar and Bilaspur.
- (3) Steel Towns - Rourkela, Bhilai, Durgapur and Bhadravati.
- (4) Industrial Townships like Chittaranjan, Nangal, Mithapur, Dandeli, Ranchi.
- (5) Company Towns like Modinagar, Neyveli, Kagaznagar, Sindhri.
- (6) Oil Towns - Barauni.
- (7) Port-Towns - Mandla

1.3 Some of the new towns have been located on the fringes of metropolitan cities like Calcutta and Delhi, while a majority of them are being built on relatively undeveloped sites, far from major cities. Some are being laid out by the Central and State Governments or Government-sponsored organisations and industrial Undertakings, while the others are being developed by private enterprise. In the case of a few new towns, their location has opened up the undeveloped regions and given an impetus to their development; while others have become mere refugee settlements or dormitory towns lacking economic base and social life.

1.4 Many have argued whether the new towns have been successful or not. No doubt, the new towns in India - as those in many other countries - have caused, to some extent, criticism, hardships, delays and frustration. Nevertheless, the building of

new towns is one of the greatest ventures of India in the post-independence era, and a bold attempt to build self-supporting and socially balanced communities for healthful living and industry, unfettered by the traditions of the past.

1.5 The new towns have now reached various stages of completion. It is time, therefore, to review what has been happening in the new towns, their general conception, the approach to urban planning and architectural design, the impact of these new towns on the minds of the people. The time is now ripe for a searching evaluation of the new towns. Have the new towns been successful? What problems have emerged since the establishment of the new towns? Have they fulfilled their original planning and architectural conception? How do they compare in their efficiency and attractiveness with the older and established communities? Do our new towns provide a healthier environment and more adequate and satisfying relationships than those obtaining in the existing metropolitan cities? Have we evolved a new towns policy in India? It is not easy to answer these questions, as very little research has been carried out on new towns in this country. We have, nevertheless, made an attempt to give briefly (a) an analysis the purpose and location of the new towns (b) an examination of the salient features of the design problems that have emerged, (c) an analysis of the physical and socio-economic structures of our new towns, (d) an assessment of the accomplishments as well as shortcomings, (e) an identification of the planning problems

in the new towns and (f) suggestions for a comprehensive new towns policy for India, with emphasis on the administrative aspect.

Before taking up an analysis of the new towns in their varied aspects, we give below a brief account of a few <sup>new</sup> towns as case-studies:-

## 2. FARIDABAD ( Punjab )

2.1 Consequent on the partition of the sub-continent of India, in the wake of her independence, a large number of displaced persons migrated from West Pakistan. As an experimental measure in rehabilitating the uprooted people, two new settlements were proposed; one at Faridabad and the other at Nilokheri.

2.2 Situated on the Delhi-Agra National Highway, at a distance of about 17 miles from Delhi, Faridabad Industrial township extends over an area of about 7 square miles, and is designed to accommodate nearly 50,000 persons, when fully developed.

2.3 The town was sponsored and built by the Faridabad Development Board, constituted by the Government of India. The township comprises five neighbourhood units, arranged around a Central open space, and an industrial sector. Each neighbourhood unit is designed to accommodate about 10,000 people with the necessary shops, schools, health centres, open spaces, etc. One of the significant features of Faridabad Township Project was that more than 90 per cent of the manual labour required for the

construction was provided by the displaced persons who were rehabilitated in the same town. At present Faridabad new town has a population of about 40,000 living in four neighbourhood units, which have net densities varying from 18 to 21 dwellings per acre. However, the overall density is only 5 dwellings per acre or about 30 persons per acre.

2.4 The industrial sector covering about 350 acres has nearly 50 industries, large and small, employing well over 6000 persons, a majority of whom are displaced persons. Faridabad has varied types of industries and they are doing very well. However, facilities for expansion of existing industries and location of new ones are lacking.

2.5 The Faridabad Development Board has built nearly 5200 dwellings, 75 nissen huts, 75 bungalows and flats and 8 window-homes, to house displaced persons of different income levels; some of them are let out on a rental basis while the others are sold on a hire-purchase basis. A majority of the houses are of a standard pattern, semi-detached, single storey type.

2.6 By and large, the residential areas present a dull and stereo-type look, due to unimaginative grouping of the dwellings, and too many unauthorised constructions.

2.7 The township has a system of roads and streets which are functionally classified. But too much area is devoted to roads and streets (nearly 25 per cent of the developed area).

There is no public transportation system in the new town, which extends nearly 3.5 miles from one end to the other. The chief mode of transportation is the peddle cycle. Cycle-tracks are conspicuous by their absence.

2.8 The township is served by a public water supply system based on tube-wells. But the total supply of water is only 20 gallons per capita per day. In the absence of an underground sewerage system, the factories and bungalows are served by Septic tanks, while the dwellings of the displaced persons are served by bore-hole latrines. Only 63 per cent of the dwellings have individual latrines. Drainage is one of the greatest problems in this town, as it is very poor. There is acute shortage in the supply of electricity for industrial as well as domestic consumption.

2.9 Faridabad is well served by schools and hospitals. There are no recreational facilities excepting an open-air theatre.

2.10 The township project was undertaken by the Development Board which was financed by several loans advanced by the Ministry of Rehabilitation from time to time. So far, an outlay of nearly Rs. 45 million has been incurred on the project.

2.11 Until recently, the development Board exercised the powers normally vested in local bodies. Now the property management and administration of the township have been handed over to the Government of the state of Punjab, and the Development Board has ceased to function.

2.12 Faridabad new town is a good example of an industrial township in which a group of displaced persons formerly living on doles given by the Government and in seek of employment have not only been housed but also put on their way to self-sufficiency as useful and productive citizens. It is also an example of a township built by people themselves by self-help and co-operative endeavour with limited assistance of Government.

### 3. RAJPURA (Punjab)

3.1 Rajpura new town is a small settlement which was built to rehabilitate displaced persons who migrated from Bhawalpur state of Pakistan, after the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Originally it was intended to be built as a large town for an ultimate population of 60,000. But due to very limited supply of water, the population had to be restricted and, therefore, a revised plan was prepared for a population of 16,000.

3.2 Situated on the main railway line connecting Delhi, with Amritsar, at a distance of 25 miles from Chandigarh and adjacent to old Rajpura town, the new settlement has an area of 1160 acres of land developed. The present population is estimated to be 18,000.

3.3 The township consists of three neighbourhoods, One of the neighbourhoods is separated from the other two by a major highway which connects Patiala with Rajpura. To the north of the neighbourhoods and adjoining the railway line lies an industrial area. The shopping area is located adjoining the Patiala-Rajpura

3.4 In Rajpura there are altogether about 2,600 dwellings built by the Development Board and 100 dwellings built by private owners. All the houses are, more or less, of the same standard type, and have a single room (14'x10') with a verandah-cum-kitchen. Each dwelling has a plinth area of 300 sq.ft. and a plot area of 250 sq.yards. About 2,000 houses have been allotted to displaced persons against their claims in West Pakistan and the remaining are let-out, the rent being Rs. 5 per month. The town has a public water supply system based on tube-wells. Only 185 dwellings have private faucets while the others get their water supply from nearly 500 public hydrants. There is no underground sewerage system. The town is served by a dry-system of latrines. However, all the dwellings have electrical connections.

3.5 The township is served well by schools and Hospitals which are run by the Punjab Government. There are no recreational facilities excepting a club.

3.6 The township is administered by a Development Board consisting of a Chairman and six members, of which four are official members and the other two non-officials. The Chief Minister of Punjab is the Chairman of the Board and the Administrator of the township is the ex-officio secretary of the Board. The Administrator is in charge of general administration, engineering works duty-octroi, real estate etc., while health, education, public buildings etc., are under the respective Departments of the Punjab Government.

3.7 The major problems of the new town are poor water supply and chronic unemployment. Nearly 80 per cent of the working population is engaged in labour and 5 per cent in trade. The new town has not been successful in attracting adequate industries. Tuberculosis and anemia, which are the major ailments in the city are attributed to malnutrition due to unemployment or partial employment. At present only 300 workers find employment in the factories, which occupy about 30 acres of land.

3.8 The total outlay on the township project is about Rs. 11.7 million of which Rs. 3.5 million account for acquisition of land, Rs. 3.4 million for dwellings of the refugees and Rs. 3.2 million for roads, utilities and services.

#### 4. CHANDIGARH (Punjab)

4.1 In the year 1947, when India attained independence, the country was divided into two segments, India and Pakistan. Consequently the former state of Punjab was truncated to form East and West Punjabs. East Punjab had no suitable town which could serve as the Capital. It was, therefore, decided to build a new town to serve not only as the seat of the Government but also to locate the educational, health and cultural institutions.

4.2 Located on the Ambala-Kalka Road, the new town is on a plateau, which is nearly 1,300 ft. above the mean sea level, with a gentle fall, which permits natural drainage. The plateau lies at the foot of the Himalayas between two rivers. As a backdrop there is the magnificent view of the Shivalik range of Hills.

4.3 The first Master Plan for Chandigarh was prepared by Albert Mayer in 1950. In 1951 a new master plan was evolved by Le Corbusier, in collaboration with Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew and a team of Indian planners and architects. Mr. P.L. Varma was the Chief Engineer.

4.4 A capital project organisation was set up with powers vested under the Chandigarh Development and Regulation Act of 1952 with regard to building developments, land use, sale of sites, preservation of trees, regulation of outdoor advertisements, control of peripheral developments, etc. Originally the cost of the Capital Projects was estimated as Rs. 174 million. Now the cost of the project in its first phase is revised to Rs. 254 million. The execution of the project is included in the Five-Year Plans of India. The new town will have, in the first stage, an area of approximately 14 sq.miles and will cater for a population of about 1,50,000. Chandigarh has a simple plan, the major roads forming a rectangular grid enclosing units of habitation called "sectors", a town centre, a capital complex and an industrial area.

4.5 A sector is about half a mile in width and three-quarters of a mile in length and is self-contained with shops, schools, health centres, community centres and other amenities. The length of each sector is split by a curving shopping-street running east to west and widthwise it is divided by continuous attenuated park-strips and green belts. A wide green band running in the centre and called "leisure Valley" divides the city into two parts.

4.6 There are a number of special zones and sectors for locating higher educational institutions, the university, cultural institutions, industry etc. Chandigarh is not planned to be an industrial city. However, an industrial zone is established on the southwest periphery to attract small and medium scale industries. Perhaps the most important zone is the capital zone, situated at the head of the city. It contains the capital group of buildings such as the High Court, the Secretariat, the Governor's Residence etc. In this zone, there is the subtle asymmetrical balance of imposing buildings designed by Le Corbusier and grouped skilfully to set each other off to maximum aesthetic effect. To the east of capital an artificial lake is being formed for recreation.

4.7 The new city has a road system which is functionally classified into eight types, ranging from major highways through collector sector roads to cycle tracks and foot-paths, so that vehicular traffic may be separated from cyclist traffic and pedestrian traffic.

4.8 The housing in Chandigarh consists of several types of dwellings, varying in plinth area and cost, to suit different income-groups. The dwellings have been designed scientifically by different architects to achieve protection against hot sun, efficient circulation of air, use of indigenous building materials, etc. Without clinging to the architectural traditions of India, the architects have tried to evolve house designs which suit the present day conditions and requirements and integrate with the plan of the city.

Traditional features of Indian Architecture like Jalis (perforated walls) fins, overhangs etc., have been skilfully adapted to serve as sun-breakers and to give security, shade and privacy, and still permit air to flow.

4.9 The administrative functions connected with the development of this new town were entrusted to the Chief Administrator. Civic functions such as water supply, sewerage, roads and streets, street lighting, etc. were entrusted to him. By an act of the State Legislature, the Chief Administrator has been authorised to exercise the powers and perform the functions of a Municipal Council. The chief Administrator of Chandigrah is directly under the control of the State Government.

The first stage of construction of the new capital is nearing completion. Public buildings planned for the first stage are almost complete. Twelve sectors have been built more than half and other sectors will be taken up in the second phase.

## 5. ROURKELA ( Orissa )

5.1 Rourkela was the first town laid out to locate an integrated iron and steel works of one million tons ingot capacity in the Public Sector, in collaboration with the Government of West Germany. It is located in the State of Orissa at a distance of about 257 miles west of Calcutta, on the National Highway and the main railway line connecting Calcutta with Bombay. The township is set in picturesque surroundings with hills and dales and bounded by rivers. The factory area is physically separated from the town by a range of hills.

Designed to accommodate 40,000 to 50,000 people in the first stage, the town extends over an area of about 10,000 acres. The Township project is estimated to involve an outlay of Rs.110 million in the first phase (1956-61) of which acquisition and preparation of land will account for Rs. 8.4 million; Rs.65 million are earmarked for housing; Rs. 7.0 million for roads and bridges; Rs.16.8 million for utilities and services and Rs. 12.0 million for public buildings.

5.2 The master plan for the new town was prepared by a team of German consultants and was furnished as a part of the aid for steel plant, while the public buildings have been designed by consulting architects.

5.3 The residential areas of the town are divided into 20 sectors, each with its complement of schools, shops, health centres and other community facilities. Different types of dwellings with one to four rooms to suit various income groups have been built. However, most of the dwellings are of a standard pattern and of semi-detached type, arranged in continuous rows, presenting a very monotonous appearance. The density of accommodation in the sectors is 5 to 6 houses per acre. No provision has been made for accommodating non-company employees in the town. But an area of 370 acres is earmarked for Central and State Government Offices, public concerns, etc.

5.4 Out of an area of about 10,000 acres, nearly 17 per cent is devoted to residential use; 25 per cent is devoted to the formation of a green belt on the eastern side of the township which does not have a natural boundary; 34 per cent is devoted to

open spaces and undeveloped land. An area of 260 acres is reserved for the town centre.

5.5 The roads and streets are functionally classified broadly into five types with different right-of-ways and widths. The employees of the Iron and Steel Works commute by the Company buses. There is no public transport system in the city, excepting a few taxis and cycle-rikshaws which are grossly inadequate to meet the demand for public transport.

5.6 The town is served well by public water supply and sewerage systems. All the sectors have shopping facilities; the number of shops is based on a standard of one shop for twenty families. The township has adequate educational and health facilities. Before the town was built, this part of Orissa was highly infested with malaria. Now the malaria has been completely eradicated by anti-malaria engineering works. Five Community Centres, one Cinema theatre and a club are providing recreation and entertainment. Two more community centres are being built.

The General Manager of the Steel Plant is the Administrator of the township, and is vested with powers usually exercised by a Local Body. Rourkela is a sponsored township financed by the Government of India and built and managed by the Hindustan Steel Ltd.

## 6. BHILAI ( Madhya Pradesh )

6.1 Bhilai is one of the three town built under the Second Five Year Plan for locating a new steel plant and housing the industrial workers. The steel plant, designed and installed in collaboration with the Government of the U.S.S.R. has an initial

capacity of one million tons per year, with provision for expansion to a production level of 2.5 million tons.

6.2 Situated on the Bombay-Calcutta National Highway in Madhya Pradesh at a distance of about 160 miles from Nagpur, the township extends over an area of about 7 sq.miles. The township is divided into 10 sectors, a town centre and a hospital area. In the first stage it will accommodate 40,000 to 50,000 persons. With the proposed expansion of the steel plant during the third plan period, it is envisaged that the township will accommodate a population of 70,000.

6.3 The township is sponsored and built by the Hindustan Steel Ltd., a Government of India undertaking, and the first stage of construction ( 1957-60 ) is estimated to entail a total expenditure of Rs. 148 million, of which Rs. 11.3 million were spent on acquisition and preparation of land, Rs.10.8 million for roads and streets, Rs. 81.2 million on dwellings and Rs. 18.4 million on utilities and services.

6.4 The township and some of the public buildings were designed by qualified planners and architects and built by the Engineers of the Hindustan Steel Ltd. Different types of dwellings of varying plinths areas, plot sizes and costs have been built. However, most of the dwellings are of standard pattern and of semi-detached, single storeyed type. Though a majority of the dwellings have been built by the management of the Company, to accommodate the employees of the steel plant, an area of about 60 acres is earmarked for development of private housing through a co-operative society.

6.5 The circulation system comprises three different types of roads classified functionally. The employees of the steel plant are provided with transport facilities by the company at subsidised conveyance charges. However, the city does not have any public transport system excepting a few cycle-rickshaws and taxis. The town is adequately served by shops, schools and hospitals. One club, two open-air-theatres and a Cinema provide entertainment. The town-ship is provided with filtered public water supply, underground sewerage and electricity.

6.6 The township is administered by the General Manager of the Steel Plant, in whom are vested the powers and functions normally exercised by a Local Body.

## 7. DURGAPUR (West Bengal)

7.1 The paramount importance of steel for the development of industries was realised by the Government of India who, under the second Five Year Plan, set up three Steel Plants in the Public Sector, each capable of producing one million tons of steel annually during the first phase. Durgapur new town was built to locate one of the steel plants and to house its industrial workers. The steel plant was designed and erected in collaboration with a consortium of British firms.

7.2 The new township is located to the north of the National Highway connecting Calcutta with Delhi at a distance of about 150 miles from Calcutta. An area of nearly 10,500 acres of land is acquired to accommodate a population of 75,000 in the first

stage with an ultimate expansion to 1,25,000 during the third plan period. The area covered by the Township in the first phase is only 2,700 acres.

7.3 The township was designed by a consulting firm of planners and architects and is being built by the Hindustan Steel Limited. a Government of India undertaking. The new town is divided into 5 zones and a Civic Centre. Each zone is further sub-divided into a number of neighbourhood units. The estimated cost of the project in the first stage of development is Rs.175 million, out of which the acquisition and preparation of land (nearly 16 sq.miles) will account for about Rs. 12.5 million; roads and bridges Rs. 11.7 millions, residential buildings Rs. 98 million; public buildings Rs. 21 million and the utilities and services Rs. 29 million. The present population of the township is not known accurately as it includes the staff recruited for maintenance as well as the construction of the steel plant and there are a number of temporary camps and nissen huts. However, it is estimated that the present population is about 65,000.

7.4 The land use in Durgapur town is characterised by the fact that at present nearly 50 per cent of the land is left as an open space or is unfit for development due to physical features. The residential areas occupy nearly 40 per cent of the total area whereas the public buildings occupy about 9 per cent. An area of about 120 acres is devoted to the Civic Centre and its future extension. It is regrettable that no effort is being made to locate the various ancillary industrial units in an integrated manner.

It is learnt that an area of nearly 60 acres of land is allotted for a housing colony for the employees of the Heavy Engineering Corporation. Another area is allotted to the east of the township for a housing colony of a large industrial concern. These colonies are being designed and built independently without a comprehensive approach. A strip of land between the township and the steel plant, which has not been acquired by the Management either for the township or for the factory, is fast growing into a slum due to haphazard and uncontrolled growth.

7.5 The housing in Durgapur consists of about 5,800 dwelling units which have been completed. The dwellings are of nine different types with plinth areas varying from 300 sq.ft. to 2,200 sq.ft. The Management has planned to build another 4,500 houses to meet the requirement of housing accommodation of nearly 10,000 employees of the steel plant. All the dwellings are of the standard pattern and of semi-detached type. The rent charged is 10 per cent of the pay or the standard rent worked out as per the Ministry of Finance regulations. At present all the dwellings are being built by the Hindustan Steel Limited, while at a later stage, 10 per cent of the land will be reserved for housing in the private sector. The gross and net densities of accommodation are 5 and 10 dwellings per acre respectively.

7.6 The roads in the township are classified into arterial sub-arterial and neighbourhood roads and have different widths. There are about 1,000 fast moving vehicles and 250 cycles in the

The industrial workers are provided transport for trip to work by the Management. There is no public transportation system in the township other than a few buses of the Hindustan Steel Ltd. plying between the station and the township.

The township has got a water supply system, the source of water being a canal of the Damodar Valley Corporation. The township is served by a complete underground sewerage system. The sewage purification and disposal plant is of the latest type. The town has also a good drainage system.

7-7 Each zone in the city has three shopping centres with 24 shops and 12 fish and vegetable stalls. There is also provision for one district shopping centre in each zone. The town centre will be developed at a later date. At present Durganur new town has three primary schools and one multi-purpose school. The plan provides for 8 primary schools and a number of multi-purpose schools. There is only one health centre at present in the township. However, there is provision for one health centre in each zone and a 300 bed hospital for the entire township. One entertainment centre has been built so far. At a later stage, each zone will have its own entertainment centre.

7.8 The General Manager of the Steel Plant is also the Administrator of the township and he exercises the powers that are normally exercised by the Local Government in a Municipal town.

## 8. BHADRAVATI ( Mysore )

8.1 Bhadravati is an industrial town situated on the bank of the river Bhadra, in Shimoga district of Mysore State. The town has assumed importance and grown in area and population phenomenally since the location of the Mysore Iron and Steel Works in the year 1923 and a paper mill in 1939. The town comprises three distinct administrative areas; viz. the new town built and administered by the Management of the Iron and Steel Works; the paper town, built and administered by the Management of the Paper Mills and the Old Town under the Municipal Board. Extending over an area of about 4.5 sq.miles Bhadravati has at present a population of about 65,000, of which the new town accounts for an area of 2.5 sq.miles and a population of 38,000.

8.2 Being one of the seven steel towns in India and the only major steel town in the southern part of the country, Bhadravati's population is growing fast with its industries. Its population doubled between 1941-1951 and it has increased by more than 50 per cent since 1950. Nearly 63 per cent of the total working population is engaged in production (industry) and 7 per cent in trade.

8.3 The most significant feature of land use in Bhadravati is that nearly 50 per cent of the land within the administrative limits is vacant and not yet committed to any urban use. 19 Per cent of the total area is devoted to industrial use while only 18 percent is devoted to residential uses. Public and semi-public open spaces account for 2 per cent only.

8.4 In the new town the street pattern is mostly of the gridiron type, whereas in the old town the roads and streets are very irregular, narrow and inadequate to negotiate the heavy volume of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. Strip commercial development along main roads, curb parking and mixed traffic have reduced the effectiveness of the roads. There is no public transit system in the town.

8.5 The housing situation in Bhadravati is far from satisfactory. In 1951 the population was 42,500 and the number of occupied houses 6,736 while in 1959 the population was 63,000 while the number of dwelling units was 9,240. Thus, within 8 years, while the population increased by more than 50 percent, the number of dwelling units increased by 35 per cent only. A number of slums have therefore sprung up in the old town and the outlying communities. Nearly 70 per cent of the dwellings are either detached or semi-detached, single family, single storey houses. 72 per cent of all the dwellings are rental units. In the new town all the houses are rented to employees of the steel works and the Paper Mill. These two factories, which employ more than one-third of the industrial population of Bhadravati, have provided quarters only to about 50 per cent of their employees.

8.6 The minimum floor area of the smallest dwellings is 300 sq.ft. Nearly 75 per cent of the families pay a monthly rent as low as Rs.1 to Rs.5. The rents are subsidised. The overall density of population in Bhadravati is 22 persons per gross acre;

if only the developed areas are considered, the density will be about 50 persons per gross acre.

8.7 Practically the entire town is served by a public water supply system. However, the average per capita consumption of water is only 15 gallons per capita per day in the new town and 10 gallons in the old town. The new town is served by underground sewerage based on a series of septic tanks; there is no sewage treatment and disposal work. The old town has a dry system, which is most unhygienic. The development of utilities and services is sporadic and piecemeal. They are added or extended as and when new housing colonies are built to house the industrial workers. A comprehensive and co-ordinated approach is lacking.

8.8 Bhadravati has enough educational and medical facilities as schools and hospitals are being run by the Management of the Iron and Steel Works as well as the Municipal Board of the old town. Four cinemas and one stadium provide facilities for recreation and entertainment. The area devoted to parks and playgrounds accounts for only 5.3 per cent of the developed area.

8.9 Bhadravati has grown rapidly but without a plan. Even now no attempt is being made to prepare a master plan. The new Town Management Board, The Paper Town Management Board and the Municipality of the Old Town are separately administering the areas in their respective jurisdictions without much co-ordination.

8.10 While the old town is extremely congested and suffers from acute problems of traffic, the new town presents a sterile-type and monotonous appearance due to sponsored, type-design houses built in endless rows without imagination. Moreover, grouping of dwelling units by pay-scales and hierarchy of employees has resulted indirectly in segregation of different income groups. Community life and civic interest are lacking in the New Town as the people tend to rely on the charity of the employer rather than on their own initiative.

#### 9. CHITTARANJAN (West Bengal)

9.1 Chittaranjan is a new township sponsored by the Ministry of Railways, Government of India, for the location of a factory manufacturing locomotives and for housing the employees of the factory. The town is situated approximately 20 miles from Asansol in West Bengal and is easily accessible from the port of Calcutta. The rocky soil of the site gave further advantage in erecting foundation for heavy structural works and the undulating terrain helped to solve the problem of drainage. Nearness to the Maithon Dam and the Hydro-electric as well as thermal power generation projects of the Damodar Valley Corporation has ensured adequate supply of power and water to the factory and the township.

9.2 The Master Plan for the new town was prepared by a firm of consulting planners and the construction was taken on hand by the Ministry of Railways in 1948 and the first phase was completed in less than three years.

9.3 The township including the Locomotive Works extends over an area of about 7 sq.miles, and is divided into three zones consisting of six Neighbourhood units. During the first phase (1948-51) Chittaranjan had a population of about 30,000 and 5,500 dwellings were built. Subsequently another 1,000 houses have been added as the population has increased to nearly 40,000 with the stepping up of production. It is envisaged that in the third phase 500 dwellings will be built and the population will increase to about 42,000.

9.4 The estimated cost of the project upto 1959 was about Rs. 67 million of which Rs. 2.5 million were spent on acquisition of land, Rs. 5.4 million on roads and streets and Rs. 38 million on community buildings.

9.5 The land use pattern of Chittaranjan is characterised by the fact that at present open spaces and undeveloped land occupy nearly 60 per cent of the total area; only 28 per cent of the total area is devoted to residential use while industry occupies 9 per cent only. The land between the Chittaranjan Railway Station and the township boundary, which has not been acquired for the new town is the scene of unsightly and disorderly development. The circulation network of Chittaranjan consists of three different types of roads, viz. A, B & C. Class A type road is the principal artery and is of three lanes with a right of way of 60 ft. Class B and C roads are designed as collector streets with two lanes.

The Locomotive Works provides transportation by buses to its employees at subsidised rates. There is no public transit system in the new town. Nearly 1,000 employees of the Locomotive Works commute 8 to 10 miles to the works.

9.10 Well over 6,000 dwellings of different plinth areas and 2, 3 and 4 bedrooms have been built in the township. Most of the dwellings are of standard pattern and of semi-detached single-storeyed type. Construction is rather poor. The arrangement of dwellings in rows has resulted in a monotonous appearance. The scope offered by undulating country for imaginative grouping of dwellings has not been taken advantage of.

9.11 The residential areas of the new town have been arranged into six neighbourhood units. Each neighbourhood unit has 600 to 800 dwellings with community facilities, viz. 4 primary Schools, a community centre, a Shopping centre having 30 shops and a dispensary.

9.12 The township is served well with utilities and services. The source of water is the river Ajoy, a slender hill-stream, across which a masonry dam is constructed. The township has an underground drainage system. The sewage is treated in a treatment and disposal plant by the activated sludge process.

9.13 There are 24 primary schools, one junior High School, two High Schools, and a Technical School. The medical facilities in the new town consist of a 200 bed hospital and four dispensaries. Entertainment and recreation are provided by two cinema theatres, 6 community centres, and two railway institutes.

The railway institutes provide very good facilities for indoor games, recreation and entertainment. There are quite a few social and cultural organisations in Chittaranjan which arrange dance, drama and music performances, from time to time. Sports and athletic events are held annually. Civic sense of the inhabitants of Chittaranjan is high and it is a township which is maintained clean and tidy.

9.14 The General Manager of the factory is the Administrator of the Township and he is vested with the powers normally exercised by a local Government.

#### 10. NANGAL INDUSTRIAL TOWNSHIP ( Punjab )

10.1 The new industrial township at Nangal is being developed by the Hindustan Chemicals and Fertilizers Ltd., a private ltd. concern sponsored by the Government of India, for manufacture of fertilizers and for providing adequate housing facilities to the Employees.

10.2 The new township and the factory are located on the right bank of river Sutlej, at a distance of about five miles from Bhakhra Dam in Punjab. The township was designed by a firm of consulting architects and planners for population of 50,000 with adequate provision for twice that population at a future date. The new town including the factory area extends over 3,750 acres. The estimated population of the township at present is 10,000.

10.3 The town is divided into seven sectors and it is proposed to add later a town-centre covering an area of about 70 acres. Nearly 30 percent of the area is devoted to parks, open spaces, roads and streets. For economy and convenience, a rectangular system of roads has been adopted. The housing consists of seven different types of dwellings constructed for various income groups with plinth areas of dwellings varying from 460 to 1,250 sq.ft. Each sector is self contained with its complement of schools, shops, health centre etc. Four sectors have been completely built while the fifth one is under construction. Two more sectors will be built at a later date, when the factory reaches full production.

10.4 There is no public transport system in the township. Cycles are the chief mode of transport for the industrial employees. The Management of the factory provides transport to some officials at nominal charges. The township is served by public water supply and underground sewerage systems.

10.5 It is estimated that the total cost of the township project including the industrial plant will be Rs. 30.3 million out of which the township alone has cost Rs. 15.7 million. The cost of acquisition and preparation of land accounts for Rs. 6.9 million, housing Rs. 11.5 million, roads and streets Rs. 2.6 million, water supply and drainage Rs. 7.5 million.

10.6 Recreational facilities are provided at present by two clubs and a cinema. The lakes of the Bhakhra-Nangal Project and Naini Devi, a hill station situated 15 miles from the township, are serving as recreational centres for the people of Nangal.

10.7 The Nangal Industrial Township is one of the few new towns in India which is being built according to a well thought out and imaginative master plan.

## 11. PROBLEMS OF NEW TOWNS

From the foregoing case-studies of New Towns, it is possible to identify the following problems:

### 11.1 PLANNING PROBLEMS

#### (a) LAND USE

(i) In most of the new towns, nearly 50 per cent of the land acquired is lying undeveloped and uncommitted to any urban use. This will, no doubt, facilitate the future development of the towns. However, the distances between different sectors are long with the attendant disadvantages.

(ii) In all the industrial towns, strips of land which have been left out in acquisition have lead to uncontrolled, sporadic and unsightly developments. This is particularly conspicuous in Chittaranjan, Durgapur, and Bhadravati.

(iii) Areas devoted to parks, playgrounds and other public open spaces have not been developed though the neighbourhood units have been fully built.

(iv) Excepting in Chandigarh, the densities are very low (20 to 30 persons per gross acre) as the new towns are sparsely developed and in some cases they extend 4 to 5 miles from end to end. In many of the steel towns, the area devoted to roads and streets is excessive, ranging from 20 to 35 per cent of the developed areas.

(b) CIRCULATION PATTERN

(i) The new towns have a network of roads and streets which are classified functionally to create self-contained neighbourhood units or sectors. However, the widths of roads and right of ways are excessive. In some towns, even the residential streets and culs-de-sac are as wide as 40 ft. Public transport is posing a difficult problem as the new towns do not have any mass-transit facilities.

(ii) In the rehabilitation and administrative new towns, cycles are the chief mode of transport and yet separate cycle-tracks have not been provided; in some cases, they have not been laid out though provision has been made in the design. In some of the sponsored towns, like Durgapur, Bhilai, Rourkela and Chittaranjan, the factory Managements provide transport to the employees at subsidised transport charges.

(c) HOUSING

(i) Provision of housing accommodation has not kept pace with the increase in the population in the new towns. Except Chandigarh, almost all the new towns have detached or semi-detached single family dwellings arranged in rows and grouped very unimaginatively. They fail to take advantage of the natural terrain and the landscape.

(ii) None of the towns have avoided the segregation of families on the basis of pay-scales, The accommodation provided has been correlated with income; family sizes have not been considered.

(iii) Sponsored housing in the new towns is comparatively superior in accommodation and design to private housing and also the rent charged in case of sponsored housing is comparatively low.

(iv) In the rehabilitation towns like Faridabad, Rajpura and Nilokheri, no attempt has been made to integrate displaced persons with the local people on a multi-provincial basis. They have become one-class communities.

(v) In most of the steel towns, excepting Durgapur, there is no attempt to mix Company and non-company dwellings; sufficient area has not been earmarked for housing in the private sector. People engaged in trade and service industries live in fringe communities, which are growing phenomenally, as no provision has so far been made for housing them in the sponsored towns.

(vi) The minimum plinth area provided in the lowest income group housing is about 300 sq.ft. per unit.

(vii) In the rehabilitation towns, housing is of stereo-type and only one type of dwellings have been provided, whereas in the other towns several types of dwellings with different plinth areas and designs have been tried.

#### (D) WATER SUPPLY

All the new towns are served by Public Water supply systems. However, in some new towns like Bhadravati and Faridabad, the per capita consumption of water is low. Tube-wells from the principal source of water supply in rehabilitation towns.

In the industrial towns, all the dwellings have individual water connections while in the rehabilitation towns, a majority of the residents are dependant on public hydrants.

(E) SEWERAGE AND DRAINAGE

Industrial new towns are, in general, served by underground sewerage and upto date sewage treatment and disposal plants but the rehabilitation towns have only bore-hole latrines or sanitary privies, which are very unhygeinic. Drainage is posing a serious problem in some of the new towns like Faridabad and Rajpura, as the terrain is even.

(F) AMENITIES:

One of the significant features of the new towns in India is that in almost all of them adequate provision has been made for health and education. In the steel towns, education is given free at all levels and the School children are provided with uniforms and are served mid-day-meals free of cost. However, enough interest has not been shown in developing community organisations, like dance, drama and music groups, adult schools, rate payers and civic associations, historical societies, ladies' clubs etc., In most cases Community development has lagged behind town development.

In all the new towns neighbourhood shops have been developed while the major shopping areas in the town-centres have not been taken up. In some cases, this has lead to unauthorised and sporadic shops on the fringes of the new towns. Only a few of the new towns have adequate recreational and entertainment facilities.

Though the Master Plans provide for building of recreational centres in each neighbourhood, very few of them have been taken on hand, due to paucity of funds. None of the new towns has a fully developed town centre. Experience has proved that if a town is starved of utilities, services and amenities in the initial stages as in case of Nilokheri and Rajpura, it bears the marks of that malnutrition for several years in its life.

#### 11.2 SOCIAL PROBLEMS:

The rehabilitation towns have, in general, missed a very good opportunity to develop socially balanced communities consisting of people of diverse cultural, educational, linguistic and economic backgrounds.

The design and grouping of dwellings on the basis of pay-scales has indirectly emphasized the official hierarchy of the employees of the factories and also segregation of different income-groups.

The sponsored nature of our new towns does not encourage its inhabitants to settle down permanently and grow civic roots. They have become on the other hand, transient settlements from which people shift after retirement from service.

#### 11.3 ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

All the factory towns are being administered by the General Managers of the respective factories. This is, to some extent, responsible for the lack of civic interest and active community life among the inhabitants of the new towns. In case of the rehabilitation towns like Faridabad and Rajpura, the Development Boards which were set up to locate, build and manage the new towns,

are being prematurely abolished and the towns are being handed over to the State Governments. Thus, the privileges which the new towns enjoyed previously are being withdrawn and they are being levelled with other towns in the State, thereby losing the impetus to their full development and maturity. In the steel towns different areas under the jurisdiction of the General Managers of different Industrial undertakings are being developed and administered separately, lacking in co-ordination and comprehensive approach to administrative and planning problems.

As in case of Bhadravati and Faridabad, some of the new towns have been located close to existing communities, which have fulfilled local government. This has often lead to over-lapping interests and conflicts between the established municipalities and the New Town Managements. No serious attempt seems to have been made to solve problems of planning, housing, utilities and services transportation etc., in mutual collaboration. The relation between the new town managements and the Local bodies of existing communities is perhaps the most complex and most difficult one of all the network of new relationships created by the new towns.

#### 11.4 ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

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The two main economic problems for the new towns are that of attracting industries to their areas and that of building sufficiently cheaply. In regard to the first problem, Refugee-settlements like Rajpura, Kalyani and Nilokheri are facing a grave problem of unemployment as they have not been able to attract sufficient number of industries.

With regard to the second problem, it may be stated that the cost of town building is increasing as the construction of dwellings, roads, water mains and sewers etc. are not properly phased.

Almost all the new towns in India are being financed by the Central and State Government or by semi-governmental organisations. The resources of the Government being meagre, the funds available for building new towns are very limited. It is therefore necessary to encourage the Town Development Boards or the sponsoring organisations to raise funds by borrowing from the non-governmental sources also.

Some of the new industrial settlements like Chittaranjan, Bhadravati and Nangal, have tended to become single industry towns with all the attendant disadvantages. Efforts should be made (as in Durgapur, Rourkela and other steel towns) to attract varied types of industries in the public as well as the private sectors so that the new towns may have broad-based economy.

## 12. LACK OF INFORMATION:

12.1 It is regrettable that very little research has been carried out in connection with the new towns in India. It is therefore not possible for us to assess whether we have succeeded in planning adequately for the economic, social and cultural needs of the people settled in the new communities. In the absence of surveys and studies, it is not easy at this stage to form a clear estimate of the probable impact of building the new towns on their rural environs, because some of the effects are opposing

and tend to offset each other. Bhilai and Bhadravati for instance, have opened up what were previously the most undeveloped regions in the country and have provided employment opportunities to the landless agricultural labourers. They have provided educational facilities as well as social and cultural amenities, which have, to some extent, arrested the drift of the younger generation from villages and small towns to metropolitan cities. At the same time, the new towns have absorbed many villages and also cast adverse effects on the social life of many rural communities on the fringes weakening their community life and making them a prey to increasing suburbanisation until they have ended up as more adjuncts of the new towns.

12.2 We have not given sufficient thought to the problems which will arise from large scale movement of population from dispersal areas to receiving areas.

12.3 In our political set up the basic unit is the village Panchayat. With the creation of new towns, many village Panchayats will be dissolved and very often no Local Government will be substituted. What effect will this have on the administrative and political structure of our country is not clear.

### 13. PLEA FOR A NEW TOWNS POLICY

13.1 [At present India lacks a comprehensive and co-ordinated approach to the problems of new towns<sup>and a new towns</sup>/policy. For instance the Ministry of Rehabilitation is responsible for building and managing refugee-settlements; the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel is responsible for the steel towns;

The Ministry of Railways for Chittaranjan township; the respective State Governments are responsible for Chandigarh, Bhubneswar, Pilaspur and Bhadravati.

13.2 The new towns constructed during the first Five Year Plan period namely: Faridabad, Rajpura and Nilokheri, cannot be considered as major town planning achievements; nevertheless, much experience was gained by these projects. The capital project of Chandigarh initiating during the same period has become a source of inspiration to many young town planners and architects and pride of India. The success of this venture is due to its new approach to urban planning and architectural design,

The new steel towns: Durgapur, Bhilai and Rourkela, built during the second five year plan period, have not unfortunately made much contribution to the art of science of town planning in India. A fine opportunity has been lost. As the third Five Year Plan is on the anvil, the time is appropriate to appoint a commission with a view to assess the experience and progress in planning, financing, building and administering new towns in India for the past two decades and to formulate a comprehensive new town policy and programme for the next fifteen to twenty years. The new Towns Commission should "consider the general questions of establishment, development, organisation and administration that will arise in the creation of New Towns, in furtherance of policy of planned decentralisation from congested urban areas and in accordance therewith to suggest guiding principles on which such towns should be established and developed as self-contained and balanced communities for work and living.\*

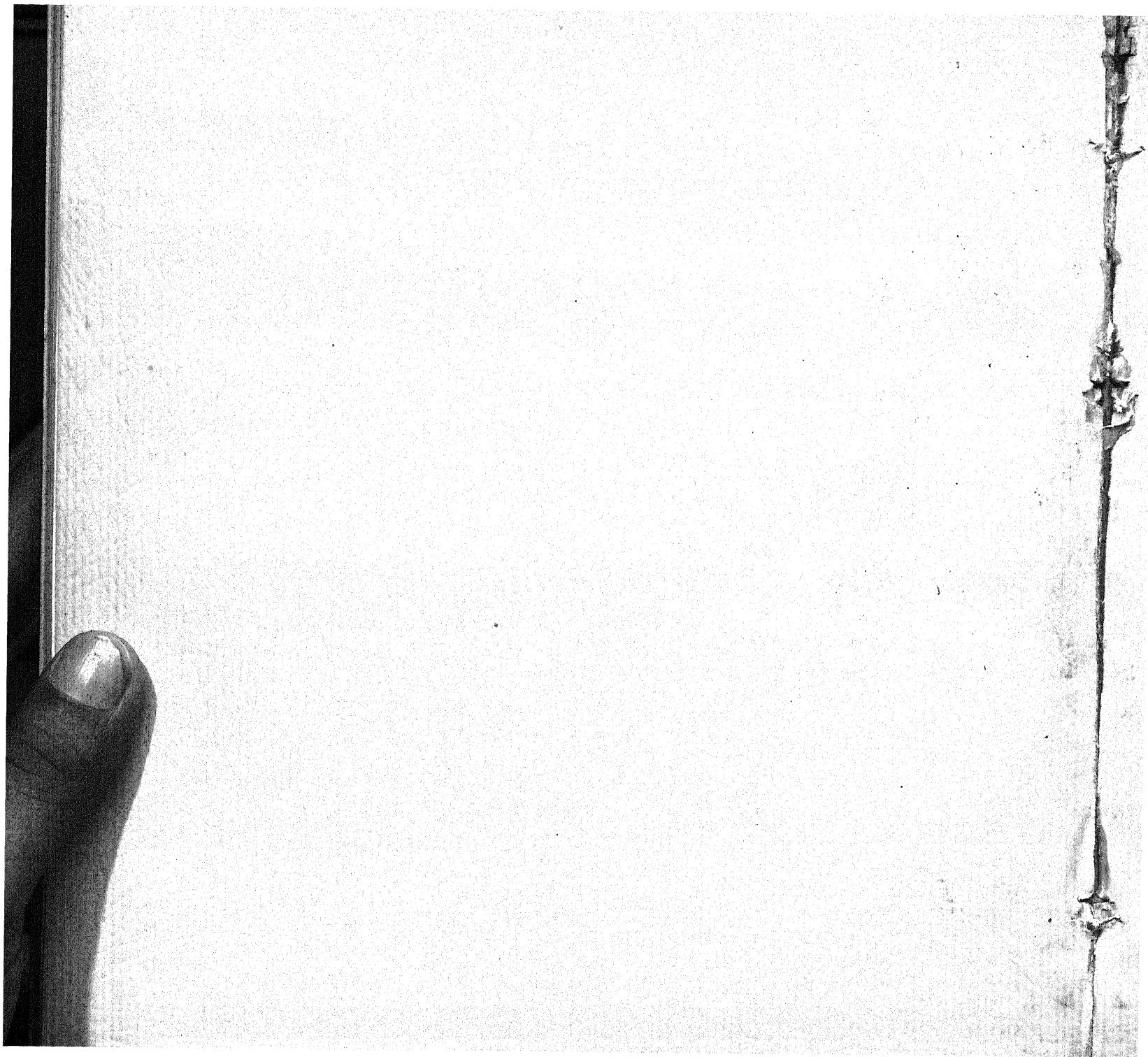
\* See next page foot note.

There is no necessity to justify new towns; the new towns have more than justified themselves. On the other hand, we have to think of stabilising the economic base and increasing the employment potentials and starting many more new towns. Though the new towns are not perfect, though they have suffered under some handicaps, they are, for all that, the closest approach yet made in this country to planned communities. The establishment of new towns is indeed a great experiment in physical and social planning. They have given us an opportunity to put to the test of practice, so many of the theories and assumptions of physical planning and community development that they deserve our active support and careful study. To treat them merely as exercises in bricks and mortar or in town building and architectural design is to mistake the substance for the soul. If the new towns succeed they will provide invaluable lesson for the future. If they fail, they will lead us to formulate new principles and practices of town building and community development.

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- \* Terms of reference to the new towns committee (Reith Committee)  
U.K.-vide U.K., Govt. of, "Report of the New Towns Committee"  
H.M.S. Office, London, 1946.

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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## URBANIZATION IN JAPAN

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J A P A N

REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

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I. THE ACTUALITIES OF URBANISATION (GENERAL ENQUIRY)

1. The General Idea of a City in Japan

To understand what phenomenon of urbanization is prevailing in the communities in Japan, it is first of all required for us to be clarified on the general idea of a city in Japan. The nomenclature of a "city" in Japan constitutes a general idea or conception coherent in the Japanese national statute of the Administrative Laws and it is mainly based on the numerical range of a city's population. Before 1953 any community of less than a populace of 30,000 could not be instituted as a city, while it was decreed in 1954 that a status of a city could be conferred upon a community for the future, provided that it comply with a newly raised standard population base of 50,000 or more. Apart from the population it was set that the following conditions should be fulfilled for a community to be sanctioned a status of a city: a) non-farm population should be over 50% of the whole in the community. b) 60% of the entire population should be concentrated in the central section of the community. c) 60% of houses and buildings in the central section should stand in a row. d) such facilities as required for a city function should be equipped ....e.g. highways and roads, watersupply, drainage system, schools, hospitals, movie-halls, etc. The procedure that a community

will obtain a status of a city is that it has to obtain an approval from the Autonomy Board, one of the departments of the Japanese Central Government, with the Board's recognition of the above mentioned conditions.

Accordingly, our notice should be given to the fact that the idea of an urban society as defined in the Sociology may not necessarily in conformity with this case. During 1953 - 56, as many as about 200 small-sized cities were instituted in Japan under "Towns and Villages Amalgamation Promotion Law" as newly enforced. Why this Law came to be enacted, I should start with reference to the then existing conditions of communities in Japan. The towns and the villages had been administered independently as small units, resulting in the difficulties in their own finances. Meanwhile, traffic and transportation between the communities made a remarkable progress, resulting in an extended frequency of communication among them. To make small communities meet these difficulties, the Central Government set to adopt a policy of enacting the above Law with the aim of getting them out of piling difficulties. The consequence is that as many as 200 small-sized cities were newly born during 1953-56. This phenomenon was then called a "city boom". Those created cities, though small in population, are featured with a very vast area of their own. For example, Moriguchi City, which is at present the smallest one in acreage in Japan, 5.43 sq. k.m., contains as much population as 60,000. While Ashibetsu City of the same population boastfully retains a much wider expansion of 870.92 sq.k.m.

in acreage.

## 2. The Types of Cities in Japan

As many as 490 are totaled under the general idea of a city mentioned above, the cities in Japan are classified on the basis of function as follows:

### a. A Mining City--

This signifies a city concentrated with the strength of labor required for exploitation of underground deposit resources. This type of a city is represented by numerous cities located in the coal producing Hokkaido and the North Kyushu district, by Hidachi City in the Copper mining district and by Ube City famous for the cement industry.

### b. An Industrial City--

This signifies a city with a heavy chemical industry for its subsistence and in most cases located in the surrounding districts of a large city. The City of Kawasaki on the border of Tokyo and the City of Amagasaki bordering Osaka are exemplified for this type. It can clearly be said that such a city of industrial production located in the neighborhood of a large city is surpassing any of the other types in the rapid increase of population. Indeed this type of a city is observed to be typical of the growth of population.

### c. A Commercial City--

This means what is most generally called a city. It

of citizens engage in business, the city is nominated a commercial city.

d. A Traffic City--

This is represented by a city with the junction of railway lines or with the port facilities. As an island country, Japan now retains 188 port cities out of a total of 490 cities.

e. A Political City--

In addition to Tokyo, the capital of Japan, any of the cities where the Prefectural Authorities or Local Government is situated, is classified as a political city. Since Japan is partitioned into 46 administrative blocks of To-Do-Fu-Ken, (To for Tokyo Metropolis...1, Do for Hokkaido...1, Fu for special prefectures... 2, Ken for prefectures...42.), it is eventual that at least 46 political cities are enumerated. Sixteen other cities could be added, although they have no Local Government.

f. A City of Culture--

This means a city where institutions of higher learning are situated. Due to the post-war increase of colleges and universities in Japan, there are at present 71 such cities. If we add cities where an institution of two years of higher education is seated, the total number of such cities would be 96.

g. A Tourist City--

Enriched with very beautiful sceneries, Japan is proud of many sight-seeing cities represented by the cities of

resort cities with hot-springs constitute congested areas with heavy traffic and visitors. At present there are 26 cities, equipped with hot-spring facilities within the city limits.

3. The Urbanization as Surveyed on the Basis of the Number of cities

Back in 1889 when the nomenclature of a "city" was officially initiated in conformity with the national statute, there were 39 cities, and in the two decades after this, 30 more communities obtained the status of a city. Fifteen years later, in 1925, we had 101 cities, and in 1945, immediately before the termination of the World War II, we had 208. In recent years a city has rapidly increased in number because of the above mentioned policy of the Central Government. Today there are 490 cities in Japan.

Table I.

Number of Cities as Graded on Basis of Population

(unit 10,000)	1921	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1947	1950	-55
total	81	98	107	125	166	206	214	248	491
100 or over	2	2	4	4	4	2	2	4	5
50-100	2	3	2	2	2	3	4	2	2
30-50	2	1	-	1	3	1	1	4	7
20-30	-	-	3	7	8	5	11	14	21
10-20	10	15	19	20	28	25	34	40	63
5-10	24	33	45	52	53	74	83	86	140
4-13	14	22	13	22	23	40	43	46	25
3-4	20	20	18	24	34	49	33	51	135
3 or under	7	2	3	2	11	7	2	1	

Table II.

Population of Cities as Graded on Basis of Population  
(Pop. shown in percentage).

(unit 10,000)	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1947	1950	-55
100 u. over	34.2	32.1	29.5	48.8	45.3	19.4	22.2	30.4	23
50-100	11.9	16.3	20.1	7.2	7.0	10.4	12.7	5.5	3
30-50	8.5	3.2	----	1.4	3.7	1.8	1.3	4.4	5
20-30	-----	-----	4.6	7.0	6.6	5.6	10.2	10.7	10
10-20	12.7	16.6	17.7	13.3	15.1	17.7	18.7	17.4	17
5-10	17.1	18.0	19.8	15.8	13.4	26.3	22.8	19.3	18
4-5	6.4	7.9	3.8	2.7	3.8	8.9	7.4	6.6	8
3-4	7.2	3.4	4.2	3.7	4.2	8.9	4.6	5.7	10
3 u. under	2.0	0.4	0.6	0.3	1.1	1.0	0.3	0.1	0

Tables I and II reveal that during the period of 1935-1940, the movement of city population in Japan had a distinctive phase that the Six Large cities headed by Tokyo, each having a population of over one million, were especially the objectives/ of mass concentration of population. Namely, as many as 50% of the total population which moved into urban areas during this period were retained by the Six Large Cities.

As the World War II went along, however, the people in the cities began to abandon their urban dwellings to take refuge in the rural areas. The mass exodus from the urban areas resulted in a striking decrease of urban population and in the late years of World War II, less than 20% of the total population in Japan lived in the urban areas. Today, however, we have 30% of the total population in cities. I should like to emphasize here that the most important feature of

of wrong  
splitting  
also

Japanese urbanization is found in the fact that one third of the urban population is converged in the Six Large Cities and 10% of the total population of Japan is concentrated in one city, namely, Tokyo. It can be observed that for the period from 1920 to about 1930 as many cities as graded on the basis of population came pretty evenly or proportionately to be dispersed through Japan. In the succeeding 10 years, however, it is distinctive that the population began to keep a rapid pace to concentrate in large cities of over one million population, while on the contrary cities of 200,000 -1,000,000 population decreased, and cities under 200,000 remained constant. This same tendency can also be observed in the post-war years of reconstruction and rehabilitation. There fore it may be understood that the urbanization of Japan's population is going on towards either largest cities or very small cities. Now, what is the reason why the urban population is growing? This is mainly because a surplus rural population is being absorbed by cities. Table III showing the relative density of urban and rural population, reveals that until the War termination year of 1945 the density of urban population continued to be reduced due to the mass exodus to the rural areas, but in the post-war years it recovered to some extent. This tendency, however, is seemingly dull, because of the unproportionate expansion of the urban areas. I will explain this later.

Table III

Population of Urban Areas and Rural Areas  
(For Comparison)

Density of Pop.	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940	1944	1945	1946	1947	1950	1955
Urban	13.3	59.0	52.2	44.4	31.6	21.5	14.2	15.3	16.3	15.8	---
Rural	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.5	---
% of Pop.											
Urban	18.1	21.7	24.1	32.9	37.9	41.1	27.8	30.4	33.1	37.5	51.6
Rural	81.9	78.3	75.9	67.1	62.1	58.9	72.2	69.6	66.9	62.5	48.4

Table III shows that there is almost no change in the population density of rural areas. The increase of density in the post-war years may, it is presumed, be attributable to the settlement of repatriates from abroad in their native rural areas.

When this phenomenon is studied from the percentage of population, it is revealed that the urban population stands at 27.8% of the entire population of Japan as against 72.2% of the rural population in 1945, when the War ended. This ratio approximates that of the year 1925. However, the tendency of urbanization in the post-war years was so conspicuous that in 1955 the urban areas, obtained an inverted position in population, that is, their population percentage stands at 51.6% as against 48.4% in the rural areas. Such a change in population ratio is either due to the amalgamation of towns and villages or to the absorption of surrounding towns and villages by cities. Table IV shows this development.

Table IV

## Increase and Decrease of Cities, Towns and Villages

Yr.	MO.	Day	City	Town	Village	Total
1953	10	1	286	1976	7606	9868
1950	5	3	490	1837	2665	4992
Number of Balance plus			204	-139	-4941	-4876

It took only two years to see that under the Towns and Villages Amalgamation Promotion Law, 139 towns and 4941 villages disappeared and 204 new cities were born.

4. The Urbanization as Surveyed on the Basis of Urban Areas:

While the average acreage of Japanese cities was 17 sq. k.m. in 1920 and 50 sq.k.m. in 1940, it expanded to 70 sq.k.m. in post-war years.

Despite the reduction of average population of cities, it is noted that cities have followed a course of expanding their acreage. As the result, the average acreage of cities came to be 121 sq.k.m. in 1955, showing that the Japanese cities hold very large acreage. The number of cities classified on the basis of their acreage is indicated in Table V.

Table V

## Number of Cities as Graded on the Basis of Acreage

	1935 (numbers (%))	1940 numbers (%)	1948 numbers (%)	1950 numbers (%)	1955 Numbers (%)
Total	125(100.0)	166(100.0)	228(100.0)	248(100.0)	486(100.0)
100 km <sup>2</sup> over	7(5.6)	13(7.8)	42(18.4)	52(21.0)	208(42.7)
70km <sup>2</sup> over	6(4.8)	15(9.0)	31(13.6)	35(14.1)	86(17.7)
50km <sup>2</sup> over	13(10.4)	30(18.1)	34(14.9)	37(14.9)	66(13.6)
30 km <sup>2</sup> over	22(17.6)	40(24.1)	50(21.9)	53.(21.4)	78(16.0)

During the years 1935-1940, it is shown that the number of cities occupying an acreage of over 100 sq.k.m. was 5-7% of the total number. While it gradually increased in the post-war years up to 20% or more of the total. In 1955, the number of cities with an acreage of over 200 sq.k.m. has come to stand at 15.4% of the total and that of over 100 sq.k.m. at 27.3%. Combined, those cities with more than 100 sq.k.m. in acreage are showing 42.7%, almost half of all the cities.

From the sociological point of view, an urban area constitutes the basis on which the dwelling people organize human relations. As such a vast area is applied <sup>the national</sup> by law to a city, we must be careful when we study this from the urban sociological point of view.

5. The Urbanization as Surveyed on the Basis of Urban Functions :

The best way to know sociologically the tendency of urbanization is to see the urban functions by way of population composition by industries. We can make use of Collin Clark's method to divide into three types of industries, that is, primary industries (agriculture, forestry, fishery), secondary industries (mining, manufacturing industries) and the tertiary or service industries (industries other than the other two). It is only natural that a city is an area where tertiary industries prevail in its functions. Assuming that the "urbanized population" is computed by way of adding semi-household population to the quotient number to be obtained by subtracting the population of households whose

heads engage in primary industries from that of common households, it can be said that 90% large cities of over one million, 80% of medium-sized cities and 60-70% of small cities are urbanized.

This tendency can be proved by the following Table. It shows the composition of workers on the basis of industries they engage in, on the average of three months covering September to November of each year between 1950-1954.





As shown in the Table, the workers being engaged in the primary industries occupied 50.40% of the whole in 1950, but it reduced gradually in 1951 and 1952 and down to 45.3% in 1954. This tendency is most conspicuous in the agricultural and forestry industries. It is our problem to trace the movement of this population.

In the phase of the secondary industries, substantial changes can not be found. Only 0.4% increase is noticed in 1954 as against 1950 and means that agricultural population is little absorbed by the manufacturing industries in cities.

In the phase of the tertiary industries, however, the figure of population which was 28.2% in 1950, rose to 32.9% in 1954, showing that the people who left the primary industries moved into tertiary industries. As also seen in the Table, population increased in such industries as wholesale and retail enterprise, financing, service, etc. The former shows an increase of 4.1% and the latter 1.2%. Therefore, it is not in the manufacturing industries which is the major department of urban industries, but in the commercial industries which is on the weak basis in the urban industries, that absorbs the rural surplus population.

In the modern capitalistic society, agriculture, small enterprises of commerce and manufacturing are usually liable to be the victim of economic policy of the government.

It is a matter of significance for the soundness of the Japanese industry that the surplus agricultural population is absorbed by small commercial enterprise in cities, which is also on the weak basis.

It was during 1948-1951 that the Ministry of International Trade and Industry launched a test survey of commercial conditions of some cities in Japan. According to the result of this survey, there are 11.3 stores in the rural areas against 24.5 in the urban areas per 1,000 persons. According to the types of enterprises, as shown in the following Table, it is noticed that the percentage of retail shops in the rural areas stands higher than that of the urban areas, and there are much more wholesale and luncheon shops in urban than in rural areas. This tendency is most conspicuous in the Six Large Cities.

Table VII

	Comparison on the Basis of Types of Enterprises		
	Urban Areas Number (%)	Rural Areas number (%)	6 Large Cities (number (%))
Total	763.099(100.0)	585.158(100.0)	131.641(100.0)
Wholesale, merchandise industry agent & brokerage	106.021(13.9)	31.363(5.4)	21.221 (16.0)
retail industry	513.577(68.0)	462.227(79.0)	83.701(63.7)
Small factories	48.955( 6.4)	59.961( 9.7)	7.683( 5.8)
luncheon shop	89.546(11.7)	34.607( 5.9)	19.036(14.5)

We may draw conclusions as follows:

- a) The urbanization in Japan is taking a remarkable course that the rural population decreases.
- b) The surplus rural population is being mostly absorbed by

c) This tendency is remarkable in the large cities as Tokyo and Osaka.

#### 6. The Establishment of Standard Metropolitan Area

As mentioned far above, a city in Japan is legally institutable as an administrative unit governing a certain area under application of the Laws concerned and it is a fact that some communities which were in recent years raised to a status of a city retain a number of rural elements. On the other hand, such a tendency has become strong and upward on, as a big city deals an influence of its own function upon its bordering and surrounding cities, towns and villages, and overriding its urban areas, such as an industrial zone, a traffic zone and a cultural zone, it is on the way to take a functionally consolidated form of entity.

With the census initiated in 1950, the United States, it is indicated, has already arranged the statistics on such specific areas. To meet, hereupon, such an advanced census-taking or statistics-compiling method in the States, the Japanese Central Government set out to instruct the Statistic Standard Bureau of the Cabinet to launch a plan on the establishment of urban areas based on the overall or comprehensive fields of functions, and this plan was put into practice under the direction of expert members of a Special Committee attached to the Cabinet. (This contributor is the member of one of/the Committee). The results achieved by the Committee was publicized by the Cabinet in March 1954.

a. The Definition of Standard Metropolitan Area:

The Standard Metropolitan Area signifies to represent an expansion of areas located among and composed by cities ( a city referred to in this paragraph should be a city of over 100,000 citizens and also comprising even city of less than 100,000, providing that a prefectural government is located in the city) and their bordering or surrounding cities, towns and villages, which maintain a striking city-like characteristics and are tied up to a pivotal city with an economical and social inter-relationship. Accordingly, the SMA can be in principle established apart from the conception that a city, town and village be set with an area of administrative boundaries of own jurisdiction.

b. The Standard of Decision of City-like Characteristics

i. The density of population should be over 170 inhabitants per one sq.k.m.

ii. Out of all households in the specific areas, the number of agricultural households (precluding those of the secondary type of industries) should not occupy over 50% of the whole.

iii. Out of the number of passengers in those specific towns and villages, on a month average basis, those passengers going up to a pivotal city should have 20% of the whole number of passengers (This is defined as a traffic density) or there should be, also on a month-average basis, over 7 times telephone call to the pivotal city per one phone subscriber (This is a communication density).

iv. The Successive Approximity to a Pivotal City

On the assumption that the above Standards should be applied to a project of establishing a SMA, the cities of Tokyo and Yokohama and the cities of Osaka and Kobe, each among the Six Big Cities, are naturally applied to constitute the SMAS, while at the same time many other cities may also be qualified possibly to form other such Areas. Such regions of this category in a limited number are widely known with the following nominations, through which it is indicated that those regions are a congested area of cities.

The Kanmon District . . . . .

The Keihanshin District . . . . .

The Chukyo District (The City of Nagoya being a mainstay)

The Toyama-Takaoka District . . . . .

The Keihin District . . . . .

It is natural that any of these area should be administered as one body under a unitary government, in view that activities, relationship, etc., ranging each region are too closely intermingled for separation.

II. THE ACTIVITIES OF URBANIZATION (SPECIAL ENQUIRY)

(The data in this article is compiled by this writer himself)

1. The Six Big Cities in Japan

The population of all cities combined in Japan totaled 10,020,000 or 18% of the whole Japanese population in 1920, while in the preceding years of the World War II it reached an all-time high of 29,650,000 or 40% of the whole. Later it gradually followed a downward course on account of the

harsh trials and aftermaths of the War which forced the City dwellers abandon their houses in the city and seek shelter in the countryside, while, however, in 1950 the population of the cities through Japan was registered at 31,200,000 and as of the year 1955 it rose to 42,940,000 or more than half of the Japan's population.

It should be noted also that one third thereof is concentrated in the Six Big Cities led by Tokyo. As of the end of 1954, the official Resident Registry Census shows the populations of the Six Big Cities as follows:

Tokyo.....6,749,493 (within Tokyo Proper or  
Residential areas)

Osaka.....2,239,909

Nagoya.....1,279,330

Kyoto.....1,202,697

Yokohama....1,128,552

Kobe..... 969,264

As shown above, a total population of the Six Big Cities occupies one-sixth of the whole population of Japan or one-third of the combined population of all cities in Japan. This is one of the most prominent characteristics of the urbanization in Japan.

## 2. The Relationship of the Six Big Cities with their surrounding areas

The ratio of population between the Six Big Cities and the provincial or rural areas of the prefectures, in which the Cities are located, is indicated in the following table.

Table VIII

## The Ratio of the Six Big Cities

Tokyo pref.	Urban area	Rural area	Osaka pref.		Kyoto pref.		Aichi pref.		Hyogo pref.		Kanagawa pref.	
			U.S.	R.a.	U.a.	R.a.	U.a.	R.a.	U.a.	R.a.	U.a.	R.a.
90.8	9.2		68.3	31.7	45.4	54.6	29.8	70.2	31.3	68.7	43.7	56.3
91.6	8.4		69.0	31.0	59.6	40.4	33.8	66.2	32.1	67.9	41.9	58.1
92.1	7.9		69.3	30.7	62.0	38.0	36.0	64.0	33.3	76.7	43.4	56.6
92.5	7.5		69.7	30.3	64.2	35.8	38.7	61.3	34.8	65.2	43.2	56.8
92.1	7.9		67.8	32.2	53.7	46.3	41.9	58.1	33.7	66.3	44.2	55.8
79.4	20.6		39.3	60.7	54.8	45.2	20.9	79.1	16.8	83.2	33.4	66.6
83.5	16.5		46.7	53.3	58.3	41.7	27.3	72.7	21.0	79.0	36.6	63.4
85.7	14.3		50.7	49.3	60.1	39.9	30.4	69.6	23.1	76.9	38.2	61.8

Table VIII shows that in Tokyo, areas outside of Tokyo proper began to lose its population as from 1920 and in 1940 it came to hold only 7.9% as compared with the whole population in Tokyo, revealing a sharp upward trend of population's movement into the central or more urbanised area of Tokyo Metropolis. This trend was prevailing more or less in the other Big Cities, too, but not so conspicuous as in Tokyo. So far as the City of Nagoya is concerned, it is noted, the ratio of population in the provincial areas of Aichi Prefecture, in which Nagoya is situated, has been downward on.

### 3. The Cause of Increase of Population in Osaka.

The attention should be paid to the fact that a sharp increase of population in any of big cities, as shown above, is not attributable to a "natural" increase (a balance number between births and deaths), but to a "social or casual" increase (people's movement from rural or other minor cities and communities).

Table IX

The Natural and Casual Increase of Population  
in Cities

	numbers		increase				
	<u>seven pref.</u>	<u>other pref.</u>	<u>seven pref.</u>	<u>other pref.</u>			
Natural crease	Casual increase	Natural incr- ease	Casual increase	Natural increase	Casual increase	Natural increase	Casual Increase
514	571	2,105	417	5.14	5.72	6.21	1.23
600	640	2,321	807	5.45	5.78	6.55	2.80
760	780	2,787	759	6.19	6.34	7.55	2.05
472	1,176	2,157	594	3.41	8.51	5.54	1.52
833	1,433	2,881	1,074	5.39	7.34	7.14	2.68
1,148	1,270	3,271	975	6.54	7.37	7.74	2.31
1,287	1,602	3,347	1,432	6.48	8.07	7.51	3.22

In the 7 big Prefectures, it is observed, that any of them could see the ratio of social increase of population over that of natural increase, while other prefectures could have a more natural increase but a less "social" increase than the 7 big prefectures. Thus, from the viewpoint of relativity, the transitory situation of population is evident that the agricultural regions are eventually missing the population as compared with the cities.

#### 4. The Mobility of Population within a Big City

It may be a hasty conclusion to understand the urbanization of Japan in such a direction, as it is in a greater part based solely upon the concentration in a city area of agrarian population. To understand it accurately, it requires the necessity of enquiring into what section of a city area is selected for agrarian people to settle at an initial stage of their moving into a city and their subsequent condition of mobility. On this respect, the writer conducted an investigation into Tokyo Metropolis. The central section of Tokyo is administratively divided into 23 ward areas, which are approximately classified into 3 categories -a) Civic Areas (or Loop Areas) of 3 wards, b) Semi-Civic Areas of 10 wards, and c) Circumferential or extended areas of 10 wards. I am happy that I could make a success in attempt of discovering what mobility being developed by the inhabitants of Meguro Ward, one of the 23 wards which I believe is qualified for a sampling area for my study, as it is one of the 10 semi-civic areas and is also

equipped with a nature of a circumferential area. I will try to analyze, on the premise that as of January 1, 1955. Meguro Ward had a population of 248,827 and 63,828 households.

a) The Residence and Mobility of a Household Master:-

When I sampled and studied on one-hundredth of about 60,000 households of Meguro Ward or 600 households, it was revealed that up to 97% of the 600 households came to settle at their present houses as since 1925, while their former residence was located in the ward by 34.3% of the whole 97%. In other words, there were plenty of households moved within the limits of the Ward. Then, from what outside area did the remaining households move in? Really they moved in most cases into Meguro Ward from the Loop Areas.

Classified on the basis of their former residence, it shows that out of the households which changed from Meguro Ward limits, 9.1% had maintained residence in the Loop Areas, 11% once had residence in the Loop and 11.7% had a birthplace in the Loop.

This phenomenal tendency can be interpreted this way...the inhabitants who were born or used to live in the Loop Areas were being evicted or forced to move out from their native civic areas into a circumferential area in course of one quarter of a century.

It was in fact back in 1932 or 20 years before, when Meguro area was sanctioned to hold its present status of a Ward as one part of Tokyo. It is factual, therefore.

the surrounding areas, abandoning their old homes in the central section of Tokyo. In this case, it should be noted that according to the official registry, 13.5% of the whole exodus was caused due to the war damage. Thus, even though the Loop and Semi-Loop sections were congested with the population caused by the phenomenon of social increase, it may be destined that the congested population shall be forced to move out into the surrounding areas in course of time. This phenomenon will be necessarily conducive to become a factor of the fringe agrarian areas being urbanized with a rapid pace.

#### 5. Dwelling Houses and Occupation (or Workshop)

As explained above, the people to be evicted out of the central sections of a city would usually settle down around the surrounding areas, while, however, it will not necessarily be co-incidental with their movement that they change or quit their workshops in the centre of a city. Another word is that a special living type takes place...they transfer their livelihood into the surrounding areas, but still retain business in the old workshop in the central section. Thus comes out a special phenomenon of separation between dwellings and workshops, so far as community, one of major subjects in Urban Sociology, is concerned. It is revealed that out of male workers, 7.5% of the whole are those who operate business at their own workshops (This defines Rural T type), while 23.8% are those who keep their workshops within the Ward area. Combined, 30% of male workers do not

leave the Ward area, but remain there in the interest of business occupation. Another way of clarification is that 70% of male workers stick to business outside of their ward area. In light of this fact as many as 30% of workers keep their workshops or occupation in the central section of Tokyo, it may easily be understood that social and economical functions of the central section are mobilized and operated with the great strength of much concentration and efficiency as well. This trend is very distinctive in Tokyo, while it is also seen very evident in any of big cities through Japan.

### III. THE PROBLEM AND THE CAUSE OF URBANIZATION

#### 1. The Problem of an Excessively Large City:

As previously referred to, it may well be summarised that a characteristic nature of urbanization in Japan lies in that it is being processed mostly on the special role played by a big city. Why is it processed this way? The primary factor I may safely say is found in a unique condition of physical nature of Japan. To put it in another way, it signifies that Japan is compacted land of narrowness, which is, in addition, over-populated, showing a very thick density. It may well be considered that as over-population live in a small extended stretch of land and islands they are naturally doomed to be forced to organise a little community in a too plentiful number. Since however, the land space is rather short and narrow, plentiful little communities are destined to be bordered with each other in a short and due course of time. During such development, if 2 or several bordering

little communities come to terms in conforming their own living ways and manners, it may be natural these communities will easily take to a course of merger to organize a small city. However, I wish to refer to the secondary factor or a social condition, which may be said on many occasions to be standing in the way of a merger realization. This social condition can be represented by the prevailing existence of feudalistic traits in the society, which may be, otherwise expressed by a word of conventionalism or traditional means. The fact that a type of industry followed by the people of rural lands and of medium and small cities resembles in nature a household industry type, signifies the co-existence of a dwelling house and workshop at one place. Such living condition as it exists, it is in fact almost beyond expectation to hope for a modernized relationship of human beings being developed.

The younger generation, who are usually able and courageous enough to abandon the conventional and feudalistic manners, and younger members of a family, from the second son down, who are generally accepted so far as the narrow Japan is concerned to be a surplus or unrequired existence, rather a burden sometimes for an efficient maintenance of household industrial production, do not usually take to concentrate in their neighboring small city which is unexceptionally likened to their native locality in living manners, but instead like to move directly up to a big city.

The conclusion, therefore, may be that a principal cause of excessive concentration into a big city of a surplus farming population, etc., lies in the over-population and the narrowness of the land utilities in Japan and also in a rather comfortable easy-going atmosphere of a big city free of feudalistic tints.

2. The Decrease of Natural Increase and Growth of Casual Increase:-

This gives rise to an unbalanced condition between a natural increase and social increase of population in a big city.

a. The Decline of Natural Increase

It is a fact indeed that the growth of population is affording a menace to the Japanese societies. According to the following statistical Table IX, it can be seen that a "babyboom" age, which used to be characteristic in Japan of immediate post-war years, was gone long ago, a birthrate gradually coming down on the nation-wide basis.

Table XI

Natural Increase of Population (Unit...1,000)

	Population	Birth	Death	Birth rate	Death rate
1919-23	68,572	2,112	1,196	31	17
1947	78,101	2,676	1,138	34	17
1948	80,010	2,682	961	33	15
1949	81,780	2,687	945	33	12
1950	83,200	2,338	905	28	12
1951	84,600	2,138	839	25	10
1952	85,900	1,999	764	23	9
1953	87,000	1,862	772	21	9

It is notable that a decline of natural increase is very striking in cities, especially in big cities, and also distinctive among the upper classes. The post-war years saw an enlarged living freedom being enjoyed by the people, while at the same time an idea of birth control and family planning has been popularized, so much so that a big city especially faces now a serious problem of how to manage the citizens' abuse of contraception and suspension thereof.

#### b. The Expansion of Social Increase

That Tokyo Metropolis had used to absorb 400,000 people on a yearly basis is one of the most remarkable phenomenon of urbanization in Japan. The extent of absorption by Tokyo has declined to some degree for a few recent years, but still as many as 300,000 people are yearly being absorbed. Regarding the cause of social increase, what is explained in Section 1, Part III, is adequately applicable to this case. In addition to that, it should be pointed out the Japanese economical policy is much deprived of thorough planning nature, resulting in a great difference of living standard between urban and rural regions. To exemplify, a bank deposit is in most instances absorbed in plenty around the agricultural regions, but this deposited money is usually expended in cities, etc. This trend is also seen in the relative condition of deposit and expenditure covering a central or civic section of a city and its fringe section. A city is a body usually prosperous and attractive, especially so in a central section of a city. This luring appearance constitutes another cause of rural populace being imbibed by a city.

Thus consequently comes out a difference of living standards between a citizen and a farmer. The living standard can not be adjusted in agrarian regions to such an extent as in cities. In a city there would live some millionaires, while on the other hand even penniless loafers are loitering. Despite an actual condition that citizens in most number are possibly placed in a precarious condition they will eventually have to seek protection, they are inclined to assemble in a city, dreaming to rise up to a wealthy status. This is nothing but a cause of social increase.

### 3. Urbanization and Human Relations

The concentration of population into cities is considered to be processed in two ways. One way is a pattern, as seen in a big city in Japan, of people's direct moving-in, while the other is, as described by Mr. Hunzen of Germany, a relayed mobility of people, as they eventually assemble in a big city via medium and small cities where they settle only to reside for some stretch of time. The latter instance is not accompanied by any serious problem concerning a big city, as the moving people become accustomed to an urban living way to some extent, but the former instance where the people are transferred directly from the agrarian regions, etc., to big cities brings forth varied social problems, as they more than usually find it too difficult to adjust themselves to harsh conditions of urbanized life.

#### a. The Collapse of Unity of Family

When an agricultural family moves into a city, there

would occur, so often in Japan where the housing condition is too accute, a trouble to the moving family, as it may not be able to remove en bloc due to the shortage of housing units and space. They should be satisfied with a partial transfer. Most typical of this instance is that only such a minor member of a family as the second or third son or a student member is in most cases allowed to move in by himself ahead of other major members, who are forced to stay behind.

An urban life is liable, as widely known, to make citizens individualistic and self-interested. Such a mean nature of a city dweller conflicts with that of those coming from the farming regions. Once familiarized with such a self-centred life and nature, it is too difficult for any one to remove it. Conceding one family could move in en bloc, its members are destined to be tinted with the color of urbanized life, since its residence and workshop are in many cases separately located. The consequence will bring many cases of divorce, and also juvenile delinquency due to little opportunity of attendance by the parents on their boys and girls.

#### b. The Alienation of Neighborhood Relationship

In Japanese feudalistic ages, a good neighborhood structure (consisting of 2 immediate next houses on either side and 3 houses on opposite across the road) used to work well among a minimum limit circle of neighborly folks. But in a modern urban life, the citizens are every day working at separate places from each other, weakening, consequently, the neighborlyties of old days, rather impossible to maintain ties.

All the more, such neighborlyties seems not to be appreciated or dismerited by them. We cannot see this tendency in the least a working condition of a sound community.

#### c. The Birth and Growth of Social Problems

A human being has an inclination to launch his self-protection measures against a too rapid pace urbanization. The measures are represented by mass grouping at a certain specific area of people of the same living level. What is called "slums" is located in many of Japanese cities. This is a sort of segregation in Ecology. Especially in Japan, it should be pointed out that such mass groups tend to assemble not only in one area, but they keep a living of considerably rural type (a type opposite to Urban Type). Although they separately live and work at a different place, they maintain a close relationship of neighborliness. Allegedly they are living a tenement-house type of gone-by days, with the consequence of the steady growth of old traditional customs, immorality and unsanitary conditions.

For these few years the philopon addiction was rampant in Japanese big cities, a post-war phenomenon of a beaten country. At the outset it broek out mostly in the slum area but soon it rapidly spread and penetrated even into the agrarian regions.

#### 4. The Development of Traffic Problem

The function of urban community places its focal base on mass communication and traffic facilities. On the assumption that the mass traffic and communication be minused from urban functions, any city should not be able to stand a

modernized municipality. In the Japanese cities, however, the citizens are being evicted at a rapid pace from the central section of their city into its surrounding sections, making it necessary to transport them directly to the centre of the city with traffic facilities, which therefore in view of mass transportation, should be consolidated enough to meet the need. In other words, it is considerable that the urbanization of the areas of towns and villages on the fringe of a city shall be advanced with the development of transport facilities. Especially a big city has the necessity of centralizing its functions to such an extent as possible. The observation should be made that the central section of a city is being extended vertically upward with lots of soaring superstructural buildings, just the same as seen in foreign countries. I even came to have a hypothesis that the "shape of urbanization may be represented by a zooming structure of buildings." From my hypothesis, it may be concluded that the means of mass transportation to the central section with as much rapidity as possible constitutes a vital keypoint to develop the urbanization efficient. The urbanization experts, who emphasize the importance of engineering technique for city planning, sometimes stand against a view which acknowledges and accerts a natural-way development of a city as it is. I will concede that since a city is a creation by human beings, it is natural that there should be some planning standardization applied to a certain degree. However, it is desired that a city planning technique should precede a developing phase of urbanization, a principal character of an

urban society, to say concretely, which features the concentration of population in a city. With this precedence we can trace to the key which opens the door leading to the fundamental solution of various problem confronting the urbanization development.

#### IV. THE MEASURES FOR THE URBANIZATION

Seeing from the present condition of Japan, it may not be said that there can be located any measures of direct influence on the control of advancing over-rapid urbanization, but we may hit upon some indirect measures in that the existing conflicting functions between urban and rural regions should be replaced and adjusted.

##### 1. The Enforcement of Towns and Villages

###### Amalgamation Promotion Law:

As previously referred to, the Japanese Central Government came out to encourage an amalgamation of small towns and villages for a limited period of two years. Starting from 1954, in its consciousness that a setup of multi-divided and independent communities require too much administrative expenditure, and eventually will impose a heavy burden of tax on the dwellers. At the same time the Government meted out a policy that it should extend a financial aid to a new merged., necessarily enlarged community, in case it is faced with financial difficulties. This Government action of amalgamation, in the meantime, achieved a success to some extent, namely, close to 2009 towns and villages disappeared with their merger in others. On the other hand, regarding the towns and villages immediately around a big city, they

were in many cases amalgamated into a big city in understanding that they could go much better off with the amalgamation to a big city than with a new merged organization of their own communities. This is a reason why a Japanese city of recent days embraces in substance a comparatively wide expanded agrarian land and population. This development is observed to have had the consequence that the ~~unin~~ization of agrarian areas was promoted to a very measurable extent.

## 2. The Idea and Realization of Do-Shu Administrative Structure:

I would introduce you here that among the experts and people at large in Japan of recent days a new idea and view that a demarked area of a prefecture be more enlarged than the current expansion is gaining influence with the strength of several reasons that a) city, town and village were merged to organize a bigger regional community, b) a great progress of transportation gave a direct talking opportunity among themselves to the inhabitants of pretty far-off towns and villages, and c) a mass communication by radio devices, etc. has so advanced as to make those once isolated folks realize the world with wider visibility and insight. Even the Central Government has more or less advanced with this view. Numerous opinions were made public for comments. In light of the achievements of the amalgamation of towns and villages, an epochal administrative stage seems to have turned up that existing prefectures may be reorganised in boundary demarkation toward direction of enlargement.

## 3. The Enforcement of a Special City Structure

The Japan Autonomy Administration Law defines that

the Five Big Cities (exclusive of Tokyo Metropolis, which itself is a prefectural unit) may be administered by themselves without being interfered by master prefectures, which act the Central Government's intermediary agencies for other cities located within the jurisdictional limits of the prefectures. The provisions of the Law instruct that those Five Big Cities can be independent organs capable of exercising an administrative power with authority. In the event, however, those Five Big Cities could once come to function an independent organ, precluding interfering action of their prefectures, it would be an inevitable consequence to the prefectures, which retain those cities within limits, that they might miss their jurisdictional areas and authority as well. To cope with such a foreseeable undesirable development to them, as many prefectures to be affected took a very opposing and resisting stand against the putting into force of the provisions, so much so that the provisions of the Law has not effectuated as yet. Once put in force, it is supposed that the urbanization processing could be, as far as the Five Big Cities are concerned, developed with good effects of rationality and economy.

#### 4. The Capital City Sphere Consolidation Law

The draft of the subject Law is being submitted to the 1956 National Diet and is expected to be of possible passage. The bill is drawn with provisions that a 50 KM inside radius circle area which retains the Japan's representative cities of Yokohama and Tokyo Metropolis within its scope, should be newly designated as the "Capital City Sphere", that administrative measures be enforced with more rationality than in other areas, and that the Sphere be developed and

merits of the satellite cities and communities. Further it is aimed by the Law that a growing over-concentration of population into the present Tokyo areas should be indirectly prevented. The past years have seen the National Capital City Construction Law, as enacted by the National Legislature a few years ago, just working with almost no effect. Hence, the new bill is on the way to the National Diet of 1956.

5. The Consolidation of a City Traffic

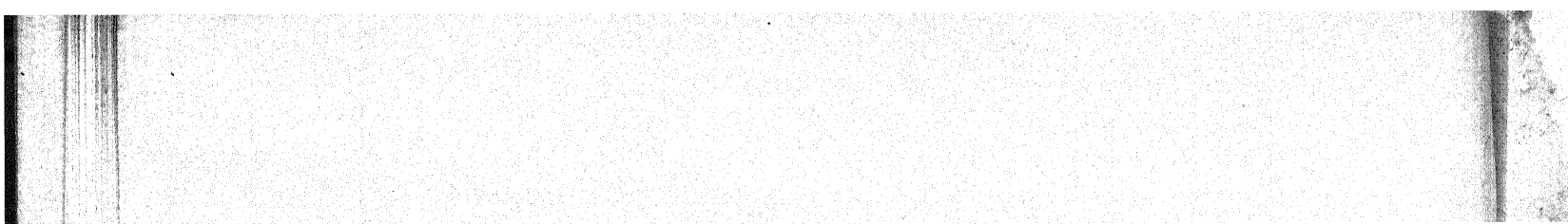
It is undisputably clear that the progress of traffic and transportation facilities plays a basic role in the urbanization. At present the cities in Japan are managed traffic-wise by 3 units of traffic facilities - overland (railroad, electrical railway and motor-cars), marine (ships) and air (airplanes) transportation. We have seen many instances where the development of port facilities and key railway stations led to the enlargement and activities of local communities and cities, resulting in the amalgamation of those bodies. The instances are exemplified by the Fukuoka regions in the northern Kyushu and the Tokyo-Kawasaki-Yokohama area (this area so far as port operation is concerned, is, under designation of the "Keihin" port or Tokyo-Yokohama port, placed though in part under one administrative structure). The increased activities of an airport, it must be added, is contributing very much to the urbanization of municipalities. The fact that the Tokyo International Airport or the Haneda Airport on the fringe of Tokyo Metropolis has a yearly number of passengers upto at least 30,000 or more flying in, can be said to have effected

a great change in the base of urbanization.

More than the mutual communication and transportation between the communities, an internal stream-lining set-up within a city itself is considered to be an encouraging factor of urbanization. Though it is conceded that a city is living on the tie-up with human relationship, this phenomena can operate, substantially speaking, only by medium of traffic organization, and indeed without this medium any city cannot work. Therefore my belief is that the urbanization may be standing at the crossroad for promotion or demotion, depending upon the extent of adequate planning and program of traffic operation covering a city and its encircling areas. Especially so in the central congested section of large city.

\*TIWAPI\*.





GENERAL VIEW OF CONTEMPORARY ADMINISTRATION

PROBLEMS OF METROPOLIS IN JAPAN

By Professor Eiichi Isomura,  
Japan

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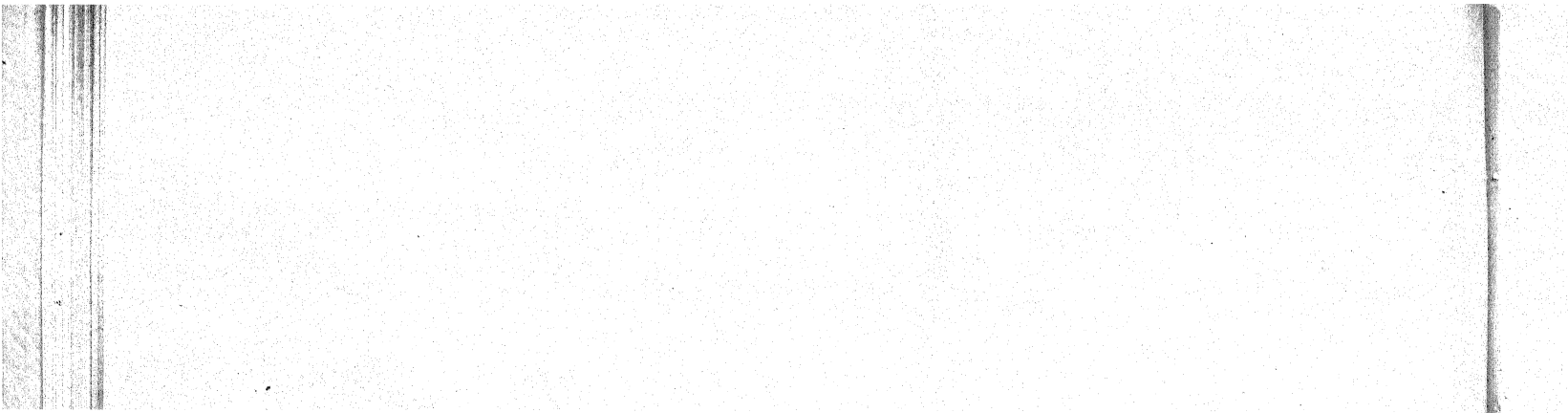


## I. ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF NEW TOWN IN JAPAN

In order to administrate such a small self-governing body as a new town, we usually have three methods.

The first method is the "Cooperation of Administration." When they cannot fully administrate a body because of it is a small one, same kind of bodies collaborate and carry out the work which would not be done satisfactorily if undertaken by individual bodies (for example, school or fire service). We find two types of this kind of cooperative body such as the one found in America or England, where imposition of taxes goes along with administration, and the one found in France and Japan where they treat matters through an associative organization of several towns and villages.

The Second methods is the "Pulling up Administration." There are such cases that a prefecture or the state itself undertake works instead of a small self-governing body which cannot treat them to the full. We see this method often adopted in such countries that have been assuming as welfare states. In England most parts of road administration were transfered from towns and villages to the state in 1929, and since 1945 such administrative departments as education, fire service and city planning have been transfered to the state similarly. We can also see the same sort of example in America, Australia and in Canada. In Japan, self-governing police departments of towns and villages have been recently changed to prefectural departments. But in foreign countries a police department which has a strong authoritative characteristics usually belongs to towns and villages, and the above mentioned pulling up has been made from the view point to support the weak financial power of a small difficulty in maintaining the lowest level of national life.



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limit of towns and villages is to be decided so as to be efficient for the community life and therefore no outsiders should interfere. Consequently in many foreign countries number of towns and villages have not remarkably changed during this some hundred years.

At any rate foreign people do not think consolidation desirable for a small self-governing body, while in Japan this method have been often adapted as the one and only way possible for the solution of the problems. There may be many other problems found from the democratic view point, since this method has been carried on as a state administrative plan.

In Japan Consolidation of towns and villages has been undertaken on a nation-wide scale so as it is almost hard to find any town or village left unconsolidated. This is the second time we have such a large scaled consolidation. The first large one was made in 1891 in accordance with the enforcement of the law of municipalities, in which numbers of cities, towns and villages decreased to one fifth. This plan was put forward by the state as well as the one we have had this time. Namely, the first nation-wide consolidation was undertaken according to the Acceleration Law of Town and Village Consolidation, in which the state offered various favorable conditions to the consolidated municipalities of the population of less than a hundred thousand, thus prompting the swift carrying out of the consolidation plan. To put forward the plan, the ministry of self-government, the metropolis and districts, and local offices enormously collaborated, and in three years the number of towns and villages decreased to one fifth as mentioned above. Since this Acceleration Law ceased to exist in September 1958. The government established New Acceleration Law of the Construction of Municipalities in place of it, and has been still contriving



as we have already informed, that there is a firmly established idea that since local self government is the basic unit essential to democracy the limit of a local governing body must be decided by the inhabitants themselves and the state should not take part in it; besides we must also mention that there often arise some difficult problems when this kind of consolidation is undertaken. Such problems are not the one for foreign countries only, but the one Japan has actually met with. We will pick up some of the big problems among them in the following passage.

First, owing to the enlargement of municipal area, it becomes rather difficult to expect the full permeation of administrative plans down to individual citizens, thus, the will and opinion of citizens cannot be easily reflected in the municipal administration. Municipal administration is the one closest to the life of a citizen. Therefore the organization in charge of the business must be close to them. However, in this system, it appears quite contrarily. In many regions town and village office may stand far off the most inhabitants and they come to have fewer contacts with the officers, which causes the lack of mutual understanding essential to democratic administration. Accordingly, the rate of assemblymen of towns and villages become low and fewer opinions and wills of the inhabitants are to be reflected in the administration.

Secondly, such groups as the under structural bodies of towns and villages come to rise in number as a result of this insufficient administrative composition. Many such groups as town association, village meeting and crimes prevention association are founded or strengthened, and most of them collect donation and charge, which further increase the burden of the citizens.

urban and rural communities into one administrative area. It is because of this that a lot of small cities called "New Towns" have sprung up.

These new cities come to be ruled by mayors and assemblymen most of whom are elected from among the densely populated urban area. It is almost certain when substance of administration completely differs in urban community and rural community, that the inhabitants of rural community will have worse service than before.

We have mentioned about only the main problems brought about by consolidation, and many other problems still lie behind them. Consolidation of towns and villages must be seriously considered over and over again, while it is the duty of the inhabitants to exert all possible effort for the bringing up of new towns and villages.



## II. SOME REFERENCES OF NEW TOWN IDEAS

### 1. Definitions of New Town

#### a) By size of population

The government policies during the Second World War to evacuate city population and decentralise industrial facilities into the rural areas had assisted developing a number of cities with population of thirty thousand or more. Such a flow of men into farm villages was further fostered by "the Law of 1950" to help merging towns and villages, which caused the birth of more than 200 towns. Thus, the new town in Japan is defined as a city with the size of 30,000 to 50,000 population.

#### b) By type of industries

Virtually most of the cities in this country have historical background since the feudal age where there are castles built by feudal lords, offices of local government or military units for the Japanese armed forces. At the close of the 19th century, they began to change into a modern municipality with new industrial facilities. Therefore, there are not very many new towns of purely industrial nature among these 200 cities.

Ordinary city:	189	Pastoral city:	143
Industrial city:	81	Harbor city:	52
Mining city:	23	Tourism city:	8
Satellite city:	31	Political city:	40
Example: Hitachi (mining)		Tokai-mura (Nuclear industry)	
Tsubame (tableware)		Chitose (air port)	

### 2. Various Types of New Town

#### a) European type

#### b) American type

Cities developed by imigration due to the discovery and develop-  
ment of natural resources.

5-5-5

c) Asian type

Cities developed around the old towns which outlived as a core of such new towns.

d) Japanese type

Cities developed by the flow of population and industry into old towns. This was helped to a great extent by war.

3. Characteristics of New Town by Japanese Experience

a) Social structure

Japanese cities with longer history have districts typically called "Yamanote"(uptown) and "Shitamachi"(downtown). Again, when new people come into live, they are distinguished from indigenous people as inhabitants of "Basue"(bottom) or "Shinkaichi"(newly developed place). Such distinctions, however, are no longer seen in the new cities, since the very nature of industry is basically different.

b) Economical dependency on large cities

Although new towns have their own industrial basis, they are still dependent on larger metropolis such as Tokyo or Osaka, because business concerns in these cities have their head office in the metropolitan cities and again their products are primarily to be consumed in large cities.

c) Cultural structure

Cultural activities in Japan are mainly propagated from Tokyo. The fact that the so called "big three" newspapers in this country have their distribution branches practically all over Japan, is a good example of the cultural centralization. Thus, it is almost impossible that a given new town may develop its unique cultural pattern.

4. Stratification of New Town

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New towns in most cases consist from three large elements of stratification; old group of landlords and farmers, new group of neom in business centers, and wage earners such as in factory and offices.

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b) Mixture of old and new people

In case, the size of industry in a new town is comparatively small and the people in this industrial installation do not outnumber the indigenous inhabitants, new comers are well mixed with old people.

c) Dominance of new comer

On the other hand, if such an industry is large and involves greater number of workers with technical skill then new comers tend to hold superior attitude toward old people and mixture does not function. The disintegration among these people would be extended even into P.T.A. of local primary school and there are recreational activities or a boy scout group under the influence of such disunity among the old and new.

d) Changing attitude of new town people

Although there is difference between the old and new in daily life they go along with under the initiative of the old to celebrate local festivals. This means that Shintoism is still playing a role to bring the old and new together, even if it does no longer affect people as a religion.

e) Power structure

Landlords and farmers still hold political power in smaller new towns. But in larger ones, they are challenged by the new comers, since larger municipal units request new techniques and knowledge of administration. They have to deal with superior autonomous entities, to give an example, and thus they are replaced by the new people such as business men or lawyers who have better academic career.

5. Administration of New Town

a) Standard revenue of new town

New towns in Japan have two large sources of taxation, inhabitant's

tax and municipal property tax. The inhabitant's tax is imposed on proportionally according to income, while the latter according to estates and houses.

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b) Lack of sufficient revenue of new town

New towns of small size cannot expect abundant revenue, because they cannot afford a place to invite large industrial facilities, while being pressed by necessity to expand educational institutions which require large amount of money.

c) Adjustment of people's feeling between the old and new

Malfunctioning of mixture between the old and new is again seen in the city council. The disunity between the councillors from town and from village is basically different from antagonism that exists between the conservative and progressive parties of the nation.

d) Relations between new town and other local units

The school buildings in one city and in another in a certain district are very often different in scale because of the difference of the scale of revenue. This is called "the local differential."

e) Responsibilities of central government

Therefore, the central government assumes responsibility to eliminate such differential by distributing equalisation funds to new towns of poor revenue and by directly instructing budgeting and expenditures to those specified as "new towns of rehabilitation and readjustment."



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

**ADMINISTRATION OF NEW TOWNS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM,  
THE NETHERLANDS AND CANADA**

BY  
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PARIS

**REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA**

**CO-SPONSORED BY THE UNITED NATIONS  
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ADMINISTRATION OF NEW TOWNS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM,  
THE NETHERLANDS AND CANADA

by

Elizabeth Layton

(Note about the author: Mrs. Layton was for four years a senior executive of the Harlow New Town Development Corporation, and she has been commissioned to write a book on new towns in the United Kingdom. At earlier stages of her career she worked in the Ministry of Health and Treasury, and was an Assistant Editor of "The Economist", specializing in Home Affairs.)

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NOVEMBER 1960.



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# ADMINISTRATION OF NEW TOWNS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM,

## THE NETHERLANDS AND CANADA (Kitimat)

by

Elizabeth Layton

1. The great differences in climate and social habits, wealth and political organisation between the countries of the western world and those of Asia might suggest that the experience of building new towns in, say, the United Kingdom, Canada, the Netherlands or Poland would have little relevance to India, Pakistan, Malaya or Indonesia. This is not so. What is more striking is the similarity of the problems. Local circumstances will demand variations in the solutions. Governments or private developers need to ask themselves most of the same questions all round the globe.

2. This paper is written on the assumption that an analysis of these basic problems and some discussion of how they have been met or not met by a few of the countries of the West will assist governments in other parts of the world to foresee their own developments more clearly and to avoid some of the painful processes of trial and error. To know in advance what issues must be faced is to be a long way towards their solution. In enterprises in which so high a proportion of the investment is of a fixed and permanent character errors in the original conception are specially difficult and costly to correct. Generations of human beings will suffer for

miscalculation or blindness at the outset. And misjudgments about the planning and economics of these expensive investments may discredit the whole new town conception in a particular country for decades.

3. No attempt is made to discuss the development of new towns within the legislative or administrative framework of particular Asian countries. These are too various to permit such detailed treatment, even if it were within the competence of the author. It is for planners and governments to consider how to effect a marriage between the towns they aspire to and the machinery and financial resources they have available. Nor is it the purpose of this paper to suggest that new towns are a universal solution. They are extremely costly enterprises, and their development can only be justified after the most careful comparison with alternative solutions, and when the need for them is very pressing. It is for governments to weigh the benefits of an expenditure of, say, £20 million to £50 million on a new town with the benefits of an equal expenditure on power stations, dams, roads, docks or other types of town expansion.

#### Reasons for New Towns

4. New towns come into existence for five main reasons:
- to provide manpower for new industrial developments outside the main centres of population,
  - to relieve congestion in overcrowded urban centres,
  - to provide an urban centre for a rural population and perhaps to relieve rural unemployment,

- to populate underdeveloped areas,
- to provide a new capital city.

Some new towns serve more than one of these purposes. There are also other exceptional factors which may compel the building of new towns, such as the needs of refugees. The partition of India, for example, made this an urgent need.

5. Towns of all five types have been built in the western world since 1945. Highly developed countries with crowded cities, such as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, are building new towns to relieve congestion, and to prevent continued sprawl. Countries like Canada are more concerned with new industrial enterprise in the undeveloped interior, which must attract labour. Australia built a new capital city before the war, but is now more concerned with towns to populate its vast open spaces and to support industrial development. Poland has an underemployed rural population and is anxious to develop industry in places where the workers can be sucked in from the overcrowded countryside. In the United Kingdom, Peterlee has been sited in an area of declining mining villages, so that it can counteract the drift from the region and provide employment and the attractions and services of a town. Corby was a one-industry town serving a major steel works. The Development Corporation was created to introduce a diversification of industry and to plan the town centre and amenities for a more satisfactory community. In Holland new towns are also being built to provide urban centres for the new farm lands reclaimed from the sea. Brazil is building a new capital city.

6. The needs of Asia for new towns have, therefore, their counterparts in the western world, and the countries of the East can pick from the West those ideas and experience which seem most relevant to them. This paper draws from the experience of the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and certain new towns in Canada, since the author has special knowledge of these areas. The administrative and financial arrangements differ widely in each of these countries and provide a stimulating variety of solutions to what are basically similar problems.

### The Basic Problems

7. These basic problems, which are common to all new towns, can be set out in a series of questions. All who seek to start new towns, whether they are public or private authorities, British or Burmese, Polish or Pakistani, must attempt to answer these questions:

How is the town to be financed?

What kind of body or bodies are to be responsible for the development?

How is the Plan to be drawn up and how is the implementing of this Plan to be controlled?

What should be the role of local government or the local community and its relationship with the authority developing the town?

What are the main problems likely to be encountered during the period of development?

What is to happen when the period of rapid development is over, and

who is to own and run the town at that stage?

It is the object of this paper to discuss these fundamental questions and to suggest the kind of alternatives which are open to would-be developers.

8. These questions will be discussed in general terms and will be illustrated by what has been done in the three selected countries. It may be helpful if the general financial and administrative framework for these new towns is summarised at this point.

### General Framework for Financing and Administering New Towns

#### United Kingdom

9. The fifteen new towns which have been started since the war share a common financial and administrative structure. All derive the greater part of their finance from loans from the Exchequer. The loans bear interest and have to be repaid over a 60-year period. All the towns are run by semi-independent public boards, called Development Corporations, which are appointed by the Government and are responsible to the Minister of Housing and Local Government, who is in turn responsible to Parliament. They are powerful, but short-lived organisations which will be disbanded when the towns are nearly complete. Crawley Development Corporation is expected to go out of existence in 1961, fourteen years after it was set up. By this time the town will have nearly reached its target population of 56,000.

10. In the United Kingdom each Development Corporation has been responsible for drawing up the Master Plan and for its execution. This means that they are responsible for land use

acquisition and have powers of compulsory purchase. They have also been directly responsible for a very large proportion of the physical development. Most of the site development work such as roads, water supply, and sewerage has been carried out by the Corporations. They have built over 90 per cent of the housing, mostly to rent. They have laid out the industrial estates and built a number of the factories. They have designed and built the neighbourhood shopping centres and leased them to shopkeepers. They have planned the town centres and built a proportion of the shops and other buildings in them, the proportion varying from one Corporation to another.

11. To the Corporations falls the responsibility for attracting industry and other forms of employment and for balancing the various developments. The local authorities are responsible for providing schools and their other normal social services and the various public boards supply transport, gas, and electricity. It is, however, the Development Corporations who must co-ordinate this whole complex of activities and ensure that each partner in the enterprise is aware of the rate of progress and exactly when and where their particular service will be required.

12. The towns vary in size. Some are intended to grow to a population of 80,000 or 100,000. Some will have no more than 30,000 people. Some of the towns have been sited in an entirely agricultural area, with only a few villages and a small existing population. Others are superimposed upon an existing population of 10,000 to 25,000. The powers and responsibilities of the Corporations are the same in all these cases, but the scale of

operations and the need to weld the old and the new residents pose somewhat different problems.

13. Control over the Development Corporations is exercised by the Minister at three levels.

First, the Master Plan must be approved by the Minister and is the subject of careful scrutiny and consultation with the local Planning Authority;

Secondly, each Corporation submits to the Minister its proposals for the development of each complete neighbourhood one by one as the time for building approaches. This includes the schemes for laying out the industrial estates and for the town centres;

Thirdly, the more detailed plans of each main scheme, for groups of 200 - 400 houses, a shopping centre or a group of small factories are submitted in turn with plans, estimates of costs and of the anticipated financial return.

The ways in which these controls are exercised are discussed later.

#### The Netherlands

14. In the Netherlands developments concerning new towns are divided sharply into two types. On the one hand there are the developments connected with the "polders" or the new lands reclaimed from the sea. On the other are schemes for the expansion of existing settlements, small towns and villages, to take overspill population from the large, overcrowded cities. The distinction between the new lands and the old is fundamental

to Dutch thinking: the one provides literally a 'carte blanche' for the planners and administrators; the other is enmeshed in the rights and interests of existing municipal and provincial administrations and the push and pull between central and local government. Both types provide valuable and interesting lessons for other would-be developers.

15. These lessons are, however, only beginning to emerge. So far only one completely new polder in the North-East, with an area of 120,000 acres, has been developed since the war. It contains 10 villages and a small town in their centre. This town, Emmeloord, has a present population of 9,000, and is planned for 12,000. It is the only new town in the Netherlands, though the next polders are nearly ready and the lessons from the North-East Polder and of Emmeloord are being applied in later developments. These will include three new towns similar to Emmeloord for three new polders and a much larger town in their centre, to be called Lelystad, which may have a population of 100,000.

16. Outside the lands reclaimed from the sea, there are many projects for new towns, or more accurately for expanded towns. The nearest approach so far to a new town on existing land is at Hoogvliet which is only 13 kilometres from the centre of Rotterdam. It is being built by the municipality of Rotterdam for a population of about 90,000. Opinion differs in the Netherlands as to whether it can be called a new town, or whether it is only a satellite of Rotterdam. Apart from Hoogvliet the many schemes for new or expanded towns are under discussion but not in building.

17. Administratively and financially new town projects in the polders have an enviable simplicity. The whole scheme of reclamation, from the building of the first dams, and the draining of the water to the construction of villages and towns, is financed and directly controlled by central government. It is a very expensive and prolonged series of operations, justified by the peculiar circumstances of the Netherlands, which is one of the most densely populated countries of Europe. Responsibility for the physical operations is in the hands of the Zuiderzeepolders Development and Colonisation Authority, a public authority set up by the Government and under the direction of the Ministry of Transport and Water Control. It is similar in many ways to the Development Corporations in the United Kingdom, except that no municipal authorities are involved during the period of growth. Their functions are exercised temporarily either by the Polder Authority or by government departments.

18. The North-East Polder is now nearing completion. It has a population of over 28,000. Most of the villages look well-established and Emmeloord is thriving. In 1961 the Polder Authority will hand over the villages and Emmeloord itself to a newly constituted municipal authority and will remain in control only of the farm lands. Its centre of activity will then move on to the next polder, where the land is now reclaimed and ready to receive the new population.

19. Outside the reclaimed polders the picture is much more complicated. Dutch municipalities are intensely proud of their independence from one another and from central government.

It is proving difficult to evolve administrative methods which will permit large-scale building in small towns and villages, which have insufficient financial and technical resources for such operations. Hoogvliet has progressed because it is being built on land largely owned by the municipality of Rotterdam, which had experience of large housing operations. Outside the boundaries of Rotterdam, or similarly of the Hague or Amsterdam, progress is slow. This is a problem which is all too familiar in the United Kingdom. For example, the London County Council in its negotiations with the many small towns which might expand and take overspill population from London, under the Town Development Act, has had the same difficulties. In the Netherlands as in the United Kingdom the special purpose authority has proved a much more effective instrument. But unlike the British, the Dutch appear to be unwilling to accept this solution except when, as in the polders, there is no existing local authority.

20. In Hoogvliet it is planned that 75 per cent of the housing shall be built for letting, either by the municipality or by public housing associations, both of which receive rent subsidies from the Government. 25 per cent will be built by private enterprise for higher wage earners and some middle-class families. Neighbourhood shopping centres are built by the local authority. The town centre is being financed by private enterprise, on land sold to an industrial firm, which regards this as a good investment for its pension funds.

Industrial development along the Rhine nearby is on land which is owned by the city. The rate of industrial development is not integrated with the growth of Hoogvliet, since it provides

employment for all parts of Rotterdam. This is fundamentally different from the integrated expansion of housing and industry in British new towns.

### Canada

21. So many varied enterprises have been started in Canada since the war which involve new urban developments that it is not possible to generalise about Canada as easily as it is about the United Kingdom or the Netherlands. Most of the new communities are small and are not the subject of formal master plans, or rigorous planning control. The town of Kitimat has been selected for special examination as it illustrates some interesting new thinking about that long-standing problem, the company town, and is virtually the first fully planned town to be built in Canada this century.

22. Kitimat lies near the west coast of Canada 400 miles north of Vancouver in an area of forest, mountains and rivers and far from any other town. It exists to provide manpower for the new aluminium smelter plant of the Aluminum Company of Canada, which could not otherwise have been sited in this remote area.

23. This is not the first town the Company has built. The Company already had experience of the difficulties of a company town at Arvida in Quebec, and the financial, administrative and planning arrangements at Kitimat are an attempt to escape from the embarrassments of Arvida. At Arvida the Company provided houses, shops and public services and found in this paternalistic structure constant food for strikes and difficulties with the

workers. The town plan was poor too and did not adequately separate the works from the rest of the town. The Company also did not control the land outside the town, so that shanty development grew up around it.

24. At Kitimat the Company employed well-known planning consultants to draw up the Master Plan. It bought the land for the whole site and an area beyond it. Beyond this the land is mostly virgin forest and owned by the Crown. For the first three years the Company provided the capital for site clearance and the essential services, but thereafter it has attempted to avoid direct responsibility for community services and to place this responsibility upon the newly constituted municipality.

25. The aluminium smelter has been placed within the boundaries of the municipality so that the normal municipal taxes on the plant contribute to the finances of the municipality. About 20 per cent of the municipality's revenue comes from normal provincial and federal grants. The remaining 80 per cent comes from local property taxes, of which the Company pays 85 per cent. The Company therefore underwrites a large proportion of the services of the new community, but indirectly through the democratically elected municipality and not directly as the autocratic owner.

26. The town of Kitimat has been planned for an eventual population of 30,000. At present the population is some 10,000, and is unlikely to grow rapidly unless and until new industry is established. The present population meets the manpower needs of the Aluminum Company and the services and administration of a town of this size. The economic recession in 1957 brought

a reduction in the world demand for aluminium. It critically affected the growth of the town and caused many workers to return to other parts of Canada. Activity is now reviving, but the long-term future of the town depends on the interest of new industrialists.

27. This brief summary of arrangements in three countries sets the stage for a more detailed examination of the five basic questions which were asked earlier.

#### How Is The Town To Be Financed?

28. It must be recognised that new towns are extremely expensive investments. In the United Kingdom the 15 new towns started since 1947 will cost the Exchequer about £400 million, or on an average some £30 million each. In addition there has been expenditure by local authorities, public utilities and private developers, which will total some £200,000 million more. The relatively proportions are set out below.

TABLE 1. PROPORTIONS OF CAPITAL EXPENDITURE BY THE MAIN CATEGORIES OF DEVELOPER FOR BRITISH NEW TOWNS (ESTIMATES)

Type of Developer	1958 %	1970 %
Corporations	75	65
Local Authorities	10	12.5
Public Utilities	5	10
Private	10	12.5
Total	100	100

29. Liabilities of this order are not incurred even by wealthy countries without much heart-searching. In underdeveloped countries expenditure of this magnitude cannot be contemplated unless the benefits or the necessity is very great.

30. The proportions of public and private expenditure employed in developing new towns vary considerably from town to town and still more from country to country. The political and economic climate, the financial strength of particular industries, the purpose of the new towns all affect the willingness of governments and private concerns to spend money on them. The promoters of new towns, whether they are public or private, must estimate how much of the capital costs will be met from public funds and how much from private sources. These estimates will be important determinants of the project, though it is only fair to stress the difficulty of making reliable predictions. In the United Kingdom the proportion of public capital which has been employed in developing the new towns is much higher than was contemplated when the New Towns Act was passed in 1946. At first this was due to the reluctance of private capital to sponsor development in the new towns. Later the Corporations discovered how much more profitable it was for them to carry out these developments than to allow private enterprise to do so. The growing financial success of the British new towns is largely due to the fact that the Corporations have carried out much more of the commercial and industrial expansion than was originally anticipated, and are now beginning to reap the profits.

31. The capital needed for new towns falls into five categories: that needed for site development, housing, industrial

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development, commercial development, and community services.

### Site Development

32. There is first the capital required for the general development of the site. This includes the initial survey, the costs of preparing the Master Plan, purchase of land and the basic civil engineering works for roads, water supply, sewerage and other public services. These costs particularly those for civil engineering are liable to be very high: they show no direct return, and they can only be recouped gradually from the rents of buildings, and the sale or leasing of land ripe for development as factories, houses and shops are built.

33. It is these heavy initial costs which are perhaps the greatest deterrent to new town development by either public or private capital. In the world of private enterprise it is usually only the big industrialist who is prepared to undertake these liabilities as part of a much larger industrial project. When industrial firms such as the Aluminum Company of Canada, the Anglo-American Corporation in South Africa or Tata in India finance new towns they do so because the need for workers is so urgent and the cost of the new town is small compared with the cost of the smelter, the mines or the steel-works. In spite of the well-recognised disadvantages of the 'company' towns Governments are understandably tempted to leave industry to finance these initial costs of development.

34. The commercial developers of completely new self-contained towns are a rarity, because the return on the original expenditure is so slow and hazardous. Where such developers have

made the attempt, they are almost inevitably driven either to skimp the initial expenditure to reduce the capital burden or to employ means of accelerating the financial returns which are contrary to the long-term interests of the town. Thus for example roads and sewers may be built of sub-standard quality or too small. Or the promoters may accept types of industry or residents who are unsuitable for the ultimate success of the town; for example too many firms of one kind or commuters working elsewhere.

35. Experience of new towns built by either type of private enterprise shows how difficult it is to harness their immediate needs for workers or revenue with the longer term interests of the town as a well balanced community. Herein lies one of the greatest advantages of development by a public body. If the developing authority is free from the preoccupations of the private industrialist and can rely on the broader back of the Exchequer to carry the deficits of the early years, it is far more likely to resist temporary remedies and to pursue more far-sighted policies.

36. Both the Polder Authority and the Development Corporations have had this financial strength to the enormous advantage of these towns now and ultimately. Backed by the Exchequer, the Development Corporations were able to accumulate deficits in the early years without being driven to desperate remedies. Now seven of these towns are paying off these deficits year by year from their annual profits.

## Housing

37. The second major call for capital is for housing. Housing always covers a large area of the town and calls for a high proportion of the total capital investment. In the new towns of the United Kingdom, more than 60 per cent of their total capital expenditure has been for housing. This proportion illustrates the importance of housing in the total picture on almost every score - cost, layout, design, quality and social significance.

38. Conventions about public and private development for housing and about houses for rent or for sale differ from country to country. In North America the convention is for individual house-ownership. In Kitimat more than half the dwellings were built for sale. In British new towns about 90 per cent of the houses were built by the Corporations to let and attracted an Exchequer subsidy to keep the rents within reasonable limits.

39. In the Netherlands the Polder Authority has built almost all the housing to rent, since there was no possibility that prospective house purchasers could meet anything but a small proportion of the real cost of creating the land and erecting the buildings. Where houses have been sold, the authority has remained the ground landlord. Future policy, after the villages and towns are taken over by the municipality, is uncertain.

40. Outside the polders there is a strong tradition of house building by local authorities and housing associations.

Hoogvliet is a case in point. It seems likely that further new towns in the Netherlands will follow the Hoogvliet pattern at the start and like the new towns in the United Kingdom contain a high proportion of rented dwellings built by public authorities, until such time as the private enterprise builder finds new towns a good market.

41. The initial cost to the Exchequer of loans and subsidies for new town developments as in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands is likely to seem a serious deterrent to other governments faced with similar problems. The Kitimat solution where much of the initial capital for housing was provided by speculative builders relieves the sponsoring authority of some of its difficulties on raising capital. But it solves only a part of the problem and that imperfectly. The Aluminum Company has had to subsidise its employees indirectly to help them to pay for their houses and a high price has had to be paid architecturally for these private enterprise dwellings.

42. Employees of the Company were given special supplements to salaries to help them meet their rents or mortgage payments. The Company also provided second mortgages to reduce the capital which the new owners had to provide themselves. In addition the Company also guaranteed to buy back houses vacated within the first ten years of occupation at the original price. These forms of assistance were made the more necessary since building costs in Kitimat, as in the British new towns, were higher than elsewhere. In spite of the high costs of these houses and the excellent zoning in the Master Plan the architectural and physical quality of these houses is disappointing. The Kitimat as in many

other parts of the world it is difficult to get satisfactory housing from the speculative builder at low costs. The special covenants written into the deeds of sale have not proved as effective as was hoped.

43. If experience in new towns in the United Kingdom is anything to go by, the burden of the subsidies for housing financed from public funds is of limited duration. Families need help at the start: building costs in new towns are high, young families are poor and the costs of moving and setting up a home are a heavy expense. But these are temporary difficulties. Already in the more advanced new towns of the United Kingdom the demand for houses for sale from existing tenants is rising, and it is becoming clear that after some years of new town life the Exchequer rent subsidy will no longer be necessary. No change of policy about subsidies has been publicly announced, but it is clear that the need for the subsidies, except for a minority of the tenants, will not be necessary beyond perhaps the first 10 years of the life of each dwelling. This is a much less serious burden than was originally contemplated. Its relevance to other countries depends on the success of their towns and the rising prosperity of their residents. It is, however, an interesting pointer to the future. There is a similar trend in the Dutch polder.

44. In Asia low cost housing to rent is the primary need, and the examples of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands are more relevant than those of Canada. It would be optimistic to suppose that prosperity would bring relief to the subsidising authority as rapidly as in the United Kingdom. But if the

pattern of employment is sound there must be an expectation that the standard of living will rise and the need for subsidies fall in due course.

### Industrial Development

45. The third field for capital expenditure is for industrial development. In the one-industrial towns this problem partly solves itself. The Company will finance its own new plant. This will meet most of the problems of raising capital though not all. It may leave unresolved the need to provide sites or buildings for other firms which would diversify the pattern of employment and provide new outlet for the local population. Who is to provide the capital to prepare sites of this kind of development and to entice new firms?

46. In most industrial estates the commercial developer does no more than provide land, roads and services. It was anticipated that this was all the Development Corporations in the United Kingdom would do, and that the incoming industrialists would find the capital for the factories themselves. In practice it was found very difficult to attract the first industrialists on this basis. The site looked too bleak and the future too hazardous. To reduce the difficulties the Corporations were permitted to build and let a number of factories for particular firms. These factories were of various standard designs and sizes, and were not usually special-purpose buildings. They could, therefore, later be relet to other firms if this proved necessary.

47. This policy was highly successful. Firms, who would have been nervous about sinking capital in building their own factories, leased them from the Corporations. Many of these firms have now moved to larger buildings, built either by themselves or by the Corporations. The smaller of these factories have been a useful nursery. The larger have provided the Corporations with a valuable rent revenue and have contributed to the satisfactory financial position of several of the towns.

48. Experience has shown that the Corporations ought to have been allowed to go still further in the very early and most difficult days to tempt the first firm. Industrialists are not impressed by a vista of open fields, a few roads and the promise of an industrial estate. They want more solid evidence of development. The Corporations should have been allowed to build factories of standard design in advance of specific demand, to stand ready for the first few firms. The rare cases where they were permitted to do so paid handsomely. In this way the persuasion of the first half-dozen industrialists is much quicker and easier. Once some firms are established the task of finding others is immeasurably easier. All other new town developers should take this lesson to heart. A few "spec-built" factories can accelerate the growth of a town by years.

49. How far government sponsored undertakings should go in building factories to rent in new towns is a matter of argument. In Britain the Corporations are sharply divided in their views. Some hold that the industrialist is more solidly attached to a town if the company has sunk its capital in a factory building.

Others are more interested in the high revenue to be earned from renting factory buildings and the greater influence this gives the Corporations on the industrial life of the town. Certainly several of the Development Corporations are now earning a substantial revenue from the factories they have built and rented to industrialists and this policy has contributed a great deal to the improvement in their general financial position.

50. In the Netherlands the Polder Authority has not yet been successful in attracting industry to the North-East Polder, though it has not until now had much need to diversify the agrarian character of the area. This may be an urgent need in the future as the second generation grows up and needs employment. A site in Emmeloord is ready but unused. Near Hoogvliet industry on the banks of the Rhine is only too eager to take advantage of the facilities and opportunities of this gateway to Europe and is pressing on with industrial expansion faster than housing can keep pace.

#### Commercial Development

51. The fourth demand for capital is for commercial buildings, mainly shops, but also offices and various other facilities. Generally speaking the developer has to build the neighbourhood shops, or small groups of round-the-corner shops. In the early days these are an essential service for the residents, and must be provided in the right place and at the right time. Private enterprise is rarely ready to risk its capital in the early stages of a town, or to provide what the planners regard as

shopping centres are therefore built by the developer, at least until the success of the town seems firmly established.

52. The town centre is a different matter. In Western Europe and North America the decision to leave these profitable developments to private enterprise may be a part of the political philosophy of the nation. In Kitimat the Coordinator of Planning, Clarence Stein, proposed to the Aluminum Company that a non-profit making company belonging to the town should be set up, to which all commercial properties should be transferred, so that the increment in land values would accrue to the community. In time the cost of a large proportion of the community services could have been met out of the revenues of the town centre. The Company rejected the proposal and have sold most of the land so far developed to private developers.

53. In the United Kingdom the Corporations had no clear lead from the Government and have pursued different policies, according to the views of their governing boards and the ease or difficulty they have had in attracting private developers. Most of them have retained the ownership of the greater part of the land in the town centres and have sold freehold mainly to public authorities for government offices and civic buildings. Where the Corporations have retained ownership of the land some of the buildings have been erected by private enterprise and some by the Corporations, the proportions varying from town to town. When the Corporations have built shops and offices for letting they have taken the greater financial risk, but stand also to make the greater financial gains. When the land is leased to private developers the Corporations will secure

higher ground rents over the years as site values rise.

54. The effects of these varying policies and the importance of the town centre on the Corporations' financial position is already emerging clearly and is likely to show even more strikingly in the future. The growth of the town centre as well as industrial development can bring the turn of the tide in a town's finances. Housing brings no profits: it should just cover the costs. The town centre is indeed a key factor. By and large development by the Corporations themselves or on land owned by the Corporations is beginning to pay good dividends, and is altering the whole picture of new town finances. Profits on the town centre are gradually wiping out the overall deficits of the early years. It is now clear that most of those towns which have retained the financial benefits of town centre development will before long be making overall profits. Two are already doing so on a modest scale and can now contribute to socially desirable developments by the local authority such as swimming baths or sports fields. This kind of situation was not seriously contemplated when the New Towns Act was passed and it was assumed that private capital would make all the running.

55. The decision by the Corporations to build as well as to plan the town centres has had other favourable results. The architectural standards of commercial developers are not usually high, and even when, as in the new towns, their schemes are subject to the Corporation's approval it has been difficult to secure a high enough standard of design or to persuade the developer to look sufficiently into the future. Where large

parts of the town centre have been designed by the Corporation's own architects there is a greater unity and a higher standard of design. Crawley and Stevenage are outstanding in this respect.

In many other towns the blocks of shops built by private enterprise are dull and fail to seize the opportunity offered to them.

56. In the Netherlands the Polder Authority at present owns the freehold of the land in the town centre of Emmeloord. Ownership will pass next year to the new municipality. Final decisions have not yet been reached, but there is apparently no intention to debar the municipality from selling portions of the land freehold, and thus parting with the future increment in land values, and the most effective means of controlling the replanning of the towns 50 or 100 years hence. This is largely a political matter and policy will be determined by the new municipality according to its view on land ownerships. The existing towns of Holland have different policies. Amsterdam favours some control of land by municipal ownership. Rotterdam, as at Hoogvliet, is prepared to sell land freehold and to rely in the more distant future on the very strict planning powers and powers of compulsory purchase which Dutch local authorities possess.

57. In Asia there is a much more acute difficulty in raising the necessary capital. It may be tempting to solve the immediate problem by handing over town-centre development to private enterprise. The long-term penalty will be high. By outright sale of land much of the control of redevelopment and the benefits of rising land values will be lost to the community.

The mistake at Kitimat should not be repeated elsewhere without very careful consideration of the consequences. In a planned town and particularly in one supported by public funds it should be possible to retain for the community the financial benefits of rising site values.

58. The need to retain physical and financial control of the town centre is increased if the developer is also responsible for housing development. There is no reason for assuming, without full consideration of the alternatives, that the Government or municipality should be responsible for the unremunerative development of low cost housing and leave to private enterprise the profits of the town centre. This was the original assumption in the United Kingdom, and has been avoided as much by the reluctance of private enterprise to risk their capital in the early stages as by the good judgment of the Corporations or the Ministry. The investment by the Corporations in industrial and commercial development has altered the whole financial picture of the new towns. In 1946 it was not seriously considered that they would make any profit for the tax-payer. Now, even if some towns are still making losses and if the profits as yet are very small compared with the total capital invested, the fact that one by one they are becoming financial as much as social assets is transforming the climate of opinion about them.

#### Community Services

59. The fifth field of capital investment is for community facilities and services. These costs are quantitatively small

compared with most of the other types of expenditure but they are extremely important and will affect the happiness of the inhabitants profoundly. These demands include buildings such as schools and hospitals which are well recognised needs, and community centres, churches, halls, playing fields, cinemas, dance halls and public buildings, whose number and timing are less clearly definable.

60. In the United Kingdom schools have been provided as an obligatory service and most of these schools are admirable even though they are now overcrowded. Buildings for public safety, police, fire, ambulance and so on, have arrived with fair promptness. Churches have been provided by the various religious denominations. Other facilities have been difficult to provide. The Ministry was unwilling to give the new towns preferential treatment when capital expenditure was limited and local authorities all over the country were also begging for permission to build or develop halls, swimming baths, and playing fields. Eventually, after persistent pressure by the Development Corporation, facilities have been provided on a modest scale. The degree of pressure from the various local councils and the different Corporations on the Ministry has been responsible for much of the variation in provision. Those who were most determined have achieved most.

61. Facilities provided by private enterprise have come more slowly. The promoters of dance halls, cinemas and similar commercial facilities are not normally prepared to undertake these developments until the population is of a size to provide assured support. This certainty is only beginning to appear.

62. In securing these facilities the role of the Development Corporations has been all important, though they have been supported and sometimes stimulated by local opinion or the local council. The existence of a single organisation which felt itself to be responsible for the general social well-being of the town, and had no other objective but to ensure that the towns were physically, financially and socially a success, has been invaluable. Without this driving force the new towns would have lacked many of the amenities they now have.

63. In the Netherlands the sharp religious divisions have meant a threefold provision of schools and churches for each community. Every village in the North East Polder, even if it contains only 1,000 inhabitants and the surrounding farms, has three primary schools and three churches, part of the capital cost of which is met by the government. A similar pattern is to be found in much of the municipal development. Each church has its hall and committee room for meetings of the members of the denomination. In the villages of the polder the brewery companies have also provided a coffee house or "pub" and have been required to supply a hall for dances, weddings, and so on. Emmeloord has a busy hotel run by a private firm.

64. The dividing lines between the religious denominations have meant a very uneconomic provision of schools and churches in the new polder; which has been costly both to the state and to the churches. For this reason amongst others, there will be fewer and larger villages in the next polder, and more services will be concentrated in the central town. This is a lesson which is of value to other developers.

65. In Kitimat the population is still too small to support many social amenities. Schools are provided by the municipality. A hospital has been built. There are churches, a hotel and restaurant. But there are limits to what a population of 10,000 can pay for or make financially worthwhile for private developers. The municipality is not in the position of a Development Corporation or the Polder Authority to initiate developments.

What kind of Body Should Be Responsible For Development?

66. In the modern world most new towns are wanted urgently, and the aim is to reach the target population within a period of 10 to 20 years. Provision may be made for later continued expansion but in many cases the new town is started on the assumption that there will be a period of intensive growth.

67. In these circumstances the sponsors of a new town must create or select a body which will be suitable for carrying out the developments taking into account:

- the large scale of capital investment;
- the speed and size of physical operations;
- the complexity of industrial and commercial growth;
- the importance of safeguarding social needs.

68. The building of a new town, particularly of a large town, is a complicated operation and demands executive, administrative, financial and social experience of a high order. The shortcomings of many towns are due to the failure to have independent enough organisations and able enough people to run them.

69. It should also be recognised that the demands of the period of rapid construction, the period between the formulation

of the Master Plan and the end of intensive physical growth, are quite different from those when the town settles down into the more normal routines. The development period may well demand a different organisation and different qualities in its leaders from those which will be called for later. It is as useless to provide a small plough for the first period as it is unnecessary to have a bulldozer for the second.

70. There are a wide variety of methods in practice today to choose from, but in broad terms the choice falls between four main types of organisation:

- development can be by private industry or a private commercial developer;
- the enterprise can be undertaken by a local authority, using the machinery of local government;
- there can be some ad hoc public body appointed specially for the purpose;
- there can be some combination or mixture of these methods.

71. In making a choice between the various possibilities there are a number of conflicting objectives, and the difficulty is to find a type of organisation which reconciles, or reconciles as nearly as possible, the opposing claims. Ideally the organisation carrying out development should have at its back adequate financial resources to withstand the strains and stresses of heavy capital demands and slow financial returns. Secondly the organisation needs to contain within it the drive, vitality and all-round experience sufficient to meet its unusual task. This challenge should not be underestimated. Thirdly, if large

sums of public money are to be used in developing the town it is necessary to provide for adequate control of this money. Fourthly, the developers should have experience of the normal machinery of local government and the social services and be alive to the social as well as the physical needs of the incoming population. Fifthly, the development of the town must give the local people a voice in and an influence over the affairs of the town.

72. These five objectives are probably not all attainable within a single type of organisation, and none can meet all equally. Private industry may have the financial resources, but it is defective in most other respects. The town is only a side-issue to the main business of producing aluminum, or steel, soap or chocolate. An industrialist or commercial developer is not familiar with the machinery of the public services, or with the needs of people outside the factory.

73. Development by a local authority suffers from different defects. Unaided by central government it does not have the financial strength, though this can be overcome by special government assistance. Much more difficult is the problem of giving the organisation enough drive and independence from the influence of local politics and the procrastination of committees. A small local authority has too little experience for so large an enterprise. A large authority, operating from a distance, is remote and normally has little experience of physical development other than housing.

74. The special-purpose organisation set up to build the town has many advantages. It has singleness of purpose, and

can more easily assemble an able team recruited for its particular objective. But if it is financed by public money, it and the central authority have to resolve between them the problems of control. Too little public accountability risks extravagance and irresponsibility. Too much control from the Centre and the driving force of the special organisation becomes ineffective. There are also the problems of local democracy. An all-powerful development board can be insensitive to local opinion and give too few outlets for local action.

75. In the new towns covered by this paper the three types of organisation have met these problems in different ways.

76. The dangers of paternalism in the company town were recognised from bitter experience by the Aluminum Company of Canada. Kitimat makes a valiant attempt to escape this danger and to hand over much of the responsibility to the municipality. But even this large advance on the normal Company town has its defects. As the owners of the undeveloped land the Company controls new development, and it cannot be guaranteed that this control will be in the public interest. The municipality has excellent and exceptional responsibilities over the planning of the town, and it is a lively, active body, fully aware of the needs of the town and able to give expression to these needs. But it is not the developer, and is not equipped financially or administratively to carry out this task. Its sanctions against changes of policy by the Company are limited and, good enough the Plan is, its physical execution by private developers and speculative builders on land bought from the Company is disappointing. This is because the control over

design and standards of construction has been inadequate.

77. In the United Kingdom the chosen instrument is the special-purpose authority, the Development Corporation. When the organisation of the new towns was under consideration by a public Committee of inquiry in 1945/6 this Committee considered that new towns might be organised by both local authorities and by Development Corporations. The Government of the day rejected the first alternative and decided that the machinery of local government was not well-adapted to the special demands of a rapid physical development or to the commercial and industrial demands of these new enterprises. Only the special-purpose Development Corporations were used. Since that time two large authorities, Manchester and London, have had tentative proposals for building new towns themselves to solve their overspill problems. But the sites suggested have been unacceptable, and the experiment of new towns built by local authorities remains untried so far. In September 1960 there was for the first time a change of policy. It was announced that Northumberland County Council would be permitted to build a small town of 17,000 people. It will be interesting to see how this succeeds. At the same time two proposals were announced of new towns to be built by Development Corporations.

78. The Development Corporations have been remarkably successful and have amply justified their existence. The difficulties of some of the new towns are attributable mainly to external circumstances and inconsistencies of government policy, not to the structure of the Corporations. Their singleness of purpose, the clear definition of responsibility

and the possibility of recruiting men and women specially for the enterprises have been wholly beneficial.

79. The Chairman and members of each Corporation are appointed by the Minister. The Corporations selected their own staff, including a General Manager and Chief Officers, architects and engineers and other staff. The members of the Corporations are men and women drawn from public life, the civil service, business and industry who serve on a part-time basis. Many of the chief officers and staff are drawn from local government. This has meant that they are familiar with the processes of local and central government, with which they had to deal. Since the new towns were exciting new ventures they attracted the more adventurous. Under an able Chairman or General Manager the Corporations have been able to achieve quite spectacular results and to overcome the hesitations of central government.

80. This is not to suggest that the path of the Corporations has been smooth. Unfamiliar enterprises of this magnitude, built during a period of recurring financial crisis, could not have been carried out without innumerable difficulties. Co-ordination of policy between government departments on attracting industry, providing roads, water supply and other public services has been imperfect, and there has been a continuous squeeze by the Treasury on capital expenditure.

81. The relations between the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and the Corporations have also been far from perfect. The Corporations have been wholly dependent financially on the Treasury. They have accepted the need for central

control of capital programmes, of broad lines of policy, and of the main outlines of large new schemes of development. In the detailed control of costs and design they have felt that the Ministry went far beyond what Parliament intended. Dame Evelyn Sharp, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, has herself written:

"The extent of the control exercised by Departments over their ('the Corporations') operations has been a constant source of irritation."\*

82. The criticism by the Corporations of this detailed control is to a large extent justified. The towns are more uniform and less adventurous than they would otherwise have been. And schemes have been delayed and effort wasted by meticulous criticism by civil servants. But in extenuation of the Ministry it must be appreciated that during the years 1947 to 1957 the country passed through a succession of economic crises, which brought the future of the new towns repeatedly into doubt and caused a relentless supervision of costs. But the new towns were permitted to continue and to maintain their priorities for scarce resources. This survival is due, in no small measure, to the Ministry's defence of the new towns against the Treasury.

83. The Development Corporations are appointed not elected bodies and are criticised by some people on this score. They escape serious penalty for their undemocratic structure for two reasons. Firstly they are essentially short-lived organisations. Autocracy can be tolerated if its rule will cease within 10 to 15 years. Secondly the Development

Corporations have gone out of their way to foster local resident associations to speak out for the tenants, and to encourage responsible local government.

84. It was explained earlier that the Corporations have not, by and large, usurped the functions of local government. The local authorities have remained responsible for most of their normal activities and have provided buildings for schools, libraries, clinics, fire stations and municipal offices. The Corporations have assumed the responsibility for overall development, but only in the fields of house construction and roads, water supply and sewerage have they undertaken schemes which would usually fall to other authorities. This gives a more normal and more democratic structure to British new towns than in the polders in the Netherlands but it is also a more complicated structure which requires more co-ordination. Free from local government the Polder Authority has a simpler task; some would say too simple for there to be adequate participation by the residents.

85. It is also of some interest that the Polder Authority seems to be more independent of control by central government than are the Corporations. Development Corporations might envy the Authority its relative freedom from detailed supervision. There is only one Polder Authority and it has been carrying out its work for many years. Its experience is unique and there are no rival bodies to provide alternative solutions. In the United Kingdom there are many Development Corporations working simultaneously. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government

oversees 12 of them, and the Department of Health for Scotland 3. These departments apply the experience of one Corporation to another, and consider themselves in many ways more expert than any single Corporation. It is a situation familiar, for example, to industrial management consultants. The main difference is that the Corporations are obliged to ask for and to accept the Ministry's advice. Management consultants have no such sanctions.

How Is The Master Plan To Be Drawn Up  
and How Is The Implementing Of It To Be Controlled?

86. Most authorities, private or public, now accept the need for a Master Plan. This is normally a description of the physical characteristics of the site, a statement about the basic assumptions of the plan, such as the size of the population, the balance of industry, shops and other activities and an account of the intended character and siting of development. This is accompanied by a land use map, which shows, in varying detail, from one town to another, the ways in which the land is going to be allocated to roads, housing, shopping centres, schools, factory development and open space. In the early stages the written statement is the more important document. Later it is the map which is usually the better-known and more discussed document.

87. The Master Plan is very important and the success of the town depends to a great extent on the wisdom, knowledge and imaginative foresight of its authors. Often the key figure in the evolution of the plan is an Architect with planning qualifications, but so many issues face him which are outside

the architect's normal training that a great deal of teamwork is necessary to ensure that the long-term social and economic needs of the town are adequately considered. Ideally the team should include men and women who are trained to look at these problems from their specialist points of view and to pool their experience with the Architect-Planner so as to prevent the plan from being too theoretical an exercise in physical planning.

88. One might have supposed that among the members of the team the advice of experts in property development by private enterprise might have been valuable. In practice this has not proved to be so - at least in England. These experts have been shown to be too conservative and traditional in outlook. Had the British new towns followed their advice many of the best ideas would never have been attempted. Certainly the motor car would have reigned supreme and there would have been no pedestrian shopping centres. The town centre of Stevenage, which is entirely pedestrian, is now considered to be one of the outstanding achievements of British new towns and is the prototype for developments elsewhere. When it was just proposed by the Development Corporation it had little support from these "experts".

89. It is not easy to gather together an experienced team, and this is one of the problems for the countries of Asia. In the United Kingdom in 1946 there was very little experience too. The Development Corporations appointed their Architects or Architect-Planners to draw up the Master Plan. Each Plan had to be discussed with the local authority and approved by the Ministry. At the outset everyone's experience was limited.

Gradually, and through looking at so many different Master Plans, the Ministry gathered a large volume of experience, and the later plans have benefited from the earlier ones, though they have also suffered from some stifling of new ideas.

90. It is the Development Corporation for each town which is responsible for the Plan. It must secure the Ministry's approval, and in the process some of the wilder as well as some of the bolder ideas of the Corporation and its Architect-Planner may be ironed out. But given sympathy between the Corporation and the Planner, persistence can win a great deal from the Ministry. Sometimes the argument goes on over many months, but the Corporations have often been successful in persuading the Ministry to approve their less orthodox schemes. The variety which results is an essential element of the system.

91. In the Netherlands the Polder Authority and the Planning Department of the Ministry plan the new polder towns jointly. At present the new central town of Lelystad is under active discussion between the two and will be a joint product. Once built planning control of the polder towns passes to the municipality.

92. Hoogvliet has been planned by the Planning Department of the city of Rotterdam, who will remain the controlling authority, with strong planning controls over future developments and with powers of compulsory purchase. Elsewhere, in small towns and villages which are intended for expansion, the difficulty of retaining the sense of independence of the small municipality while at the same time ensuring an adequate planning organisation is one of the stumbling blocks to progress.

93. In Canada various methods have been tried. The Master Plan for Kitimat was drawn up by the planners with the help of a team of experts on physical, legal, commercial and social problems. It was a vast improvement on earlier attempts. The Company also retained the planners on a continuing basis so that they could be consulted later. In Uranium City it was the Provincial Government of Saskatchewan which commissioned a firm of planning consultants to draw up the plan or Guide for Development in co-operation with the Community Planning Branch of the Department of Municipal Affairs. Since there are several firms extracting uranium in the area rather than a single firm, it was decided that the Provincial Government should take the initiative for planning the town, and so prevent dispersed and unco-ordinated development. Without this initiative no integrated development of a central site with the proper services and facilities would have emerged.

#### Continuity of Contact

94. There is ample experience now to show the value of sustained contact between the planners and those responsible for the execution of the plan. It is not enough to hire the great man to draw up the plan and then to allow him to disappear. The forces of disintegration are too strong, even when the Plan has the sanction of Government approval and cannot be changed in important essentials without formal consultation and approval by public authorities. Expediency will always whittle down the grand design unless those who were responsible for the Plan are able to reaffirm and re-explain the basic principles.

New members of corporations, municipalities or boards of companies rarely appreciate the original conception or the consequence of the changes they suggest.

95. This is not to say that the Master Plan must be sacred and immutable in every respect. Experience will suggest improvements. But the originators of the plan can probably suggest how best to fit together the original design and the new ideas without sacrificing the basic principles. It is a salutary exercise for the planners, and it also helps to protect the town from those acute but short-lived emergencies which afflict the growth of every new town. During those frequent but temporary agonies, Corporations, companies or municipalities of new towns are liable to clutch at short-term reliefs which will be to the town's longer-term detriment.

96. In the United Kingdom not all the Corporations had the wisdom to retain the services of their architect-planners during the development of the town. Nor were all the planners themselves anxious to take on the less spectacular task of keeping in contact with the gradual implementing of the Master Plan. Several of the planners were eminent architects in private practice who were not interested in the details of execution.

97. Two possible solutions to this dilemma can be tried. One is to appoint the architect-planner as the chief official architect so that he is responsible for the detailed planning and for the design of a portion of the schemes. He thus becomes a full-time officer of the Corporation. No able architect would accept such an appointment unless he was to be

responsible for a considerable volume of building. This assumes that the authority or company sponsoring the towns is prepared to finance much of the building as well as the planning. It also limits the freedom of the architect to speak freely. He can do this more easily as an outside consultant.

98. An alternative, and one which has proved very successful in some English new towns has been to retain the architect-planner for a modest fee as a consultant so as to keep in regular contact with the evolution of the plan, and also to employ him from time to time as a private architect to build particular schemes. Public interest and self-interest are thus neatly yoked together, and the architect-planner is compelled as a private architect to face the practical consequences of his own plan.

99. A Master Plan must state the broad intentions or the essential framework. It should also indicate the quality of the town. If it is to be a regional centre, or attract middle-class and professional people; if it is to be a genuinely self-contained community with adequate space for industry and offices and employment for different income groups, these aims must be elaborated in sufficient detail in the plan to make them plain and possible. These cannot be squeezed in later. On the other hand there should not be too much detail in the Master Plan. The future cannot be wholly foreseen and the block plan must allow for changes of detail within the framework. Above all space must be left for unpredictable development. In the United Kingdom the early parts of the new towns left far too little space for garages: the growth in car ownership was not foreseen. Short of pulling down houses or building expensive multi-storey

garages, this mistake cannot be rectified in the first housing areas. Similarly the demand for houses for sale was underestimated in the early days and there are now insufficient undeveloped sites in some of the more advanced towns. Unforeseen changes will affect the new towns of Asia in the same way.

#### Sanctions behind Plan

100. The Planner and the sponsoring authority can do nothing to enforce the Plan or to modify it in line with changing demands unless the sanctions behind the Plan are adequate. In Kitmat the municipality is the guardian of the Master Plan, and this guardianship is exercised through zoning regulations. There have been instances when the Company, in anticipation of a sale of land, has asked the municipality to amend the zoning by-law, to permit a change of zoning, and this request has been refused. In other cases the request has been granted because the municipality thought the change was in the interests of the community. These powers are similar to those owned by other municipalities in British Columbia and in the United Kingdom. The weakness of the situation in Kitmat, compared with new towns in the United Kingdom, is that initiative for new development rests with the company as the landowner. The municipality is not the prime mover.

101. In the United Kingdom the Corporations enjoy unusual "extra-territorial" rights. The local planning authority, the County Council, must be consulted about the Master Plan and about major schemes of development, such as the planning of neighbourhoods. But once the Master Plan has been drawn up

discussed with the County, approved by the Ministry and published, the Corporations remain the effective planning authority for the town until they pass out of existence. No major changes would be made without consultation with the County Council, but within the broad framework of the Master Plan control is in the Corporation's hands. After the Corporations cease to exist it is anticipated that the normal planning machinery of local government will apply. This arrangement has meant that throughout years of rapid development the Development Corporations are the planning authority for the area designated for the new town and the control of planning and development is therefore continuous.

102. The effectiveness of this power is increased by the possession by the Corporations of the powers of compulsory purchase of land and buildings. Such land can be acquired at prices which exclude any appreciation of land values due to the development of the town. Most of the towns are built on agricultural land which was acquired at its existing use value of £80 to £100 an acre. In the early days before the functions and powers of the Corporations were well understood, there was a good deal of resistance to compulsory purchase. Many property owners attempted to oppose acquisition and to demand higher compensation. Gradually, however, they accepted the town's inevitability and the machinery of land acquisition based on its value before the Corporation started to develop. It is seldom now that Corporations have to resort to their compulsory powers. Acquisition is usually by agreement.

103. As the planning authority the Corporations also have control over development by private individuals who may buy land for development. All plans must be approved by the Corporations who can insist not only that the buildings are in accord with the zoning for shops, factories, service, industry and other purposes but that the buildings themselves satisfy the Corporations' standard of architectural quality. Sometimes it is hard to persuade a private developer to submit a good enough design. Great efforts are made by the Corporations' own architects departments, which may include 20 to 30 architects, to help the private developer to improve his designs. And where the developer is not accustomed to using private architects the Corporations have undertaken the design themselves, acting as a private architect for the client. By these means the Corporations have raised architectural standards and eliminated the more obvious forms of architectural vulgarity.

104. The powers over planning and compulsory purchase of land and building lie at the root of the Corporations' success. They are not paralleled in North America, and are much greater than those possessed by the municipality of Kitmat. In the Netherlands planning legislation and powers of compulsory purchase are highly developed. In the polders the Authority has absolute control over the man-made land. But even in the older areas the municipalities and the provinces have strong planning powers and make frequent and regular use of compulsory purchase, at current market values. The effectiveness of these powers is used by many people in the Netherlands as an argument in favour of the sale of land freehold, since it is claimed

that the municipality can buy back the land compulsorily, if and when re-development is necessary.

### Control of Fringe Development

105. One further problem must be foreseen. A planned town disgraces itself if the sponsors cannot, by land ownership or planning powers, control development outside its boundaries as well as inside. Fringe building whether of shanty towns or snob areas will destroy the conception of the town and reduce the social, physical and financial value of the experiment. There are all too many examples of the failure to foresee and to take measures against this danger.

106. In the three examples covered by this paper adequate protection is available. In the United Kingdom the Development Corporations only control the land within the designated area of the town, perhaps 4,000 to 8,000 acres. This is not large enough to exclude the possibility of fringe development. Outside the designated area the County Council is the planning authority and can control building. It has been agreed that the purposes of the new towns would be frustrated if the planning authority permitted any but the minimum of building within a three or four mile radius of the border of the designated area. In keeping this "green belt" the County Councils have prevented fringe development.

107. In the polders the Polder Authority owns all the land now and will continue to own the land outside the urban centres when these pass to the municipal authorities. Elsewhere in the Netherlands there is a strict control of development by the planning authorities. In Kitimat the Aluminum Company

has bought a large area around the town to guard against this danger and beyond this the forests can be protected by the Crown.

108. The development of new towns generally underlines the importance of four lessons. If the town is to grow really successfully the developers must:

- work out a comprehensive Master Plan. Teamwork is needed to anticipate industrial, economic and social needs as well as the more normal requirements of physical development;
- own the land or have powers of compulsory purchase to avoid the payment of inflated prices;
- secure continuity in the control of the Plan during the years of development;
- own or control sufficient land around the town to prevent undeniable development around the fringes.

What Should Be The Role Of Local Government Or The Local Community And Its Relation To The Authority Developing The Town?

109. It has already been explained that the suggestion that local authorities should develop new towns was rejected in the United Kingdom at the time of the New Towns Act 1946. Subsequent proposals for development by large cities have come to nothing, though a county council may now build one small town. In the Netherlands similar difficulties afflict the building of new towns or expanding towns by the municipalities.

110. If the chosen solution is something along the lines of a Development Corporation, a Polder Authority or private industry how is the voice of the inhabitants of the new towns

to be heard? The answer to this question will depend largely on what system of local government already exists in each country. Practice varies greatly even among the countries of the West, but there are certain dangers and aims which are common to all new town schemes wherever they arise.

111. The very existence of a project for a new town presupposes that the area is mainly undeveloped. There are a few exceptions to this rule, as for example Hemel Hempstead in the United Kingdom, and some of the proposals for expanding Dutch towns. But normally the site is either virginland or there are scattered villages or small towns of 3000 to 4000 inhabitants which are destined to expand to ten or twenty times their size. This is so in densely populated Britain and in the Netherlands. It is doubly so in the forests of Canada, or the rural areas of India or Pakistan.

112. This means that the existing unit of local government is likely to be small and weak, or non-existent. Even in the United Kingdom, where local government is highly developed, most of the new towns started in the area of a rural district council, or sometimes to complicate matters they overlapped the boundaries of two or three different authorities. Every new town is, of course, in the area of a County Council. These provide some of the major services such as health and education, and are powerful and competent bodies. But they are remote, and play little part in the daily life of the locality.

113. Into a virgin forest, a desert or a landscape of fields and villages arrives a developer. It may be a steel or aluminum firm, a government-sponsored nuclear energy project,

or a Development Corporation. Whatever the body it will seem a leviathan let loose among the sprats. The power and wealth of the leviathan will be evident almost at once. Great earth moving machines and piles of equipment will arrive and the landscape will start to change rapidly. The first new inhabitants to move in will be nervous, strange and uncomfortable. As they settle down they will be critical, vocal and yet feel impotent. In course of time they will feel bitter and unco-operative if there is no outlet for their views, no channel for their grievances.

114. This is now a familiar story in many company towns. The same difficulties were encountered by the Development Corporations in the United Kingdom during their early years. In an attempt to escape these difficulties the Aluminum Company moved vigorously in the other direction at Kitimat. The municipal government was set up before a single house was built, and as soon as possible was made responsible for the normal municipal services. Incoming residents gave life to the municipal administration. Many of the members of the council are employees of the Company, but this has not prevented opposition from time to time to the interests or wishes of the Company from being frankly aired at meetings of the Council. This has provided a valuable safety valve, and in general relations between the residents and the Company are vastly better than in Arvida or many other company towns.

115. Even a brief visit to Kitimat reveals a strong feeling of excitement and participation in the building of the new town

by the residents and the members and officers of the municipality. They would like to have more influence over development. They are critical of the quality of the housing, especially that built for sale, and would like to build more and better houses themselves. But on the whole there is a notable vitality and sense of responsibility towards the well-being of the town, which speaks volumes for the Company's wisdom in encouraging local self-government.

116. In the United Kingdom opposition to the powerful Development Corporations has been vigorous and outspoken, but its pressure has been controlled by giving it plenty of outlets. The local councils have continued to exercise their normal powers, and the wiser Corporations have fostered residents' associations and other devices to encourage local initiative and to provide a means of contact between residents and Corporation.

117. The behaviour of these associations, which are established in each successive neighbourhood or group of neighbourhoods, follow a comically similar pattern. Each in turn has a lively and aggressive period for the first two years when everything the Corporation does is wrong: roads are muddy, shops inadequate, houses full of cracks and gardens full of rubble. After two years of grumble, the inhabitants find their feet; membership of the association falls and officers of the association complain that they get insufficient support and subscriptions. After a further period, interest revives in a different form or is transferred to the activities of the municipal council.

118. As the towns grow and reach populations of 20,000 to 30,000 many Corporations have pressed for the more distant responsibility of the rural district council, which covers a wide area outside the town, to be replaced by the creation of an urban district council to cover only the designated area. These new urban district councils have proved vigorous and enterprising and are anxious to use to maximum effect their normal municipal powers. If they retain a certain jealousy of the Corporations as being more powerful, this is only natural, and there is much valuable co-operation between the two bodies. Tolerance is further increased by the knowledge that the Corporations are due to go out of existence very soon and their successors will be little more than public trustees for the property.

119. In the Netherlands the Polder Authority has created the land itself, before the farms and the towns. There was therefore no existing system of local government and none is created during the years of development. In the North East Polder the Authority will move out about 12 years after the population first began to move in in any numbers. For these 12 years the population has had no normal outlet or field for municipal responsibility. The Polder Authority runs all the services, and is the developer, landlord and manager of public services in one.

120. These are autocratic powers; more autocratic than those of the Development Corporations. There has, however, been an Advisory Board which assists the Governor of the Polder Authority. This Advisory Board is elected by the population

of the polder in the same way as municipal councils are elected elsewhere and it advises the Governor on matters which would in normal circumstances be decided by the municipal council. Opinions differ as to whether this has given enough responsibility to the local population. It has certainly given the Polder Authority a great measure of independence. This independence from normal practices of local government makes this type of organisation unacceptable to expanding towns on older land in the Netherlands. This type of relationship between Development Corporations and the local authority gives more scope to the normal processes of local government.

121. In Asia some countries have no ready-made system of local government on which responsibilities can be devolved and which will form a normal vent for criticism. Even if machinery does not exist it is extremely important that it should be devised, in one form or another. If no outlet is given criticism will ferment and burst out in inconvenient places. In these young communities it is also essential to nurture the future leaders, who can play so vital a part in social development and the political evolution of the town. It is far better to provide a platform for responsible and constructive citizens than to find soap-boxes in the market or bazaar and irresponsible demagoguery.

#### What Are The Main Problems During The Period Of Development

122. This must be a highly selective list. Most people with experience of new towns will be able to suggest half a dozen more, and each of the special types of town will have

its own distinctive problems. To some extent the choice which follows is arbitrary. It covers:

- the phasing of capital expenditure;
- the phasing of jobs, houses and social services;
- the rate of growth;
- the need for diversity;
- the unusual age-structure of new towns.

#### Phasing of Capital Expenditure

123. Skill in phasing development can do much to reduce the burden of interest charges on large-scale capital works such as water-supply, sewerage and roads. The essential is to reduce the period between construction and use. This means careful advance planning and the dovetailing of programmes. It means carrying out the work in stages. And as far as possible it means bringing forward projects which will provide some revenue to offset the annual outgoings on the main services. Careful dovetailing of operations and the reduction of the period when capital is unfructified can make a great difference to the financial picture.

124. It is not easy to build water works or sewage disposal plants in stages, but every effort must be made to do so. This will avoid heavy interest charges in advance of rates, taxes or rents to pay for them. Roads should only be built which are needed to bring in supplies and to be ready for the building work which is to follow immediately. Main roads are particularly expensive and construction should be halted only a little beyond present building development. Factories and houses should be

in occupation as soon after the preliminary works as possible. Land is usually relatively cheap to buy, but expensive to maintain. Every effort should be made to keep it in its original use, without cost to the developers until such time as it will be build on.

125. Care on these points and a careful programme of work which synchronises the various services will prove invaluable in reducing the interest burden of capital expenditure.

#### Phasing of Jobs, Housing and Social Services

126. This is perhaps the most vital and most difficult job of all. Constructional work cannot start without manpower and building firms cannot recruit workers until there is somewhere for them to live. Workers cannot move to a new town unless a job is available immediately to provide a livelihood. The town cannot be a satisfactory unit unless there are shops, schools and other public and social services. Roads, sewers, dwellings, factories the labour force for construction, workers for factories shops, schools, halls and a dozen other services have to be kept in balance. To maintain this balance is a complex and difficult problem of organisation.

127. The complexity of the operation can perhaps best be seen by the progress of balanced development in Hemel Hempstead shown in Table II. This shows how many different facets of the town's development must be co-ordinated and dovetailed in order that the physical and social requirements of the incoming population can be met.

TABLE II PROGRESS OF BALANCED DEVELOPMENT IN  
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD NEW TOWN (Great Britain)

YEAR	Dwellings	Factories No. Floor area (sq.ft.)	Neigh- bourhood shops	Town Centre shops	Labour force employed on construction
end of					
1948	-	-	-	-	up to 100
1949	-	-	-	-	up to 400
1950	110	1	16,000	-	up to 1,000
1951	810	3	155,000	14	up to 2,000
1952	1,580	7	444,000	23	2,000-2,500
1953	3,040	9	625,000	41	1,700-2,000
1954	4,010	16	680,000	55	1,200-1,400
1955	4,380	25	852,000	71	1,200-1,500
1956	6,210	28	886,000	92	1,200-1,500
1957	7,150	31	1,047,000	102	900-1,000
1958	7,286	33	1,119,000	104	1,170
1959	7,878	35	1,258,000	115	1,080

YEAR	Community Halls	Miles of Roads	Sewers	Capital expendi- ture	New population	Schools
end of				million		
1948	-	-	-	£0.2	-	-
1949	-	2	2	£0.6	-	-
1950	1	5	10	£1.6	400	-
1951	2	10	24	£3.9	2,600	1
1952	3	19	28	£7.6	5,100	2
1953	3	26	36	£10.6	10,000	3
1954	4	31	42	£14.2	13,100	4
1955	5	34	48	£17.5	15,900	8
1956	6	36	52	£20.3	20,000	9
1957	7	39	57	£23.9	24,000	9
1958	7	40	58	£23.9	25,800	11
1959	8	43½	66½	£26.3	27,800	13

128. Who is to be responsible for this co-ordination?

This is a question which every new town developer must answer if the town is to grow satisfactorily. Failure to answer it has been the cause of many of the difficulties in new towns. Divided responsibility or the failure to accept responsibility for some of the facets of the new town's development is likely to mean that parts of the town get out of balance, that huts or hostels are built instead of permanent houses or houses stand empty for lack of jobs, that shops are too few or of the wrong kind or exercise too monopolistic a control, schools are overcrowded, there are too few doctors or dentists, playing fields are not laid out or that hospitals and maternity services are inadequate.

129. There are great advantages if responsibility for co-ordination can be placed on a single body, and one that is on the spot and sensitive to local feeling as well as competent either to carry out work itself or to bring strong pressure to bear on those who are responsible. The Development Corporations have had just such a responsibility placed upon them. Not only have they been directly responsible for much of the physical development and for keeping housing and industry in balance, but where it has been for other authorities to provide schools and other services the Development Corporations have been responsible for synchronising the various programmes.

130. The Polder Authority has similar responsibilities. In Kitimat the municipality is in a much less powerful position.

### The Rate of Growth

131. Some towns have only a vague target population and no clear picture of the rate of growth. Some are expected to grow for a generation: some to reach maturity in ten or fifteen years. Some are planned for populations of 15,000: some for 150,000. In such varying circumstances there can be no standard pattern which fits all circumstances. And in some towns the rate of growth is outside the control of the planners. The need of refugees may be too urgent to permit a deliberate restraint of growth to some socially desirable pattern. Failure to attract new industry may thwart the best laid programme of expansion.

132. There are, however, some valuable criteria to act as pointers.

133. Broadly speaking the faster a town grows the less the burden of interest charges. It pays financially to accelerate the rate of building, so that factories and houses are occupied quickly and provide revenue and the population is built up swiftly to support the more remunerative developments in the town centre. The quicker an area is occupied the less the burden of capital charges on land, roads, water supply and general development.

134. These financial considerations are not, however, the only ones. In each town there is also an optimum rate of building. Theoretically a huge building labour force can be imported for a short period. In practice it is uneconomic to bunch the building operations into too short a span. Building labour is much more economic if it can be employed at a more

regular tempo spread over, say, ten years with a gradual and planned reduction of numbers towards the end. Very rapid growth also involves an uneconomic ratio of technical and administrative staff. It is easier to attract good staff if the project looks like lasting 10-15 years. On the other hand it would be equally uneconomic to employ highly trained staff if the volume of building is very small. The rate of building and therefore the scale of operations affects the calibre of staff needed.

135. Thirdly very rapid growth makes very heavy demands for ancillary services such as schools, maternity services and hospital beds. Too much must not be asked of the authorities responsible for these services.

136. Fourthly the rate of growth affects the problems of assimilating the incoming population. If growth is too slow the first-comers feel lonely and isolated and cannot be given a high standard of services. If growth is very fast, particularly at the beginning, it is very difficult to help the newcomers to settle down, and to avoid the early difficulties of maladjustment.

137. In Kitmat growth has stopped short at 10,000 out of a target population of 30,000. At the present level the municipality has only modest financial resources from taxes on the ordinary residents. The population cannot yet support much in the way of a town centre, and will in any event get little financial benefit from these developments when they take place. The rate of building was very fast at first, to provide workers for the Company. This rate made necessary a

large huddled encampment which is now an all too permanent and embarrassing feature of the town. It also resulted in a heavy exodus of workers when building came to an abrupt halt in 1957. The halt was called by the check in the world demand for aluminum, but it illustrated the hazards of a very large building effort in relation to the total size of the town. The fact that the town is likely to grow only very slowly from 10,000 to 30,000 means that the residents will have to wait a long time for many of the more ambitious amenities.

138. In the United Kingdom the rate of growth of the new towns round London has exceeded expectations. The span of the main building operations will now be between 10 and 15 years rather than 15 to 20. At the peak the largest of the new towns were completing 2,000 houses a year and families had to be settled in at the rate of 40 a week. This was quite as fast as was desirable. Table II for Hemel Hempstead shows a rather slower rate of building because the town was planned for a smaller incoming population. But it illustrates very clearly the rise in the rate of building and its gradual decline. The Corporation is likely to have completed the main phase of development by 1962 and to go out of existence soon after. This pattern of rise and fall is typical of all the more advanced new towns in the United Kingdom and has proved satisfactory. To continue to build at full speed and to come to a more abrupt halt raises all sorts of difficult administrative and social problems.

139. There can be no absolutes about the optimum rate of growth. If a town is designed to reach 200,000 instead of the

maximum of 80,000 or 100,000 as in the United Kingdom a higher rate of building could be attained and sustained with a larger technical and administrative organisation. The human problems must not, however, be forgotten. The organisation must be able not only to plan and build physically, but to sustain and guide the larger numbers of human beings who will be moving into strange and often uncomfortable surroundings. In the enthusiasm for spectacular physical progress it is easy to forget the human needs which follow. Most developers have devoted too few of their resources to helping the newcomers with their manifold problems. In this respect some of the Development Corporations have a fine record compared with new towns elsewhere. But even here the resources for this work have been less than they ought to have been.

#### The Need for Diversity

140. The dangers of dependence upon a single industry are well known but the pressures to provide the workers for a large new industrial development are so strong that often they cannot be resisted. New towns will continue to be provided to man a single large plant, and to suffer the consequences.

141. There is no easy solution to this problem, but one key to it is to ensure that a single organisation has responsibilities and powers to attract other industry. Firms will have to be sought out and persuaded to come. Whose responsibility is it so to seek and to persuade? In the Company towns the big firm may not show sufficient vigour in meeting the problem. The municipality may not be accustomed to move in

industrial circles, and may not be owners of the land for industrial development.

142. In the United Kingdom it was for the Development Corporations to take the initiative. They were well adapted to do this, but their success has varied. New towns round London have found it easy to attract industry. Further north it has been more difficult, owing mainly to conflicts in the Government's own policy about where industry should be located. Given these difficulties the Corporations have almost certainly succeeded better than any municipality or government department could have done because they were single-minded, on the spot, and pursued their objectives with great vigour.

143. Diversity of industry is not enough. Diversity is also wanted among the inhabitants. It was said earlier that the Master Plan should make clear the quality of the town. The originators of the town should secure agreement from the start about the town's ambitions, and the mixture of classes it aims to attract. A town planned in the first place for factory workers is less likely to attract different classes of people later. Once geared to one kind of development the town will not be attractive for another. A whole string of ill consequences will follow. It will be more difficult to attract those types of firm which employ a high proportion of technical and professional staffs. It will be harder to find leaders for all the social activities. Architecturally the town will be more monotonous, because there will be fewer better class dwellings. Land values will be lower. It will

be more difficult to attract the better shops. And humanly speaking the town will be a duller place.

144. To achieve the best results involves faith and courage. The more remote the towns, the more difficult it is to attract those who have less necessity to leave their present occupations, and less pressure to improve their lot. The poor have little to lose and much to gain by moving. This increases the need for inducements to persuade the more prosperous. The aim should be to introduce as much variety as possible into the community and to plan accordingly. The physical plan must provide sites for housing and for social provisions which will attract the middle-class. And, as development proceeds, every effort must be made to tempt the more selective to choose to come.

145. The methods will vary from town to town, and may well involve preferential treatment for the early comers. Once the first fifty or a hundred well-to-do families are established the task becomes progressively easier. The inducements can be such things as houses to rent for the more doubting, easy mortgage terms for those who wish to buy, specially attractive housing areas, ready built and as far as possible landscaped in advance, educational facilities for the children. The town centre will also have to be planned in such a way that the cultural and social needs of these people can be met. These families will be put off if it is clear that the town is not planned to provide the kind of facilities they could reasonably expect in similar towns elsewhere.

146. Experience in English new towns has shown how much can be achieved if the Corporations are determined. Basildon

is a one-class town partly because the Corporation did not build for the middle-classes, and it is now much more difficult to change its character. Harlow has been outstandingly successful in attracting a more mixed community because from the very beginning it built 10% of rather more expensive houses. These were to rent in the early days. Now an increasing proportion are sold. The act of faith in the early days that middle-class families could be attracted has been amply rewarded.

#### The peculiar age-structure

147. The new towns attract the young. They are foot-loose and ready to seek their fortunes in a new place. The roots of the middle-aged or those with families are usually too deep to permit them to move willingly. In the United Kingdom the driving force was the housing shortage: young married couples were prepared to move because they so desperately needed homes of their own. In Nowa Huta in Poland it is employment. With heavy rural unemployment, and large numbers of young men and women, most of them single, seek work in the new town and are prepared to live at the outset in hostels. In Canada life in the new towns such as Kitimat has given Canadian citizenship to many aliens. The price of acceptance into the Canadian nation is the willingness to pioneer. In the Netherlands farming land is in short supply. The younger sons of farmers have either to go abroad or take farms on the polder if they have farming ambitions.

148. In all these cases new towns have attracted the young. And the result of having homes of their own has meant that the

very young have multiplied exceedingly. Children in their hundreds and their thousands are the emblem of the new towns. There is nothing surprising about this, but it took the authorities by surprise at the outset, for they had expected a more normal range of age-groups. Nor is there evidence yet to suggest that the net reproduction rate is higher than elsewhere. The high crude birth-rate is but the consequence of gathering together in one place people who are still at an early stage in their married lives. Everyone is having babies at the same time. New town life is like a moving escalator with more people crowding on at the bottom of life's stair and almost no one stepping off at the top.

149. The administrative problems of the unusual age structure can now be fairly easily foreseen.

150. At first the maternity and child welfare services are in urgent demand. Maternity beds in hospital are needed and all the home nursing services. In time this demand moves like a wave from the first parts of the town to those built later.

151. Secondly the babies reach school age and the education authorities are faced with the problem of an abnormally large number of children of primary schools age, while there are still few pupils at the top of the secondary schools. The problem is the greater because the peak demand is temporary. To meet it fully would mean having empty classrooms later. One solution has been to add temporary huttred classrooms beside the permanent buildings which can be dismantled and moved on to the later neighbourhoods in the town as the demand arises there.

152. Thirdly these children will pass through school and in course of time will be ready to take up work. They will be doing this in towns where there is virtually no generation of grandparents to retire or make room for them at the work bench or the office desk. Later again they will pair off and marry and a fair proportion will seek to find homes and settle down before an older generation will be dying and thus making room for them.

153. The problem can be seen in every new town. In Harlow, Great Britain, which has been growing actively for just over 10 years, 40% of the population is under 15, and by 1970 the authorities will be faced with children leaving school and needing jobs in correspondingly abnormal numbers. In the North East Forder the proportion is about 45%.

154. The corollary to this peculiar age-structure is that few services for the aged are needed, and that at first there are few people who have sufficient freedom from the responsibilities of young children to carry out the voluntary services of the community.

155. For the authorities the problems are quite different from those of the normal town, and require a good deal of adjustment. Foresight is also necessary in the Master Plan. Space must be left for houses for the second generation. This is a relatively simple planning operation. Far more difficult is the problem of finding jobs for the flood of young boys and girls who will leave school and need work locally in offices and industry. It is not easy to absorb a disproportionate number of youngsters, and very careful plans have to be made.

This problem is exercising the ingenuity of the Development Corporations and the Polder Authority and no one has yet found a full solution.

What Is To Happen When The Period Of Rapid Growth Is Over?

156. It is a characteristic of many post-war new towns, which have been created to meet specific needs, to grow very fast and to approach their target population **within** one or two decades. This is not universally true. The growth of Kitimat has been brought to a halt after only a short period of rapid growth. But many of the new towns grow explosively for a longer period.

157. What is to happen when the period of rapid expansion comes to an end? The sponsors of the town will have to consider a number of related questions.

- What body will be responsible for the town after rapid growth ceases?
- Who will ensure that the main lines of the Master Plan are kept intact, but that modifications can be incorporated?
- Who will be responsible for attracting further industry to meet the need for jobs for the second generation?
- Who will receive the benefit of the "profits" of the town - particularly the rise in land values in the town centre and the industrial areas?

158. The answers to these questions will depend on the particular character of each town, and on the political philosophy behind public and private enterprise in each country. At one

end of the spectrum the Canadians in Kitimat have assumed that the normal patterns of private ownership shall assert themselves as soon as possible. Only the paramount influence of the Company, the zoning of development within the framework of the Master Plan, and the prevention of sprawl beyond the perimeter of the town will stand out as striking differences.

159. In the North East Polder the new municipality will take over next year the normal public services and will be the principal landlord unless and until it disposes of its property. There is room for planned expansion within the town boundaries and outside the land is owned by the Polder Authority so that sprawl can be prevented. No one yet knows how the employment problems of the second generation are to be met or how industry is to be tempted to the town.

160. In the United Kingdom the growth of the new towns was originally thought of as falling into two stages: the period of rapid growth and the period of normality. Experience has shown that with the peculiar age structure of new towns there are really three stages, not two. Between the period of rapid development and final maturity there is now seen to be an intervening period of perhaps 15 to 20 years, when the second generation is growing up, seeking work, opportunities for recreation and homes to settle into. During this period many unusual problems will arise and many important precedents will be set.

161. When the New Towns Act of 1946 was passed it was anticipated that each Development Corporation would hand over its town to the local authority when its purposes were

'substantially achieved'. The details of the transfer were not specified, but the possibility of making this transfer was written into the Act. Since that time it has become clear that there would be an intermediate stage and that during it many critical problems would have to be settled. Quite apart from the social problems with which the local authority would be concerned there would remain large management problems involving commercial and industrial policy.

162. During this second period it was felt that the local authority would still be relatively inexperienced and would not be ready to take over an asset which had cost the taxpayer £30 million to £40 million to build and might before long be worth nearly twice this sum. It is becoming clearer every day that land values in the new towns are rising steeply and that many of the new towns are beginning to be profitable investments for the State.

163. It was also felt that a change of ownership at this critical intermediate stage would be very undesirable and that at least for a period the new towns should continue to be State undertakings. The Development Corporations will come to an end one by one as was originally intended when the period of rapid growth ends. They will be replaced by a central Commission to control overall policy, and a smaller organisation in each town to manage the Commission's property. There is also to be a local Committee on which the local authority will be represented to advise on the management of the housing.

164. The new arrangements have not yet been worked out in

detail, and have been much criticised by the local authorities who hoped soon to take over ownership of all those assets in the towns now owned by the Corporations. The wisdom of the decision to continue to control the new towns by a special central body has yet to be proved, and will depend on how much responsibility the Commission is permitted by the Ministry to give to the local organisation in each town. But the decision was to a large extent thrust upon the Government by the size and nature of the problems during the interim period. The various urban district councils which at present run the municipal services in the new towns are still too small and inexperienced to take over the Corporations' responsibilities at the end of the first stage.

165. After the first stage, the normal planning powers will revert to the County Council who will almost certainly delegate the greater part to the local council. But the Commission will remain in control of the Master Plan, and will be able, in agreement with the planning Authority to adapt the plan to changing circumstances while protecting its main assumptions. Certainly new ideas and needs concerning industrial and commercial development and the younger generation will arise as time passes. With the continuation of public ownership of the greater part of the new towns the public interest will remain paramount.

166. It is not, however, yet clear who will be the main beneficiaries of the profits which a few new towns are earning now, and which most of them may be expected to earn ultimately. Both taxpayers as a whole who have underwritten this venture

from Exchequer loans and continue to pay rent subsidies for virtually all the housing and the residents who have given the town life deserve a proportion of the profits. Some of the Corporations are already helping the local authority to finance local amenities, and as the years go by more funds will be available to finance such ventures or to help further new towns. To the extent that the Development Corporations have retained a financial interest in the more valuable sites and buildings, the profits will benefit both the town and the Exchequer.

#### Summary and Conclusions

167. In spite of varying circumstances in different countries the basic problems of building new towns are similar in most parts of the world.

168. New towns require large capital funds for site development, housing, industry, commerce and community services. The main problem is to raise these funds and at the same time to protect the long-term interests of the town and to secure a balanced pattern of development.

169. The industrial and financial interests of private enterprise do not necessarily coincide with the long-term interests of the residents as a whole, but the relief to public funds of private investment may be very important.

170. Some development is not directly remunerative, such as site works and low-cost housing; commercial and industrial development is. A public authority, which is developing the

town, can offset the one against the other if it retains ownership of the land and undertakes some remunerative development itself. This policy has been highly successful in the United Kingdom.

171. A sound and far-sighted Master Plan is essential. To develop satisfactorily, there should be

- regular contact by the originator of the Plan with its execution.
- continuity of planning control over development to safeguard zoning and building standards.
- ownership of the entire site or powers of compulsory purchase.
- control of fringe development outside the town.

172. For healthy growth there must be means by which the local residents can express their views and take some share of responsibility for the well-being of the town. Either normal local government machinery must be set in motion, or special machinery must be devised. It has proved practicable in the United Kingdom to have a special purpose authority, the Development Corporation, working side by side with the local authorities, where the local residents elsewhere have not had a sufficient outlet, many problems have arisen and responsible leaders have not emerged.

173. The plans for development should provide for:

- the phasing of capital expenditure for site works to reduce heavy interest charges.
- phasing of jobs, housing and community services to keep

the town in proper balance.

- the optimum rate of growth from the point of view of building labour, technical manpower and social assimilation.
- the need for diversity of employment and of income-groups.
- the unusual age-structure of new towns.

174. Although various instruments can be used for developing new towns such as the industrial corporation, commercial developer, municipality, special ad hoc public authority or combinations of these there is little doubt that the special purpose authority, backed by the financial resources of Government, and set up for a limited life has so far proved the most successful instrument. It is more likely to have the financial strength to protect the town's long-term needs. It is single-minded in its objectives and has not to subordinate the interests of the community as a whole to the sectional interests of industry or commerce. It has greater driving force than the ordinary municipal authority and is freer from the rules and conventions of local government, which have been devised for quite other purposes. It is the kind of enterprise which strikes the imagination and is likely to attract able men and women to lead it.

175. It cannot, however, work effectively unless Government controls are limited to the essentials. Experiment will be thwarted and able technical and managerial staff will melt away if the controls are excessive. How to combine independence

with proper accountability to the provider of money, usually the taxpayer, is a difficult matter, solved imperfectly in the United Kingdom, and perhaps better in the Netherlands. The imperfections have not, however, prevented most of the new towns in the United Kingdom from being lively and successful communities. The other great problem is how to give the opportunity for local responsibility without weakening the driving force of the special authority. Here the Development Corporations have the advantage over the Polder Authority. Both countries, however, enjoy financial resources, administrative machinery and experienced manpower which are desperately short in the East. There the difficulties are likely to be far greater.

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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## CHITTARANJAN TOWNSHIP

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REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

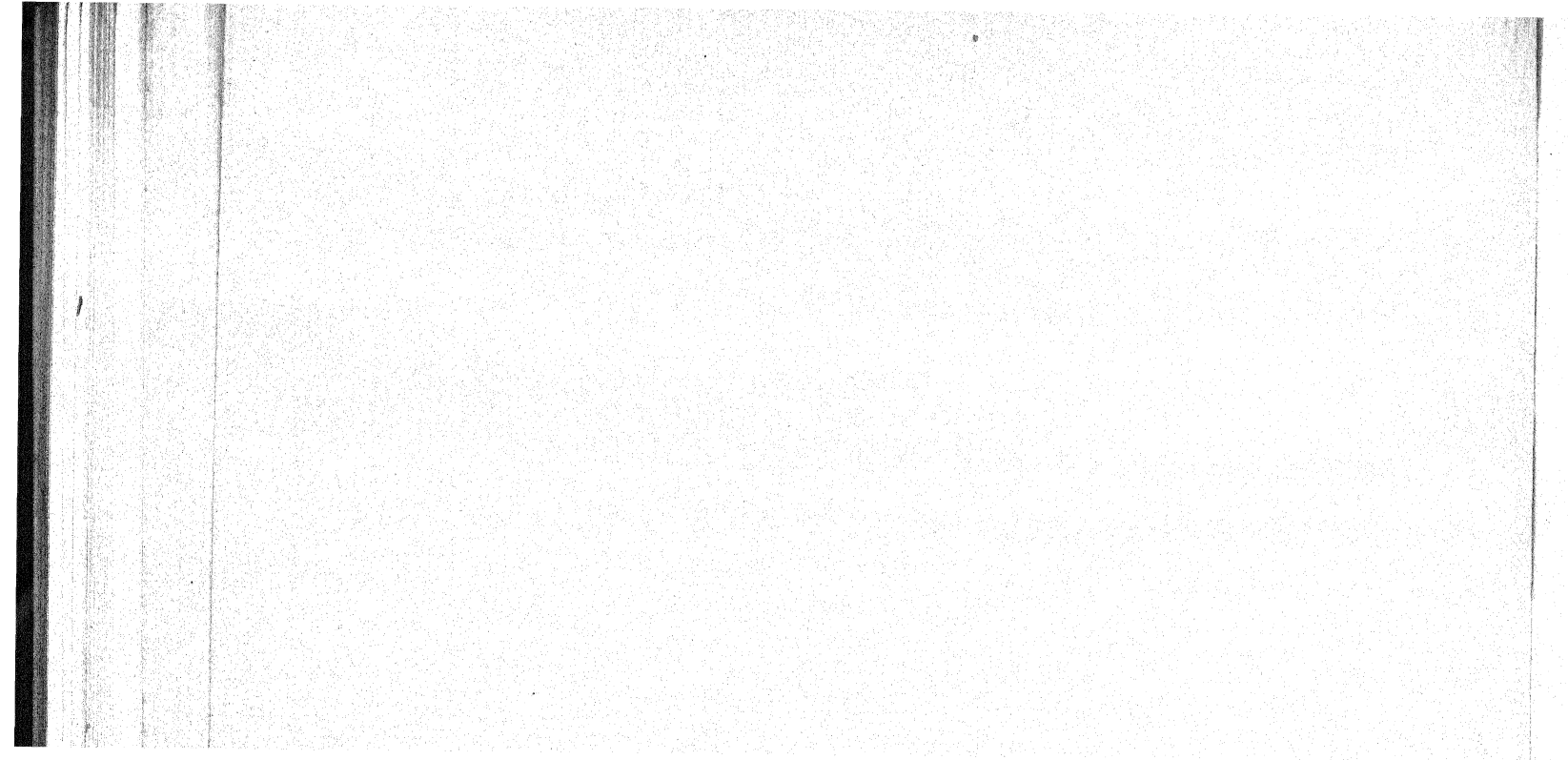
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CHITTARANJAN TOWNSHIP\*

BY

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1. Introduction:

1.1 The new township of Chittaranjan in West Bengal, India, has been built to provide accommodation to all classes of workers and their supervisors, numbering about 5,000 who are employed in the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works of the Indian Railways. The township and the workshops are named Chittaranjan in memory of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, one of the greatest patriots of modern India.

1.2 The first railway was opened in India on 16 April, 1853. Before Chittaranjan went into production some ten years ago, only a very limited number of locomotives had been built in the railway workshops at Jamalpur and Ajmer in all these years, and then it is not known to what extent the components of those locomotives were entirely built locally. India's need of about 8,000 locomotives had to be met by importing these from other countries. Naturally enough, during the First World War and the years immediately following it, acute want of locomotives was felt. Since then there has been growing public demand for the establishment of a locomotive manufacturing plant in this country. In July 1939 the Government of India appointed a Committee to go into the matter; the report of the Committee recommending building of locomotives was submitted early the next year. Nothing could be done, however, immediately as the Second World War intervened. After the war the question of implementing the recommendations of the Committee was taken up. The search for a suitable location for building the factory and the township began. A site was tentatively selected in 1946 at Kanchrapara and layout plans were prepared; but this site was later considered unsuitable as it was close .....

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\*This paper has been prepared by the Unesco Research Centre. It is based on published material supplemented by data from unpublished office records and information obtained by interview with some staff members of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works. Indebtedness is acknowledged to the Chittaranjan authorities for their kind co-operation.

to the East Pakistan border. Toward the end of 1947 the present site near Mihijam was finally selected. Construction work commenced in January 1948 and was completed in about three years.

1.3 The township built at a cost of Rs.6.71 crores, covers an area of about 4,000 acres or 7 square miles. More than 5,500 living quarters have been built for an estimated population of 40,000. Chittaranjan has been planned as a model industrial town with all available facilities of modern town life. Only the employees of the Locomotive Works and members of their family are residents of Chittaranjan, outsiders being not allowed to live here, excepting employees of the postal and police departments and school teachers. A small number of shop-keepers or traders are also allowed to stay in their respective places of business by special permission of the authorities. The whole of Chittaranjan township is a protected area, and entry is regulated by permits which ordinarily are not difficult to obtain. No other industrial town in India is similarly protected. In this respect Chittaranjan presents a unique characteristic.

## 2. Location and area:

2.1 Chittaranjan is on the border of West Bengal and Bihar and is about 150 miles from Calcutta. The suitability of the place for industrial undertaking will be apparent from the fact that it is close to the rich coal fields of West Bengal and the Maithon Dam and Reservoir of the Damodar Valley Corporation ensuring supply of power and water. There is a river (Ajoy river) marking its eastern boundary. The Chittaranjan railway station is on the main line of the Eastern Railways and only a few miles from the important railway junction of Asansol. Being adjacent to what is called surplus labour areas Chittaranjan has offered employment opportunities to many inhabitants of the locality. The climate is healthy.

2.2 Of the total area acquired for the township, 3,961.80 acres fell in West Bengal and only 232.36 acres in Bihar. The rural population of several villages was displaced, but fortunately the area acquired was mostly waste or cultivated land and hence the number of persons displaced were relatively small. The villages affected were: The whole of Sundarpahari, Amaladahi, Fatehpur and Durgandi; the major part of Beramuri; and parts of Simjuri, Namkeshia, and Uparkeshia. A rough break-up of the acquired land at the start was as follows:\*

Built-in-areas	-	1,800 acres
Workshops	-	150 "
Unbuildable area	-	1,300 "
Sanitary belt	-	300 "

And the rest for expansion of workshop and colony.

Acquisition cost was 3.75 million rupees and the cost of land development amounted to approximately 1.5 million rupees. The land at many places was undulating and so expenses had to be incurred for levelling and dressing it. As, however, the land was rocky and hard, there could be considerable saving on foundations for buildings and heavy machinery.

### 3. Layout of the township:

3.1 The Kanchrapara plan of layout in its broad outline was adopted with such modifications as necessary for placing the workshops on firm grounds. Mainly geographical considerations also led to the necessity of building the residential quarters not in one but in several areas. In fact there are six colonies, three large and three small. The three large or main colonies are:

(a) Sundarpahari (West and North), (b) Amaladahi, (c) Fatehpur.

The three small colonies are:

(a) Sundarpahari East, (b) Mihijam Hill, (c) Hospital area.

The main colonies are far flung, as will be seen in the rough sketch of the township layout. The smaller colonies are in the area between Sundarpahari (main) and Amladahi.

3.2 The nature of layout of the main colonies makes it necessary that they should be self-sufficient with respect to shopping centres, schools, play grounds, medical treatment facilities, social amenity centres, etc. Provision for all these has been made accordingly.

3.3 Accepting the principle of non-segregation of any class of residential staff quarters each block contains housing units for staff members of different grades of pay, so that officers and supervisors, or supervisors and workers live as neighbours and all jointly handle the civil administration of their respective areas.

#### 4. Description of the quarters:

The following types of quarters have been built so far:

TABLE I

type	Plinth area	No. of living rooms	Cost per unit including fittings etc. (Rs.)	Nos. built	Pay limit of eligib-ility.	Electri-city charges	Rent (Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bungalows (Senior type)	4,200	5	61,603	12		*/	
'A' type	486	2	3,935	2,227	Staff drawing upto Rs.59 is eligible	***/ 4.50 and fr to some cate gories of workers	
'B' type	710	2	5,783	2,016	Staff drawing Rs.60 to Rs.129.	**/ 10.00	
'C' type	1,170	3	10,272	598	Staff drawing Rs.130 to Rs.229.	**/ 18.00	
'D' type	1,170	4	18,344	150	Staff drawing Rs.230 and above.	**/ 32.00	
Single room barrack				128		**/ 2.25	

#### 5. Population:

The number of employees (including officers) exceeds eight thousands. As a matter of fact there were 8,287 names on the pay roll of Chittaranjan in June 1959. Among them 1056 were unmarried men and 28 unmarried women. Besides the Chittaranjan employees there are the employees of the West Bengal and Union Governments as also the traders and their family members numbering about 1,000. The exact number of persons residing at Chittaranjan cannot be given as no census, strictly speaking, has been taken. The Public Relations Officer, the Town Engineer and some other

\*On meter

\*\*/Flat. rate

officers with whom the question of total population was discussed were generally of opinion that the figure would fall somewhere between forty and forty-five thousands, computing on the basis of five members in an average family.

#### 6. Economic condition:

The Table II given below will show the basic pay of the different grades of employees and their numbers as on 30 June, 1959. In addition to

TABLE II

Basic Pay Range: Re (in Rs.)	Non-Gazetted (Excluding casual labour)				Number of Govt. Employees (Gazetted)				Total of Columns 4 & 8	
	Perma- nent	Tempo- rary	Total	Women inclu- ded in column 2 & 3	Perma- nent	Tempo- rary	Total	Women inclu- ded in column 6 & 7		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Below 51	2,295	1,591	3,886	23	-	-	-	-	3,886	
51 and over but below 101	2,328	978	3,306	26	-	-	-	-	3,306	
101 - 151	311	115	426	23	-	-	-	-	426	
151 - 201	203	96	299	11	-	-	-	-	299	
201 - 251	40	53	93	4	-	-	-	-	93	
251 - 301	75	14	89	4	-	4	4	-	93	
301 - 351	44	8	52	1	-	1	1	-	53	
351 - 50	52	14	66	1	1	10	11	-	77	
501 - 751	21	-	21	-	2	10	12	-	33	
751 - 11,001	-	-	-	-	1	9	10	-	10	
1,001 - 1,501	-	-	-	-	3	5	8	-	8	
1,501 - 2,001	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	2	
2,001 - 2,501	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2,501 - 3,001	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3,001 - 4,001	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	
Above Rs. 4,001	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL	5,369	2,869	8,238	93	9	40	49	-	8,287	

the basic salaries they get the usual allowances to which the employees of the Indian Railways are entitled. Taking pay and allowance together the total earnings of the workers in the lowest grade of pay would be Rs.80 to 85 on an approximate estimate. The employees get quarters and electricity at a cheap rate, enjoy free medical service and can send their children to Bengali or Hindi medium schools on payment of very small tuition fees. Cost of food stuff is not cheaper than that in Calcutta. Cost of vegetables, fish, egg, etc., and certain other articles of daily use is said to be a little higher as there is no competitive market. The volume of sale is also limited, the only customers being the residents of Chittaranjan. Many of them make their purchases outside whenever possible.

#### 7. Town Administration:

7.1 Chittaranjan is a railway township and its administration is controlled by the Railway Board directly through the local heads. It has no relation with any outside civic administrative body.

7.2 Being situated in West Bengal the police station and outposts maintaining law and order are under the control of the Police Department of the Government of West Bengal. The security forces of the railway take care of the security measures for the protected area of Chittaranjan.

7.3 The most important and special feature of town administration of Chittaranjan is the formation of Area Committees. In order to set up a machinery for helping development of the spirit of co-operation and service for harmonious and efficient living, a kind of local self government system has been introduced through the area committees. The area committees were formed in 1951, and since the beginning of 1953 all these committees have started functioning properly.

7.4 According to the existing arrangement, Chittaranjan has been divided into six zones from the administrative point of view. The names of the areas are as follows:

Area No. 1. Fatehpur (including the Police Station and Colony)

Area No. 2. Sundarpahari North and Ribbon Area.

Area No. 3. Sundarpahari East, Hill Colony, Hospital Colony, Sundarpahari Market and Sundarpahari West.

Area No. 4. Amladahi Centre bounded by Amladahi Circle, Street No.24, Cross Roads Nos. 17 and 12, Gold Mohar Avenue and River Road.

Area No. 5. Amladahi West bounded by Street No.24, Street No.38, Cross Road No.17 (including R-7 Market, Dairy Farm etc.) and Rupnarayanpur Road,

Area No. 6. Amladahi East bounded by Street No.24, Street No.41, Rupnarayanpur Road, Cross Road No.12 and Cross Road No.11.

7.5 The following is the constitute of the area committees:

- i. Elected members (the number varying according to the size of different areas),
- ii. One Warden nominated by the General Manager,
- iii. One Vice-Warden to be elected by the elected members.

The number of members elected for the different areas are:

Area No.1	-	8 members
Area No.2	-	10 "
Area No.3	-	11 "
Area No.4	-	12 "
Area No.5	-	11 "
Area No.6	-	12 "

There is a Chief Warden nominated by the General Manager, who is in charge of all the areas. Area Wardens have power to nominate, in consultation with the Chief Warden, one or more additional members for the respective area committees in their charge consistent with the demand of the particular locality.

7.6 The functions of the area committees are the following:

- i. To look after sanitation, cleanliness, and orderliness of the Areas.
- ii. To inculcate a sense of citizenship and ideas of community living among the residents.
- iii. To prevent acts of vandalism usually directed against public water-taps, public latrines, street lights, trees, tree-guards and equipments in parks, public places, etc. They should persuade the nearby residents to take interest in and assume responsibility over these.
- iv. Maintenance and development of recreational facilities in the areas.
- v. The daily needs of the residents are served through the markets, shops and public transport. The adequacy of the services in all its branches, fair charges, etc. should always receive their attention and short comings brought to the notice of the Administration for improvement.
- vi. To take keen and watchful interest in establishing peace and harmony among the residents of the areas in their charge.
- vii. To take charge and organise social and cultural activities in the areas in their charge.
- viii. To consider and organise additional educational facilities and community gardens where conditions are favourable and there is sufficient enthusiasm among the residents of the area.
- ix. To encourage and organise wrestling, free hand exercises and gymnastics, etc. directed towards the physical culture of the residents in the area.
- x. To organise lectures, speeches, etc. on matters of common and social welfare. To arrange exhibition of informative and educational films on health, sanitation, agriculture and subject of common interest.
- xi. To allay the panic in the minds of the residents by correct appraisal of facts of the situation, thus discouraging wild rumour being floated.
- xii. To organise when there is a need "Raksha Dal" (Resistance parties) for prevention of thefts, burglaries, etc. in the areas.
- xiii. To inculcate the spirit of selfhelp and dignity of labour by organising community activities directed towards the development of the area.

- xiv. To organise adult education centres for removing illiteracy against the adult residents and to co-ordinate and help the activities of the sister organisations like Mahila Samity, Rashtra-bhasa Prachar Samity etc. etc.
- xv. To get associated with Community functions.
- xvi. To help in the preparation of electoral rolls for Assembly and other constituencies and voters list of area committees, Census work etc., if needed.
- xvii. To suggest 'development works' to be included in the "Works Programme" for consideration of the Administration.

7.7 From the above-listed functions it is apparent that the area committees are mainly concerned with safeguarding interests of the residents of their respective localities and promoting recreational, social and cultural activities. Some committees, however, have taken the initiative to community service centres to render such help as distributing postcards start on their own free primary schools, establish/and stamps, writing letters and applications for the illiterates, etc., and to provide part-time employment in the form of making toys and other tit-bits for the low income workers in order to better their economic condition.

7.8 As administration of the township is the responsibility of the General Manager and his Deputy, and all necessary funds are provided by the Ministry of Railways, the area committees have no direct control on administrative matters regarding construction and maintenance of roads or buildings, water supply, disposal of sewage, medical services, educational organisations and such other things. All these are managed by heads of relevant departments under general direction of top administration. The area committees can, however, discuss issues in which they are interested and forward their proposals or grievances to the authorities who take due notice of these and try to meet the requirements to the extent possible.

## 8. Finance

8.1 Provisions for all expenses in connection with maintenance,

expansion and administration of the Chittaranjan township are made in the annual budget-estimates prepared by the Ministry of Railways. As the residents do not pay any form of taxes for civic amenities enjoyed by them the only source of incomes is a modest sum collected as rents from the occupiers of living quarters and shops, electricity consumption costs by all the users and a small conservance charge from the shop-keepers. The figures given below from the annual budget for 1960-61 in Table III show the estimated expenditures for the township under different heads.

TABLE III

Annual Budget for the Chittaranjan Township  
(1960-61)\*

1. <u>Medical</u>	...	Rs. 529
2. <u>Education</u>	...	Rs. 246
3. <u>P.R.E.O's Organisation</u>	...	Rs. 158
i. Horticulture	...	Rs. 88
ii. Rest Houses	...	Rs. 32
iii. Public Relation		
Inspectors	...	Rs. 12
iv. Others	...	Rs. 31
	Total	Rs. 163
Less receipt from Rest Houses and others	...	Rs. 5
	Total	Rs. 158

\* Rupees in thousands

4. Publicity Expenses	...	Rs. 60
5. Staff Benefit Fund	...	Rs. 40
6. <u>Town Administration</u>	...	Rs. 765
i. Service Buildings	...	Rs. 48
ii. Rent Returning Buildings	...	Rs. 266
iii. Water Supply	...	Rs. 135
iv. Sewage	...	Rs. 35
v. Public Health and Sanitation	...	Rs. 145
vi. Roads	...	Rs. 120
vii. Development of land and boundaries	...	Rs. 15
viii. Welfare buildings	...	Rs. 80
ix. Payment to the staff of Town Engineer	...	Rs. 632
	Total	Rs. 1476
Loss receipt from the rent of the quarters	...	Rs. 711
		<u>Rs. 765</u>

7. <u>Electricity</u>	...	Rs. 817
Total expenses	...	Rs. 1562
Deducting the cost of Electric current from the D.V.C.	...	Rs. 885
		<hr/> Rs. 677
Less receipt from the elec. charge of the quarters	...	Rs. 160
		<hr/> Rs. 517
Approximate consumption for the township	...	Rs. 300
		<hr/> Rs. 817
GRAND TOTAL	...	<hr/> <hr/> Rs. 2615

8.2 In addition, the proposed expenditure in 1960-61 for the expansion programme on amenities for the staff are shown in Table IV. (see page 14)

TABLE IV

Statement of the proposed expenditure in 1960-61  
on Amenities of the staff.

Figure in thousand of Rupees

Sl. No.	D E S C R I P T I O N	T O T A L
1.	Provision of new Hospitals, Dispensaries & Additions, alterations and improvements to existing ones	5
2.	Provision of new Schools and additions, alterations and improvements to existing ones	309
3.	Provision of new Institutes, Rest Houses, Sports Grounds and Reading Rooms and improvements and additions to existing ones	84
4.	Provision and improvement of health and welfare works, Child Welfare and maternity centres, Cooling arrangements for Workshops, Canteens and Rest rooms for workmen	-
5.	Provision and improvement of Sanitation, Water Supply, Road Lighting and marketing facilities in Rly. colonies	538
6.	Provision to complete Bungalows under construction	-
7.	Improvements and alterations to existing quarters of whatever type	70
8.	Provision of new Bungalows	195
9.	Provision to complete quarters under construction for Class III staff	-
10.	Provision of new quarter for Class III staff	962
11.	Providing quarter for Class IV staff	-
12.	Modernising office equipment and lighting	-
13.	Any other works to provide amenities for staff	199
	TOTAL	2362

## 9. Education

9.1 The Chittaranjan Administration is alive to the need of providing facilities to the children of the employees. The number of school-going children of different age groups is about 4,800. There are 29 schools of various categories under different managements. High Schools are not adequate for the growing number of children of upper age levels as reported by some residents.

### a. Under Management of the Railways:

Higher Secondary and Multi-purpose School with Humanities & Science for boys only	...	
Medium of teaching - Bengali and Hindi	...	1
Higher Secondary School with Humanities for girls only. Medium of teaching - Bengali and Hindi	...	1
Junior Basic Schools. Medium of teaching - Bengali in five and Hindi in two	...	7
Single Teacher Basic Schools (Classes I & II only) Medium of teaching - Bengali in three, Hindi in one		4
Total		<u>13</u>

### b. Under management of West Bengal Government:

Junior Basic Schools. Medium of teaching - Bengali in five and Hindi in two	...	7
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## c. Under management of private agencies:

<u>Description of school</u>	<u>Medium of teaching</u>	<u>Management</u>	<u>No.</u>
Junior High School(classes V to VIII)	Bengali	Area Committee No.5	1
Senior Basic School (with class VI only at present)	"	Area Committee No.3	1
Primary school	Bengali & Hindi	Area Committee No.2	1
" "	Hindi	Area Committee No.1	1
" "	Bengali	Area Committee No.6	1
" "	Bengali & Hindi	Area Committee No.5	1
" "	Bengali	Mahila Samity	1
Convent	Hindi	Convent authorities	1
" "	English	"	1
TOTAL			9

The Usha Embroidery Association runs a Sewing School for women.

9.2 The schools run by the Area Committees and the Mahila Samity receive lump grants from the Administration, which also arrange for suitable buildings to house the schools.

#### 10. Medical Facilities:

10.1 Medical and Public Health facilities are fairly satisfactory at Chittaranjan. Being a restricted area private medical practitioners are not allowed to render medical services. Care has been taken, therefore, to provide adequate medical facilities for the residents. The following medical facilities have been provided:

(i) One main hospital, named after Kasturba Gandhi, has 70 beds. The

main hospital is equipped with upto-date appliances and surgical instruments. There are separate departments for specialised treatment of children, female and male patients in modern lines. The departments like Eye Clinic, Dental Clinic, Chest Clinic etc. are all equipped with modern appliances under the charge of specialised doctors. There is also an isolation block attached to the Hospital for treating cases of T.B. patients of serious types. In the isolation block there are two female beds and four male beds. Facilities also exist for diatherapy, ultra-violet and infra-red therapy. There is also one lady doctor in this Hospital to attend the maternity cases and other female diseases. The distribution of beds is as follows:

Maternity	14 beds
Children	4 "
Male & Female (General)	46 "
Beds for T.B.	6 "
	<hr/>
	70 beds
	<hr/>

(ii) There are four out-patient dispensaries in the 4 different sub-colonies of the township.

(iii) For the benefit of the workers inside the works, an Ambulance Room has been provided under the charge of an Assistant Surgeon with a view to give immediate relief to persons injured on duty. Ordinary cases of sickness are also attended to in this room.

(iv) There is also a health Centre in Amladahi, the biggest sub-colony in the township. Apart from the Maternity Ward in the Main Hospital a separate building has been provided in each colony to function as Maternity and Child Welfare Centre. A beginning has been made in Amladahi Colony, which

is the biggest colony, and the Lady Assistant Surgeon visits the Centre regularly. The expectant mothers are given instructions to the maintenance of their health during pregnancy and knowledge is imparted towards the rearing of healthy babies.

10.2 Public Health Measures: In the work of the public health measures, a preventive inoculation programme has been launched for the employees of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works and their family members against Typhoid, Small pox and Diphtheria. The number of persons inoculated in this connection in 1959-60 are:

a. Typhoid	339
b. Small pox	5,842
c. Diphtheria	5,006

Also measures have been taken in maintaining the general sanitary problems of the township, sewage lines, water supply, conservancy services etc. The water samples are tested regularly at the laboratory for their potability and safety. The water samples which were tested during the year 1959-60 are given below:

Number of samples bacteriologically analysed	-	88
Number of samples chemically analysed	-	14

### 10.3 Project Collaboration with the State Medical Authorities:

(i) The significant achievement in this connection is the B.C.G. Campaign. The B.C.G. vaccination was given to the number of persons as has been shown below:

1953-54	1,437
1959-60	2,233

(ii) In order to maintain a sanitary belt in and around the Chittaranjan township, provision of 500 yard wide strips have been planned. This is an intelligent planning by the Chittaranjan Administration.

(iii) The Director of Health Services Group of West Bengal has supplied 4,000 lbs. of D.D.T. powder for the use in the township.

(iv) The Chittaranjan administration is in touch with the Indian Institute of Public Health and Hygiene in connection with the maintenance of water supply and sewage disposal.

10.4 Voluntary Agencies: Chittaranjan township is entirely a railway colony and therefore the railway administration is solely responsible for health and hygiene programmes in the township. However there are some voluntary agencies in the township.

10.5 Hospital Visiting Committee: A hospital visiting committee is formed with 8 members of whom 5 are nominated by the General Manager and 3 are recommended from the staff council\*/ which is an elected body of staff of various departments. The members of this committee regularly visit the Hospital in order to discuss questions of further improvements and facilities to be provided in the Hospital. At the suggestion of this Committee a library has recently been set up for the patients and very recently sweets and fruits were distributed to adult patients and toys were given to child patients. The expenditure was met from the sale of empty bottles and waste papers collected by the members of <sup>the</sup> Hospital visiting committee from the residents of the township.

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\*/ There is no trade union organisation of the Chittaranjan Workers, but they being employees of the Railway may become members of any of the Railways Unions.

10.6 Sanitation Committee: Sanitation committee consists of District Medical Officer and Town Engineer as Chairman and Secretary respectively. This committee makes periodical inspection of all the markets in Chittaranjan including hotels, restaurants and public buildings. Food-stuff like ghee, oil and butter are tested at the Laboratory of the Chemist and Metallurgist, Chittaranjan. The committee also keep an eye on the general cleanliness and drainage, etc. The committee put a drive against stray cattle and stray dogs of the township. Also a stock of rat-traps is maintained by the Inspector of works sanitation and these are supplied to occupants on request. The sanitation staff in connection with anti-fly measures conduct periodical inspection of cattle-sheds to be sure that cow-dung is satisfactorily disposed of and the sheds are kept neat and clean.

10.7 A committee with 4 members has been formed to look after the socio-economic problems of T.B. patients. This committee renders its services in the form of financial help if required and also to keep the morale of the T.B. patients and their family members.

10.8 Staff Benefit Fund Committee: This fund is utilized to supply nourishing diet to the employees or to their family members who are suffering from T.B. A sum of Rs.7,668.00 was sanctioned in the year 1956, from the staff benefit fund to help the T.B. patients.

10.9 There is no particular problem of Public Health in the Chittaranjan township. However some problems may be mentioned here:

(i) The water supply at present in the township is not sufficient. The scheme to utilise the Maithon reservoir of the D.V.C. for supply of raw water may solve this problem.

(ii) There should be an isolation Hospital for the treatment of the cases of small-pox. It may be noted that vaccination for small-pox is not compulsory for the residents of Chittaranjan township.

#### 11. Markets:

11.1 As said before, Chittaranjan is a planned township which is divided into 6 colonies of composite self-sufficient units. Each colony has its own shopping centre, the size of the centres varying according to the size of their respective colonies.

11.2 A committee has been set up to look after the management of the markets. It is called "Stall Allotment and Ancillary Service Advisory Committee". Its composition is:

Chairman	-	Deputy General Manager
Secretary	-	Public Relations Officer
Members:	-	Town Engineer
		Security Officer
		Production Engineer
		One member of the staff council
		Two members from works committee.

11.3 The stalls are constructed by the railway authorities. In a few cases pieces of land are leased out to stall holders who are permitted to put up sheds. The licence to stall holders is usually given for one year at a time. They have to give security deposit and pay rent and conservation charges for one quarter of a year in advance. Outside vendors are not allowed to sell goods in the markets. Only milkmen of the neighbourhood areas supply milk to the residents with permission from the management.

11.4 The prices are not controlled directly by the management. If any shopkeeper charges prices higher than usual for Chittaranjan, the case

may be reported by a buyer to the Area-Committee Warden. The State Inspector may also take note of such cases and report against the offenders.

Concluding Remarks:

Chittaranjan is an interesting and bold experiment. Careful planning was made to create an ideal industrial township, keep it relatively isolated by declaring it a protected area, and give it a centrally controlled administration which will enjoy willing cooperation of the residents who are almost entirely composed of the workers of a single industry. In that respect Chittaranjan has no parallel in this country. The cost of maintenance is practically entirely provided by the Railway Ministry and as such is a charge on the public exchequer. Has the experiment been successful? So far nothing points to the contrary. But some more years must elapse before a confident answer in the affirmative can be given. One may apprehend that various factors in operation in the surrounding industrial belt will gradually exert pressure tending to disturb its existing harmonious condition. The extent of success to which Chittaranjan should be able to withstand that pressure would depend, perhaps, not so much on rigid control and disciplinary measures, as on development of an attitude to regard it as an institution and feel pride in its membership. That, in turn, would depend upon the authorities' ability to correctly deal with the human aspect in corporate life.





INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## DELHI : SOME ECONOMIC ISSUES IN URBAN PLANNING

BY  
TOWN PLANNING ORGANIZATION  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
NEW DELHI

REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

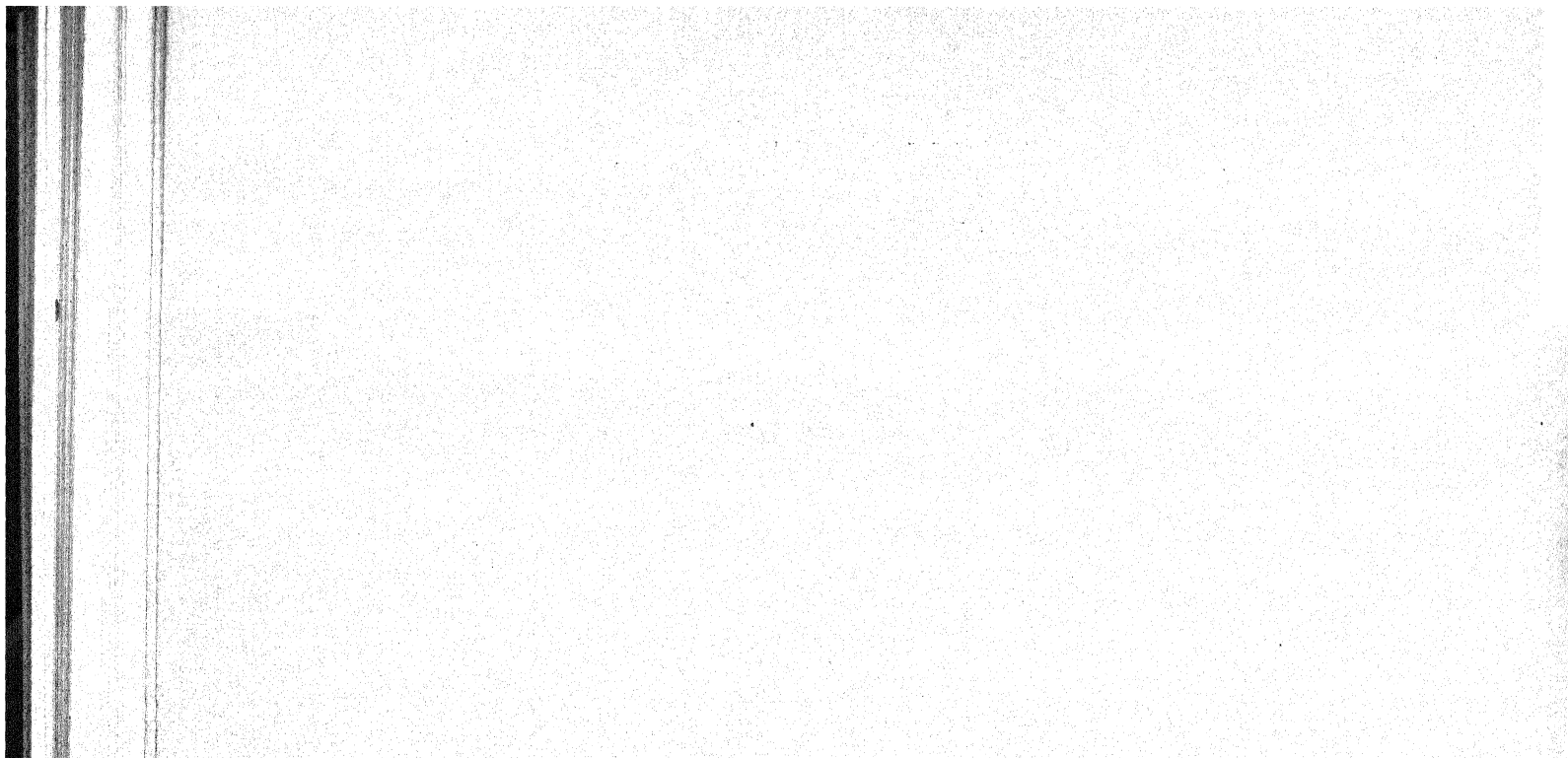
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CENTRE ON THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION  
IN SOUTHERN ASIA)

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF  
THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

NEW DELHI - 14 TO 21 DECEMBER 1960

INDRAPRASTHA ESTATE, RING ROAD  
NEW DELHI, (INDIA)



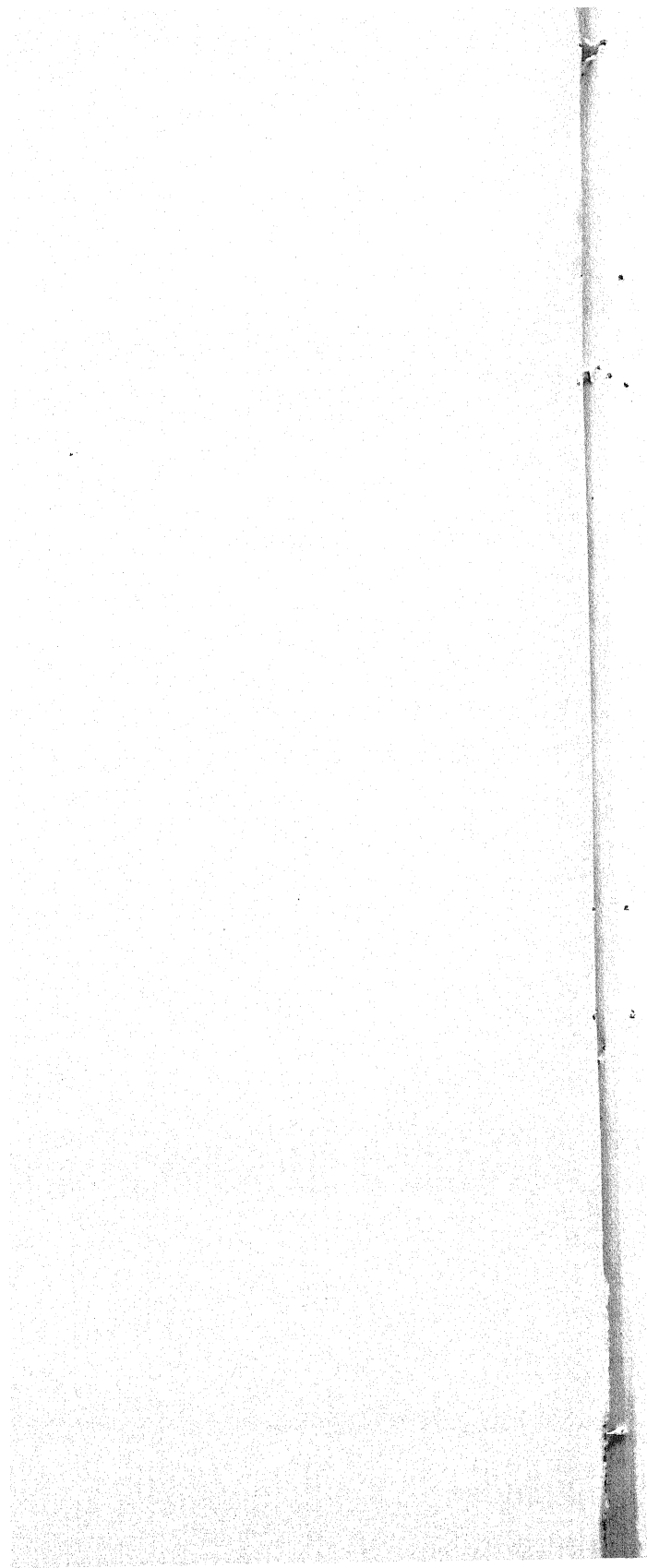
DELHI: SOME ECONOMIC ISSUES IN URBAN PLANNING

BY

Town Planning Organization

Government of India

New - Delhi



DELHI : some economic issues in urban planning

( TOWN PLANNING ORGANISATION,  
Government of India )

as

I

The problems posed by population growth and urbanisation cannot be considered altogether new to India. Nevertheless, the rate at which and the circumstances - social, economic and administrative - within which the urban crescendo has of late been rising does lend an altogether new texture and dimension to the urban problem of this country long recognised as "rural". As against an increase of 18.4 percent in India's urban population during 1921-31, the percentage increase was 41.3 during the decade preceding the last census of 1951. Of the total population of this country about 17.3 percent was living in cities and towns in 1951 as against only 11.4 percent in 1921 and 13.9 percent in 1941. One of the important features of this population is that over 41 percent of it lives in cities with a population of over one lakh and above.<sup>1</sup> Over the past decades the big cities have, in fact, grown at a much faster rate than the small towns. This special feature of population concentration explains the more intense pressures to which big cities and metropolitan centres are subject. With the progress of the national Five Year Plans, present and future, further acceleration in the pace of urbanisation is inescapable. Some population projections envisage as much as 30 to 35 percent of India's population to be urban by 1981.<sup>2</sup>

Cont.....2

Perhaps no city or town in India so forcefully demonstrates the process of urbanisation and its multifarious implications as Delhi, whose urban population increased by more than 7 times during the first half of the century. During the decade 1941-50 the percentage increase in Delhi's urban population was over 100 - ~~an~~<sup>a</sup> increase no other major urban area in India seems to have witnessed during the period. The current population increase in Delhi is estimated at about one lakh persons per annum.<sup>3</sup> It is true that this sudden growth in the case of Delhi during the decade 1941-51 is to be ascribed to the great influx of refugee migrants from Pakistan after the country's partition and due to the unusual impetus it received on becoming the national capital of independent India. The factors responsible for the abnormal growth of Delhi during the decade notwithstanding, the future does not hold any reasonable prospects of a substantial abatement of the vast annual increase in the city's population. This is so because in addition to the common factor of national economic development which makes for urbanisation everywhere, Delhi has many more attractions than any other metropolitan centre in India. It functions as the national capital and also as the largest wholesale distribution centre of north India. Besides, it possesses a growing sector of Industries and Manufacturing. Naturally, therefore, the employment opportunities that Delhi has to offer are relatively larger than offered by any other metropolitan centre. And herein lies a super-magnet to attract job-seeking migrants pushed out of their rural or small-town homes.

The tremendous annual additions to Delhi's population and the consequent physical growth and expansion of the city, its housing, utilities and services, did neither keep pace with the population increase nor follow any Plan, for there was none. The result was obvious intensification of over-crowding and congestion in the already built up

parts of the city and chaotic growth, thoughtless sprawl and sub-standard development in the new areas. The long distances to commute from home to work and back, because their locations had no coordination and integration, put a heavy strain on the city's transport services. As regards essential services and community facilities, backlogs piled up year after year. The following overall situation as revealed by the various surveys conducted for or used in formulating the draft of the Comprehensive Master Plan for Delhi presents a grim picture indeed.

## II

Urban Delhi had an overall density of roughly 113 persons per acre as of 1951 Census, compared to densities of 30 and 50 persons for Chicago and Detroit.<sup>4</sup> Residential densities within urban Delhi range from a low of 15 and 20 persons per acre in original New Delhi and Civil Lines to 840 persons to an acre in the walled city of Sahajahanabad. Several places within Old Delhi have densities as high as 1000 persons to an acre. In terms of land, it means that whereas in a few areas of New Delhi 1000 persons have 60 acres of developed land, barely 1.5 acres of land is available to the same population in the built up parts of Old Delhi.<sup>5</sup> It is also to be noted that most of the residential structures are one or two storeys only, a fact which goes to show how terrible the congestion on land in some parts of the city is and how badly the city lacks in open spaces, play grounds and several other civic amenities.

As for housing, a study indicated a relative housing deficit of 110,000 dwelling units in 1955-56. In all probability it may now be

close to 140,000 dwelling units.<sup>6</sup> Besides this deficit, roughly 5 lakhs of people live in deplorable slum conditions and derelict housing. Squatters as a distinct class count for about 2.5 lakh population.<sup>7</sup> Surveys also reveal that 68.9 percent of the city's households live in one room dwellings as compared to an all-India urban average of 43.6 percent. Households living in 2 room dwellings in Delhi form 21.5 percent as against the all India average of 28.2 percent. The overcrowding that results is alarming. In many areas as little as 20 square feet of living area is available per person, compared with 50 square feet considered as the minimum. The "privacy- index" for Delhi urban area is 3.1 persons per living room. In some areas like Shahdara, the index is as high as 3.6. In many areas about 70 percent families do not have a bathroom or a lavatory and about 65 percent have no kitchen.<sup>8</sup>

The situation in respect of essential services like water supply, sewerage and power supply are equally unsatisfactory. Of the 20 lakhs of urban inhabitants, over 3 lakhs do not get protected water supply; about 4 lakhs of people living in new colonies have only intermittent water supply; and in many a slum area water scarcity is rather chronic. In the areas of supply, the average per capita water supplied works out to only 40 gallons a day and even this per capita conceals wide disparities in the levels of supply in the different localities. The sewerage system designed about three decades ago for the then population of about 6.5 lakhs is today loaded beyond its capacity. The present system serves only parts of Old Delhi and New Delhi areas with some of their extensions to the south and to the West. In Old Delhi, particularly in the walled

city of Shahjahanabad, perhaps not more than 15 to 20 percent of the dwellings are connected to the sewerage system. The areas having no integrated sewerage system lie in all directions of the central core of the city, e.g., the entire Cantonment area of about 10,000 acres and Shahdara of about 25,000 acres have no sewerage system. As regards power the available supply is inadequate to match the present actual demand and leaves a deficit of 40,000 K.W.<sup>9</sup>

Community facilities also recount the sorry tale of deficits and backlogs. It was found through the school surveys conducted by the Town Planning Organisation, that there are no schools for about 1,70,000 children. A backlog of 382 basic or primary and 44 secondary schools was revealed by these surveys. In the absence of adequate schools provided by the public authorities, over 480 "shop-schools" with an enrolment of 50,000 pupils thrive in the city.<sup>10</sup> In these shop-schools, the educational standards are generally low while the fees are higher than those charged by schools run by the public authorities. Many municipal and State Schools, in the absence of buildings, operate in tents, hutments and other improvisations and in private rented buildings, not meant for the purpose. The hospital and medical facilities are far from adequate and - very unevenly supplied over the different parts of the city. The current backlog in this service, taking into account both the public and the private charitable hospitals, is estimated at about 7,500 beds which means that about 8 to 10 big hospitals are needed to clear the backlog.<sup>11</sup>

### III

Some facts of the Delhi situation have been stated above. To be sure, they are not mere facts. For, each of them constitutes a big problem in itself and in relation to many others. For example, the addition

of over one lakh persons to the city's population each year means virtually the addition to Delhi of a city of half a million population in every five years or so. Such a phenomenon implies that about 25,000 dwelling units must be ready to house the additional annual population. Before this can be done, many a question have to be answered. Can an adequate supply of building materials like cement, steel and timber and of skilled building labour be ensured to carry out this massive additional programme in the city? What repercussions, if any, will this have on other public and private building activity, on wage rates of cement and steel is discounted, what other materials can be used in urban housing and to what extent? To rule out the use of cement and steel may mean giving up the idea of multistoreyed residential flats, which in its turn means greater sprawl and less optimum utilisation of valuable urban land with all the dis-economies concomitant therewith. On the other hand, use of good building material and better flats means more rents. Which of these alternatives should be preferred?

The provision of housing alone does not have any meaning unless additional sewage and waste disposal arrangements are made. The city's water supply must be augmented by about 20 million gallons a day every fifth year to provide protected water to the additional population at just the existing rate of supply. Assuming the present age pyramid, primary and higher secondary schools must be provided for ever 18,000 children of the age group 6 to 14 years. It goes without saying that medical services, transportation facilities, parks and play-grounds, shopping centres and Community Centres, post offices, fire stations and police

stations etc. have also to be provided for the entire additional population. All this is absolutely necessary because urban living presupposes certain services and facilities not for comforts and convenience but only to make urban life possible. Above all, the city's economy must be in a position to create about 36,600 additional jobs each year for every one lakh population, taking the present ratio of working force to total population, namely 36.6 percent. Whichever sector or sectors create jobs must make additional demands on public utilities like water, power and sewerage and perhaps also on city's limited land. To implement these and a host of other essential programmes which are needed to clear shortage and backlogs, as in the slums, tremendous resources - financial, organisational and administrative - are called for. According to some informed estimates made recently, an investment of Rs 2500.00 is needed to provide a job in the small and some medium scale industries. About four to five times this sum is needed to provide the worker with an average dwelling and the minimum of urban amenities.<sup>12</sup> Where are these resources to be mobilized from?

Issues like the above are being raised by urbanisation in Delhi and in about all the towns and cities of India. But the basic problem everywhere is how to deal with these multifarious implications of rapid urbanisation. There have, no doubt, been attempts at slum clearance, at public housing, at better sanitation and provision of certain services and facilities etc. But being haphazard and piecemeal, nowhere could they come to grips with the realities of the urban

processes. The past experience of cities in India and foreign countries makes it clear that the only adequate answer to the problems of urban growth lies in having Comprehensive Master Plans for the cities or metropolitan regions and allowing developments as determined by them. This indeed is a very familiar answer to the urban problems. Delhi too has recognised this and now has a Draft of the Comprehensive Master Plan. Yet it is a paradox that not much is gained even when a Master Plan has been prepared or is available. This is obviously because there are certain serious limitations in the way of planning, meaning thereby planned implementation in actual life. These limitations may be highlighted with illustrations again from Delhi's experience.

The first and the foremost of the limitations is to be found in the general level of national economic development and the economic conditions of the city dwellers. Studies into the State income of Delhi<sup>13</sup> made by the Town Planning Organisation revealed the per capita income of Delhi to be about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 times the average of national per capita income. This high per capita income is made up by the relatively diversified occupational structure that Delhi is fortunate in having. Some of the important components of Delhi's economy and the incomes they generate are : Commerce and Finance, Rs. 355.7 million; Public Services, Rs. 269.8 million and Mining and Manufacturing, Rs. 249.6 million. In terms of income per worker, the small but important Professional and Liberal Arts Sector had the highest income of about Rs. 2600.00 per worker; next to it was Commerce and Finance where income per worker was Rs. 2541.00; Public Services Sector was third with Rs. 2244.00 per worker;

and Industries Sector had an income per worker of Rs. 1875.00. In spite of the relatively high levels of earnings the general economic conditions of the bulk of the people remained far from satisfactory. A study of household incomes revealed the average monthly income per household to be about Rs. 187.70. At least 43.5 percent of the urban households had and another 38.6 percent had incomes between Rs. 100.00 a monthly income of less than Rs. 100.00 to 250.00. This only means that about 82 percent of the households in Delhi derive an income of less than Rs. 250.00 per month.<sup>14</sup> It is significant to remember that the average size of a household for Delhi is about 4.5 persons. The point that emerges then is : if Delhi with its relatively diversified economy and higher earnings per worker gives such a disappointing picture of economic conditions, what the conditions would be like in the less privileged cities and towns of India?

The economic conditions of the majority of city dwellers being so unsatisfactory even in a relatively better placed city like Delhi, the rent paying capacity cannot be but limited. In fact, as many as 78 percent of the households in Delhi pay a monthly rent of less than Rs. 25.00 p.m. In some ~~xxxxx~~ areas the number of such households constitutes from 80 to 88 percent of households. Households paying less than Rs. 10.00 p.m. rent account for 38 percent of all households in urban Delhi.<sup>15</sup> Such being the rent paying capacity, it is too much to expect the bulk of the city dwellers to be able to afford even the economic rent of just a one room dwelling of average standard. According to the estimates made by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply,<sup>16</sup> a one-room dwelling of average standard should carry an economic rent of Rs 28.00

p.m. while, as noted above, the bulk of the inhabitants of the city pay a monthly rent of even less than Rs. 10.00 p.m. In the face of such stark economic realities, it is no surprise if housing construction, particularly one that suits the low income groups, does not keep pace with the rise in population. Even assuming, an adequate number of houses were somehow constructed, the problem of inducing people to move into them would remain because most of them may have no other choice but to continue living under the worst of slum conditions rather than make the sacrifice that the economic rent of the new dwelling may entail. The alternatives under such circumstances are either to allow the deplorable housing situation to deteriorate further or to step up the rate of housing construction by public effort where private effort is lacking. The first alternative cannot be conceded but the second alternative calls for initial public investment and subsequent annual liabilities towards subsidizing of the monthly rentals.

#### IV

The problem of public investment in housing and provision of services and community facilities, and in planned development generally, takes us into the problem of public revenues and expenditures. This constitutes the second severe limit to what can really be achieved. With the present level of economic development and the taxable capacity of the people, the revenue resources of the public authorities, particularly municipal authorities who are more intimately involved in urban development than any other public authority, cannot be any-thing

but limited. In Delhi, the latest revenue budgets of the local bodies total to about Rs. 9.5 crores.<sup>17</sup> In terms of per capita municipal revenue it gives a figure of Rs.39.00<sup>18</sup> of the total municipal revenue as much as 32 percent is derived by way of grants-in-aid from the Central Government.<sup>19</sup> Against this municipal revenue, which incidentally is much better in Delhi than in most of the Indian cities and towns, is the revenue expenditure of about the same order not because the revenue is sufficient for the current liabilities, but simply because local bodies cannot go in for deficit financing like the national programme. The result is that barely anything is left for capital improvements for which the only course open is to resort to borrowings. But here again there are several limitations to the extent to which they can depend upon borrowings. The statutory limitations apart, the burden of annual debt service itself imposes a limit to municipal borrowings.

A measure to buttress the weak financial structure of local bodies is to make available to them liberal grants-in-aid from the higher governments. The higher governments themselves, in a country like India are finding it difficult to raise resources for implementing the national plan programme for rapid economic development. Besides, they are committed to certain national priorities determined in accordance with national social objectives and **considerations** of achieving a desired rate of economic growth within a plan-period. For them to divert resources from such **p**riority programmes with growth-potential is really very difficult. Hence their capacity to give grants-in-aid to local bodies at present is very narrowly circumscribed. The scope for

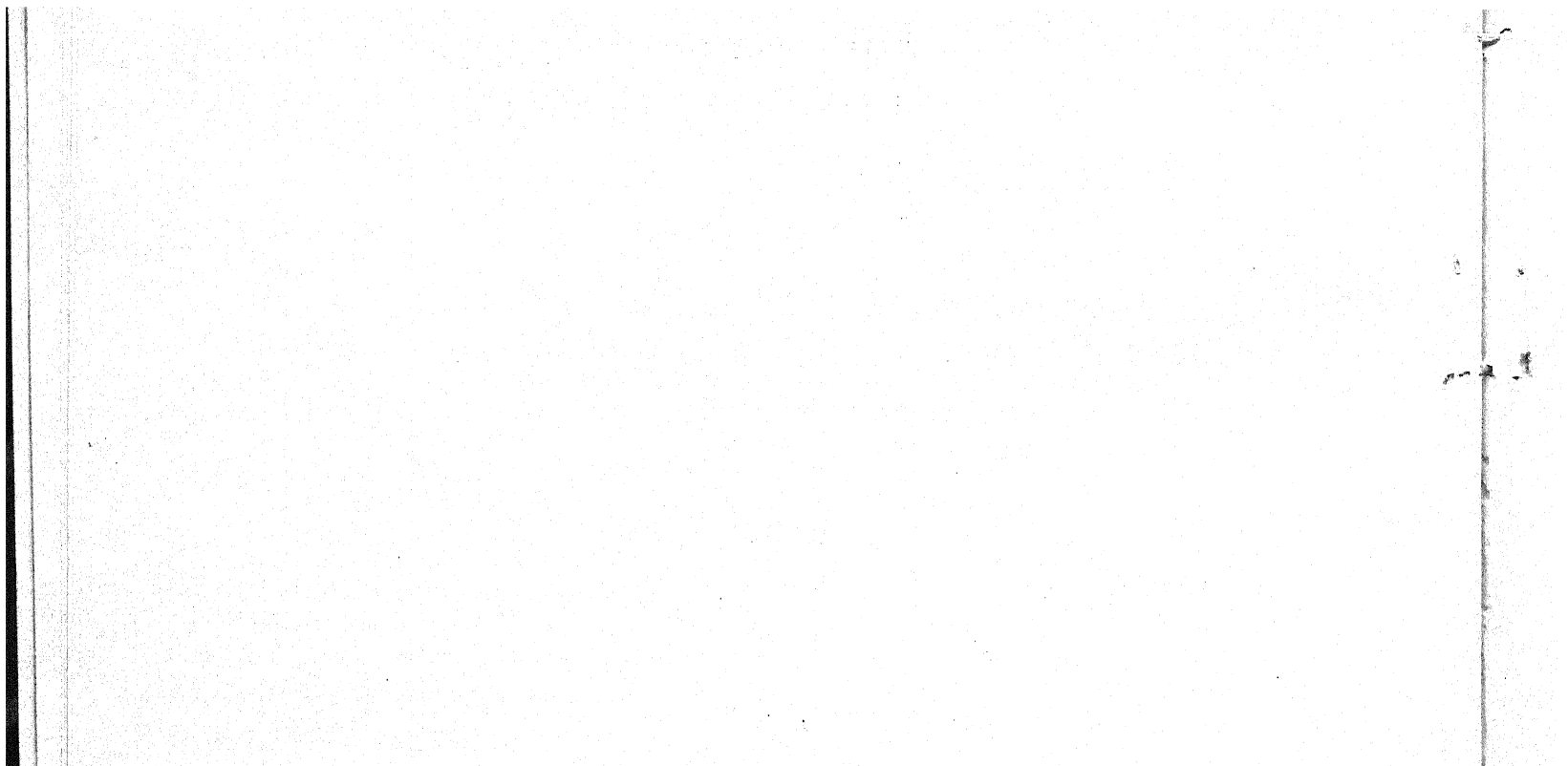
both loans and grants being limited, the only course open before local public authorities is to augment their revenues by increasing the tax loads and by introducing an element of profit in their public utility prices and other commercial and semi-commercial services. This again is problematical where the income-levels are so low and where citizens react sharply to taxation proposals. Even with the best of efforts at resource mobilization spectacular results, in the sense that sufficient additional resources are raised to match the needs of planned development, have to be discounted. Because the economic base itself is small and local tax and revenue resources are inelastic and unproductive. Thus, even if a policy and programme of planned development were decided upon, the problem of public resources would raise insurmountable barriers.

V

The other set of limitations consists of legal and administrative hurdles. In a democratic set-up where an individual's rights, law and the ruling of the constitutional provisions, and due process of law courts have to be honoured, great delays do take place. Taking for example, the problem of public acquisition of land, the entire process from the issue of notification for acquisition, filing of objections, hearing of objections, actual acquisition and payment of compensation takes a number of years even when law courts have not intervened. Similarly, the administrative procedure and practices with all the elaborate process of accounting, budgeting, sanctions and audit etc. involve considerable delays. Perhaps better administrative methods and organisation may reduce these delays but whether they would eliminate them altogether is doubtful.

Unless efficiency and expedition become the watchwords of administration, plan implementation would tend to get into some difficulty or the other. How are these issues going to be resolved?

These limitations which fetter action today cannot be overcome within a short time. Sufficient economic growth of the country and balanced development which alone is the real remedy, may take place not before a number of national Plans have been implemented successfully. But neither urbanisation nor action to tackle the problems created thereby can be deferred in the period of transition. If this is conceded, the question is; what should be the nature and complexion of the programmes that are evolved in the interim? What can be done to mitigate the basic limitations? To what extent should compromises be made in matters like, say, evolving standards for urban development? And what implications and repercussions will they have when the context will have materially changed? To these questions some satisfactory answers are called for today.



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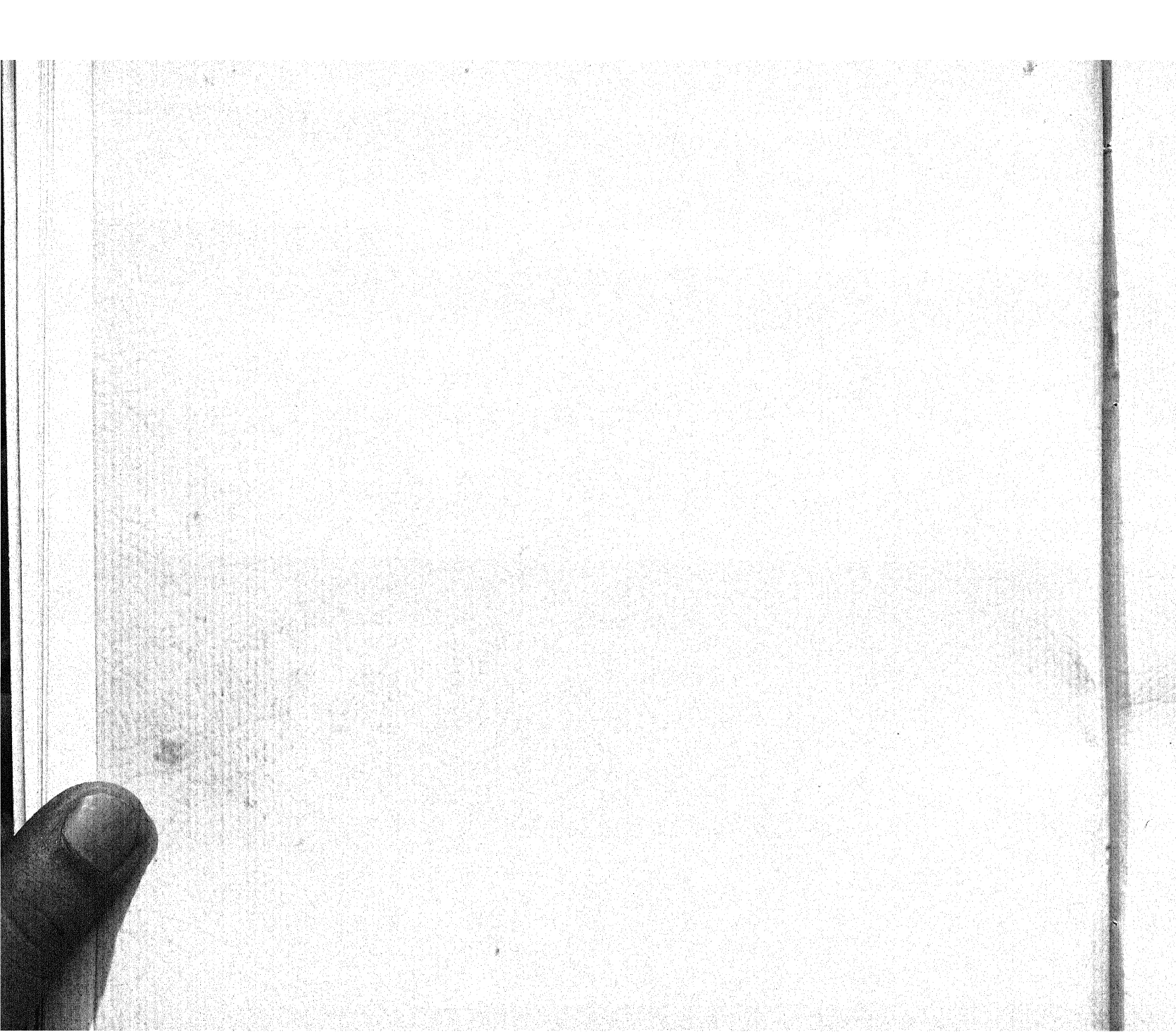
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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## FARIDABAD TOWNSHIP

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REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

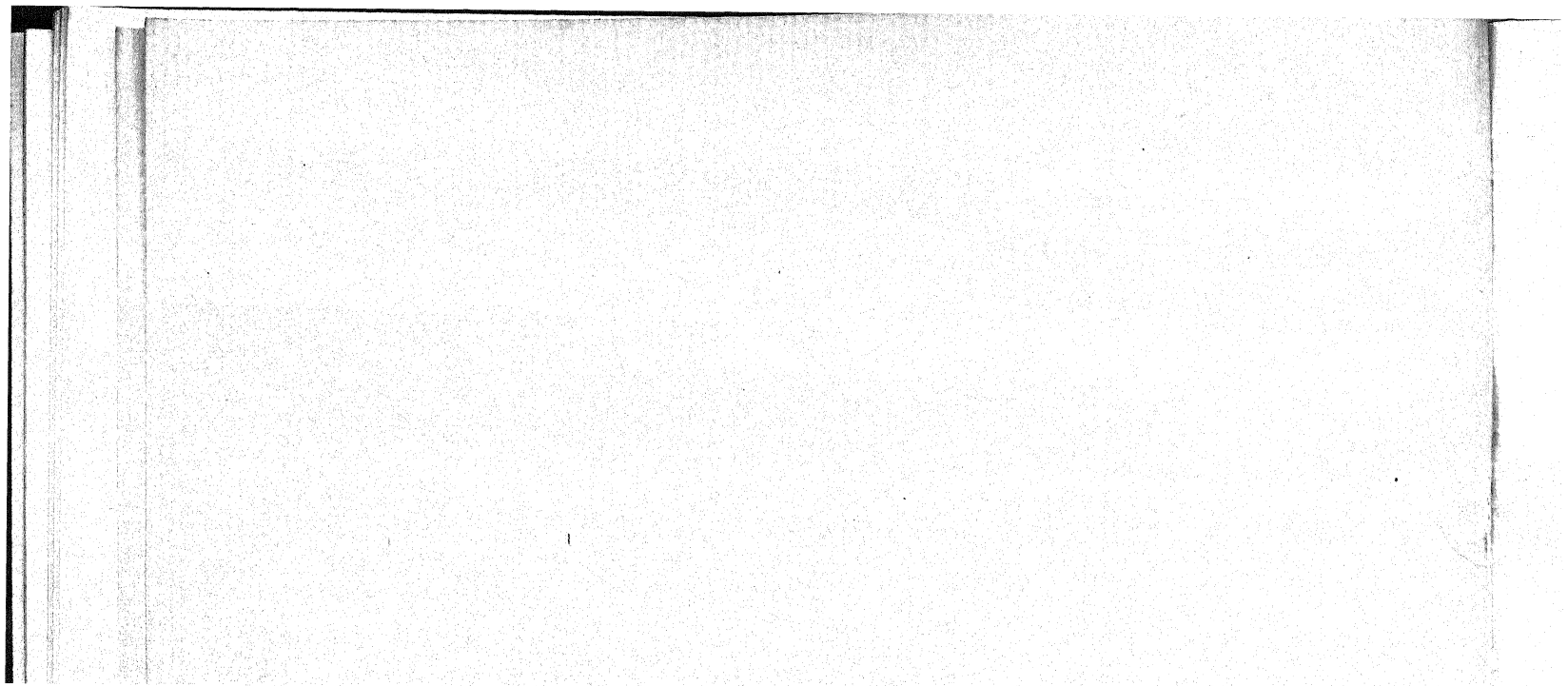
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CENTRE ON THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION  
IN SOUTHERN ASIA)

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF  
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NEW DELHI - 14 TO 21 DECEMBER 1960

INDRAPRASTHA ESTATE, RING ROAD  
NEW DELHI, (INDIA)



FARIDABAD TOWNSHIP\*

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1. Purpose of the New Town

1.1 After the partition of India in 1947 some nine million people, mainly Hindus, who found themselves in territory which accrued to the newly created Muslim State of Pakistan, sought refuge in India. Of these nearly four million came from West Pakistan, the rest from East Pakistan. Only about 50 per cent of the refugees from West Pakistan were agriculturists; consequently, there was a considerable influx of displaced persons into cities like Delhi, where their immediate problem was accommodation. The housing shortage was already acute, for the meagre house-building of the 'thirties had practically ceased during the war, and there were shortages of building material and skills. The refugees had to make shift with temporary shelters which they erected in pavements, squares and parks, thus creating unprecedented problems of public health and security for the local authorities. The Ministry of Rehabilitation had therefore to undertake an extensive housing programme for these displaced persons.

1.2 Faridabad township originated as refugee settlement for displaced persons from the North-West Frontier Province and Dera Ghazi Khan. In 1947 they found shelter along with other refugees in Kurukshetra camp, which housed some 300,000 persons. They remained in the camp for several months, depending on gratuitous relief provided by the Government pending the working out of

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\*/ This paper is based on published material supplemented by interviews and data from unpublished official reports kindly supplied by the Ministry of Rehabilitation, New Delhi. We are indebted to Shri Savitri Prasada, Deputy Secretary of the Ministry for comments on the first draft, and to officials of the Ministry and the Faridabad Administration for their co-operation.

plans by the Ministry of Rehabilitation to set them on a course of permanent rehabilitation. In 1949 about 5,000 families (approximately 26,000 individuals) from the camp, mostly from the North-West Frontier Province, were moved to Faridabad, situated 17 miles south of Delhi, on the New Delhi-Mathura Highway, in the Gurgaon District of Punjab. It was proposed to convert this tented camp into an industrial township.

1.3 It is evident that the methods used to implement the plan for Faridabad township were profoundly influenced by the initial reason for its creation-namely, the dispersal of a migrant population impinging on an existing city and straining the latter's public health, security and public administration arrangements generally. Unlike the new "welfare towns" such as those planned near London to transfer fully productive wage-earners to better surroundings, Faridabad is an example of a "development town", originally not much more than a camp for the training of uprooted and impoverished people as artisans. It was recognised that, to relieve congestion in large cities resulting from a wave of refugee migration, pilot schemes and model towns were not a sufficient remedy. A lasting solution required that plans for new towns should tie up improved standards of civic amenities and social welfare programmes, with increasing productivity. In fine, there were two basic problems to be solved in the new township - housing and employment.

## 2. Finance

2.1 The construction of the township was financed by the Government of India through the grant of loans to the Development Board, repayable with interest in equated annual instalments

over varying periods. The Ministry of Rehabilitation sanctioned Rs. 24,000,000 up to the end of September 1952 for the execution of capital projects. Thereafter certain additional constructional works needed to complete the capital project, brought the total expenditure to Rs. 36 million, up to the end of March 1956. The Ministry also advanced loans to the Board for the construction of factory buildings etc. for new industries.

2.2 Up to the end of March 1958 Rs. 10,400,000 had been repaid to government out of Rs. 42,800,000 received by way of loans to the Board. Of the balance due, Rs. 489,000 was written off, on account of the Board's loan to the Indian Coöperative Union (vide post 6.5). Accumulated interest amounted to Rs. 8 million, of which only Rs. 312,000 had been paid.

2.3 The Board has few sources of regular revenue. One long-term source is the hire-purchase instalments for 3956 houses allotted to displaced persons - Rs. 11/14 per month for each two-roomed house, spread out over a period of 30 years. As there was difficulty in recovering this amount, the instalments were at the time temporarily reduced to Rs. 6/- on account of the poor employment situation, but in several cases no recovery could be made at all. After the extension to Faridabad of the Government's compensation scheme for evacuee property owned in Pakistan, the full value of 600 houses, and part value of 1150 houses, estimated at Rs. 3 million, was recovered by 1958. Further payments are due to the Regional Settlement Commissioner, Delhi. Monthly rent is received from 1100 tenants of the Board's houses, and by occupants of flats constructed for industrialists. Revenue also accrues from sale of water.

2.4 Proceeds from the sale of industrial units and land were credited to Government revenue, in liquidation of the Board's debts. Although losses were sustained in the sale of industries established by the Board (Appendix I), land values increased appreciably. Whereas in 1948-49, when land was acquired for the township, an acre cost about Rs. 1,000/-, the prevailing land value is between Rs. 25,000 and 30,000 per acre, or Rs. 5 to 6 per square yard.

2.5 Until September 30, 1952 both capital and recurring expenditure, with the exception of relief, medical, sanitation, and education expenditures was met from the loan account. The preparation of separate budgets for recurring expenditure under the heads Establishment, Maintenance of Buildings, Roads, Drains, Water Supply, Power House, etc., commenced from October 1st, 1952. Since then the Ministry gives grants to meet recurring expenditure, which is divided into (a) Municipal Budget, comprising establishment, maintenance of public buildings, roads, drainage, etc., Hospital and Health Centres, Education, Power House and Water Supply, and (b) Unemployment Budget, comprising relief works at Faridabad, Transport of Labour to Central Public Works Department sites at Delhi, Relief, Welfare and Employment Office (vide Appendix II). The expenditure under (b) has now been discontinued on account of the improved economic condition of the townships.

2.6 Expenditure on public services like health, sanitation, education, and maintenance of public buildings, roads, drains, etc., is usually met by local bodies from taxes levied from the inhabitants of the town. In view of the poor economic circum-

stances of Faridabad residents, no such taxes could be levied. Hence, recurring expenditure on municipal services was met from the grants given by the Ministry of Rehabilitation. It is now proposed to set up a local body in the township, as the economic condition of the people has generally improved, primarily through the programme of industrialization (cf. post 6.3 - 6.8).

2.7 As an ad hoc body functioning under the Ministry of Rehabilitation, the Faridabad Development Board has no exchange account facilities either with the Accountant General or the State Government. Current accounts in the name of the Board are maintained with the State Bank of India, Gurgaon and New Delhi, operated jointly by the Administrator and Chief Accounts Officer. All moneys received from government are credited to the Board's account, and all payments made by cash or cheque. Accounts are audited half-yearly by staff deputed by the Chief Audit Officer, Food, Rehabilitation and Supply.

### 3. The Development Authority

3.1 Early in 1949, the Punjab Government was entrusted with the responsibility of setting up a refugee camp in Faridabad, but the Central Government took over on April 18. At a meeting of the Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet on May 25th, it was decided that the township should be under the control and management of an autonomous Board, working under the ultimate authority of the Government of India, through the Ministry of Rehabilitation. The first chairman of the Faridabad Development Board was Shri Rajendra Prasad, who was succeeded in 1950 by Shri H.N. Kunzru, who officiated until March, 1954.

3.2 The Board did not meet after 1952 and practically became defunct. Most of its members had resigned, and the Punjab Government had withdrawn its representatives earlier.

The Ministry of Rehabilitation therefore assumed direct control of the affairs of the township from 1953. At the beginning of 1955 it was decided to reconstitute the Board consisting mostly of official members. The Secretary of the Ministry officiated as Chairman, representatives of the Ministries of Rehabilitation and Finance were Ex-officio members, two non-official members were nominated, and the Administrator of the Board acted as member-Secretary.

3.3 In 1957 it was proposed to replace the Board by a Development Corporation under the control of the Central Government. But the proposal was not implemented as it was decided to hand over the township to the Punjab Government within whose jurisdiction the township is situated. It was felt that the central government should not retain a permanent enclave within the territory of a state government.

#### 4. The Plan and its Implementation

4.1 The master plan for Faridabad, by P.L.Varma, with O.H. Koenigsberger as consultant, was prepared in 1949. It provided for a population of forty to fifty thousand inhabitants - that is, double the initial number of refugees. The area of the township was 7 square miles of land on one side of the Delhi-Mathura highway, which was acquired by the Government. The plan had 5 residential units as its core, and they were located around a central green, away from the industrial area. Each

neighbourhood was about  $\frac{1}{4}$  square mile in extent ( $\frac{1}{2}$  mile x  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile, or 150-200 acres) and comprised 1200 to 1500 two-roomed houses. The industrial zone immediately south of the town is separated from the residential area by a transverse road bifurcating the township.

4.2 Relatively large neighbourhood units were favoured in order to expedite the development of bazaars and shops, for the neighbourhoods were to be self-contained in respect of all urban needs except higher education and employment. By distributing the population in five residential units, it was possible to cut down expenditure on roads, while maintaining relatively low densities, at the same time facilitating the provision of those amenities which are usually associated with high density settlements, e.g. modern water supply and sewage systems. Although the township could not afford the luxury of filtered water house connections, water was obtained from bore-wells, 250-300 feet deep, and electrically pumped into overhead tanks or direct to the pipeline. Each bore well was sufficient for the needs of one or two neighbourhoods. Sewage was disposed by bored-hole latrines.

4.3 In the words of the plan consultant, "neighbourhood units of the new towns form the best possible link with the type of community life they know from their villages. A village-like neighbourhood makes it easier for them to understand their civic responsibilities than a large amorphous city" (Koenigsberger, 1952). The forging of a community was kept in mind in the allocation of houses in the neighbourhoods, individuals from the same district in the North-West Frontier Province being

kept together, as far as possible. Each neighbourhood constitutes a relatively self-contained community, a "walking unit", with schools, shops, health centres, meeting places, and main traffic arteries situated within walking distance of their homes. Such an arrangement commends itself in a new town where no public transport is available on its 30 miles of roadway. Workers find bicycles useful to go to work to the industrial zone, and the few cycle-rickshaws provide the only other form of conveyance. Four of the five neighbourhood units envisaged in the master plan have been completed, while one has been reserved for future development (the transfer of some central government offices from Delhi is anticipated; a government printing press has already been established).

## 5. Local Government and Public Services

5.1 Municipal functions in Faridabad were exercised by executive officers of the Board, working under the Administrator. The administration has a total staff of 485, and the office is situated opposite the hospital on the inner ring road. Following the reconstruction of the Board in 1955 (cf. ante, 3.2), the Chairman received instructions that the financial and executive powers in regard to the affairs of the township, shall be exercised by the Board and office-bearers as follows:

- (a) The Board shall have full powers within the framework of its finances subject to the policy decisions and specific instructions, where necessary, given by the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

- (b) The Chairman shall exercise all the powers corresponding to those of the Head of a Department of the Government of India under the various service and financial rules, except in the case of construction works and industries of the Board.
- (c) The Administrator shall exercise the powers of the Head of an office under the various service and financial rules, except in the case of construction works and industries of the Board.
- (d) The Deputy Technical Adviser shall exercise all the powers of the Head of an office and Superintending Engineer (for technical purposes) in regard to construction works and industrial run by the Board for which purpose he functions as Administrator.

These powers shall not be re-delegated without prior approval of the Ministry.

5.2 Local opinion had no means of expression in Faridabad, the residents having no representation on the Board. Such centralized administrative control has been defended on the ground that it expedited the implementation of the master plan and the development of the township. Decisions of the Board could be implemented without having to wait for discussion, criticism, and final approval by an elected body. In other words, the dilatory procedure of a representative town administration was eliminated. A local body is now proposed to be set up, in which the people of the town will be represented.

5.3 Generous provision has been made for public services and amenities. The hospital, which has four doctors on the staff,

has 150 beds, a T.B. ward, a dental clinic, surgery and X-ray plant. Each neighbourhood has a health centre. The medical services are available free to residents and surrounding villages, and the daily average of outpatients is 900. A training centre for nurse-midwives was instituted. The educational facilities have been equally well planned. Each neighbourhood has its own primary school, and there is a Central Boys' High School and a corresponding Girls' High School. The Health and Education services have been transferred to the Punjab Government. The latter was responsible for the police of the township since its inception, and the local police station is manned by a force of 200. The electric supply has been taken over by the Punjab State Electricity Board.

5.4 After the transfer of the above services to the State Government, the residual services were controlled by the Administrator with a small staff of about 200, pending the transfer of the entire township to the Punjab Government. At present the Accounts Officer is winding up the affairs of the Board. The waterworks supplying the town are manned by 40 people. The displaced persons obtained water free from public hydrants. The personnel of the sanitation department numbers 94, and maintains the drains, and is responsible for the disposal of refuse in carts to a low-lying dump on the southern side of the township. A fire brigade is maintained.

5.5 The growth of voluntary associations is noticeable. There is a local Industrialists' Association, a branch of the Indian National Trade Union Congress. The Faridabad Club and

the Rotary Club provide means for social and cultural contacts. For recreation there is a cinema on the central green, and neighbourhood parks.

## 6. The Period of Development

### (a) THE CONSTRUCTION PHASE

6.1 The first requirement for the displaced persons transferred to Faridabad was shelter. The construction of houses was the first step in the conversion of the tented camp into an industrial township. The refugee population being entirely dependent on the free rations issued to them, it was decided to employ them in building houses and other construction work. The difficulty was that they were mainly middle class shopkeepers in Pakistan, traditionally averse to manual work. They refused to work under contractors, but were persuaded to form themselves into small cooperative groups of earth-workers, brick-layers, road-workers, carpenters, etc. When they secured employment in construction work and began to earn their livelihood, the issue of free rations was discontinued. But being unaccustomed to physical labour, their productivity was low at the start. It was therefore necessary to subsidise their meagre piece-rate earnings by a bonus varying according to their earnings - in some cases the subsidy amounted to 150% of their earnings. As they became more efficient, productivity and wages gradually increased, and the bonus was withdrawn by the end of September 1951. Nevertheless the wage bill amounted to 35 per cent of the cost of a two-roomed house.

6.2 The list of construction works completed by a labour force, 95 per cent of which comprised untrained refugees, is certainly impressive - indeed, an object-lesson in productivity, co-operation and self-help. The housing programme had high priority. The houses conformed to a type-plan, having two living-sleeping rooms, kitchen, shower and communal latrine, but no verandah. The walls were of brick, and the flat-roof was supported on pre-cast reinforced concrete beams made by the refugees themselves. A rough tile filling was used and a mixture of earth, straw, and cowdung for insulation and waterproofing (Housing through non-profit organisations, p.113). Of the 5158 houses of this type, about 4000 were allotted to displaced persons on a hire-purchase basis, 1100 on a rental basis to employees of the Development Board, the Government of India Press, and to industrialists. Besides, there were 138 shops, 150 nissen huts, one hospital and 3 health centres, one boys' high school, one girls' high school, 10 basic schools, 2 post-basic schools, 5 widows' homes, a seva sadan, a powerhouse capable of generating 6000 Kw., an administration building, 7 tube wells, and 30 miles of metalled road. The foundation stone of the 150-bed hospital bears the proud inscription that it was built by the townspeople themselves.

#### (b) THE INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMME

6.3 Since the main source of employment open to the townspeople was expected to cease after the completion of the main building programme, operations were timed so as to make industrial employment available when the construction (houses, roads, drains,

etc.) was diminishing. The long-term plan was to give Government loans to industrialists on condition that, apart from managerial staff and instructors, they would employ the local residents. But due to delays in establishing new industries, interim relief measures had to be designed for those left without work after the construction programme was over. In the year ending September 30th, 1954, 1400 were employed on temporary construction works in Faridabad and Delhi, and 214 on relief works. The expenditure on relief, including transport to Delhi, was Rs. 174,000 in 1955-56; 92,000 in 1957-58. The number of temporary workers declined to 554 in 1958, and by that date employment on relief works ceased and transport to Delhi was discontinued in 1958-59.

6.4 Before considering the progress of industrialization, we may review the employment statistics. In the year ending 30th September 1954, there were 4169 families. Assuming 1.2 employable adults per family, the estimated employables was approximately 5000; making provision for coming of age of boys, etc. the total was assumed to be 6000. The following table compares the employment situation in 1954 and 1958.

	<u>Employed</u>	<u>Seeking Employment</u>	
1954	3000	3000	(estimate including 1800 temporarily employed)
1958	4282	1718	(including 554 temporarily employed)

The number of unemployed has been reduced by providing industrial employment in new factories.

6.5 In the initial stages of the industrialization programme, the Faridabad Development Board decided to run certain industrial undertakings, primarily for providing training and employment to displaced persons. The idea was to prepare them for employment in private industries which were expected to be set up. A Technical Institute (comprising several sections) and a diesel engine factory were run directly by the Board. Further, some industrial units were set up by the Indian Co-operative Union, assisted by a loan of Rs. 2,400,000 from the Board. When the Union withdrew from Faridabad in February 1953, their units were merged with the Technical Institute. Heavy losses were incurred by the Board's industrial establishment. In 1954 it was decided to dispose of these concerns. By 1958 they had all been sold to private parties, on condition that the existing workers will be continued in employment (except in the case of the Printing Press and Hosiery Section of the Technical Institute, where alternative employment was found for the Board's employees).

6.6 In order to industrialize the township so as to provide employment for those who would be unemployed after the completion of the main construction programme, the authorities offered the following facilities to industrialists who satisfied the government that their schemes were sound and that they were in a position to carry them out:

- (1) factory sites on a freehold basis, at Rs. 11,800/- per acre repayable in 5 equal instalments at 4 per cent interest.
- (2) electricity at bulk rates charged by the Delhi State Electricity Board for Industrialists.
- (3) water at 4 annas per 1000 gallons.

In special cases the following concessions were offered:

- (1) Allotment of land and building for factories on a rental for a special period, the rent being assessed at 4 per cent of the cost of the land and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the cost of the building, with an option to purchase the land at its market value and the building at a depreciated value.
- (2) Loans up to 50 per cent of the installed machinery repayable in 7-10 years, with interest at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

6.7 Although the initial response of industrialists was poor, and losses were sustained when the Board's Technical Institute was put up for sale (vide Appendix E), 19 private industries were set up by 1954, including the Bata Shoe Factory, and the Eastern Electronics and Radio Co. Subsequently, other industrialists became interested and over a hundred industries have now been established. About 40 per cent are small scale, while the rest are medium or large industries. Of the latter about 20 factories employ more than 100 workers each, and 3 employ more than 500 (Hindustan Electric Co. Ltd. 840, East India Cotton Manufacturing Co. 590, Bata Shoe Co. 517). Between them they produce a large number of products representing a fair cross-section of modern industrial activity. With the progress of industrialization land values in Faridabad have risen appreciably.

6.8 The employment statistics indicate that roughly one-third of the employable males in the township have found employment in industry (Appendix III). Industrialists naturally prefer to recruit workers from the 16-22 age group, as adolescents

are more amenable to training for skilled work than older people. The majority of industrial workers employed between 1953 and 1960 are therefore children of the original immigrants who arrived in 1949, more precisely those who were in the 5-14 age group at the time. The National Sample Survey of Faridabad (1954) showed that 10.8 per cent of the total male population of 23,000 were in the 15-24 age group. They constituted the bulk of the industrial employables and have no difficulty in finding work. The 21 per cent belonging to the 0-14 (male) age group in 1954 provide a steady supply of labour for the expanding industries. At present there appears to be a shortage of labour, and 15 per cent of the workers in Faridabad industries are resident in the township (Vagale et al. 1959, p.94). It may be expected then that even the third generation can find employment, if not in the growing industries of the town itself, at least in the industries which are proliferating in the vicinity, giving rise to "ribbon development" along the Faridabad-New Delhi highway.

APPENDIX IBook Values and Amounts Realized throughSale of Board's Industrial Assets

	<u>Assessment</u> (Rs.)	<u>Sale Price</u> (Rs.)
Technical Institute		
Engineering Workshop	813,140	348,384
Textile mills	379,560	289,976
Button factory	142,395	89,669
Flour mill	9,873	19,194
Carpentry section	173,377*	75,600
Hosiery section	75,456*	54,550
Garment factory	10,999*	8,000
Dairy farm	947*	800
Cardboard factory	14,899	17,500
Printing press	29,401*	35,800
Structural shop	88,255	(Transferred to P.W.D.)
Diesel Engine Factory	1,287,562	1,542,330

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\* Depreciated value.

APPENDIX II - The Township Budget

	<u>Year</u>	<u>Expenditure</u> (Rs. 1000)	<u>Revenue</u> (Rs. 1000)
<b>1. RECURRING</b>			
(a) <u>Establishment</u>	1953-54	365	..
	1954-55	204	..
	1955-56	164	..
	1956-57	190	..
	1957-58	198	..
	1958-59	164	..
(b) <u>Maintenance of Buildings,</u> <u>Roads, Drainage, etc.</u>	1954-55	228	..
	1955-56	220	..
	1956-57	244	..
	1957-58	216	..
	1958-59	190*	..
(c) <u>Hospital - Health</u> <u>Services</u> <sup>1/</sup>	1954-55	421	..
	1955-56	420	..
	1956-57	426	..
	1957-58	418	..
	1958-59	391	..
(d) <u>Education</u> <sup>1/</sup>	1954-55	330	..
	1955-56	385	10
	1956-57	414	11
(e) <u>Power House</u> <sup>2/</sup>	1954-55	875	372
	1955-56	750	354
	1956-57	746	432
	1957-58	717	645
	1958-59	944	547
(f) <u>Water Supply</u>	1954-55	76	44
	1955-56	90	44
	1956-57	67	62
	1957-58	60	105
	1958-59	80	100

\* Estimate

<sup>1/</sup> Taken over by Punjab Government<sup>2/</sup> Taken over by Punjab State Electricity Board

2. UNEMPLOYMENT BUDGET

(a) <u>Relief Works</u> 1/	1953-54	522
	1954-55	273
	1955-56	174
	1956-57	156
(b) <u>Transport of labour to</u> <u>Central PWD Works</u> <u>sites</u> 2/	1953-54	166
	1954-55	362
	1955-56	365
	1956-57	287
(c) <u>Relief and Employment</u> <u>office, cash dole.</u> 2/	1953-54	458
	1954-55	260
	1955-56	138
	1956-57	100
	1957-58	111

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1/ Discontinued in 1958

2/ Discontinued

3/ Expenditure on cash doles was about Rs. 15,000 per year from "relief" grant. In 1958 it was Rs. 13,000/-.

APPENDIX IIIEmployment Statistics

	<u>1953-54</u>	<u>1954-55</u> (as on 30.9.54)	<u>1955-56</u> (as on 31.3.56)
Private factories	400	471	1341
Industries managed by Faridabad Administration (all except Power House sold to private parties)	700	700	177
Offices of Faridabad Administration	485	485	485
Education Department under Nai Talimi Sangh	152	152	150
Shopkeepers and hawkers	476	476	525
Tonga Drawers	30	30	40
Transport and Cooperative Societies	100*	100*	200*
Persons working outside Faridabad	200*	200*	200*
Cultivators	11	11	11
Persons undergoing mason's training	..	16*	..
Contractors	40*	80*	125*
Construction workers ( : (in Delhi in Faridabad	500*	1200*	1000* 400*
Relief Workers in Faridabad (workers gradually diverted to construction works in Delhi colonies)	800*	250*	214*
	<hr/> 3894	<hr/> 4171 °	<hr/> 4868

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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## PROBLEMS OF A RAPIDLY GROWING CITY IN JAPAN

—INVESTIGATION AT THE HITACHI MINING AND MANUFACTURING AREA

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NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

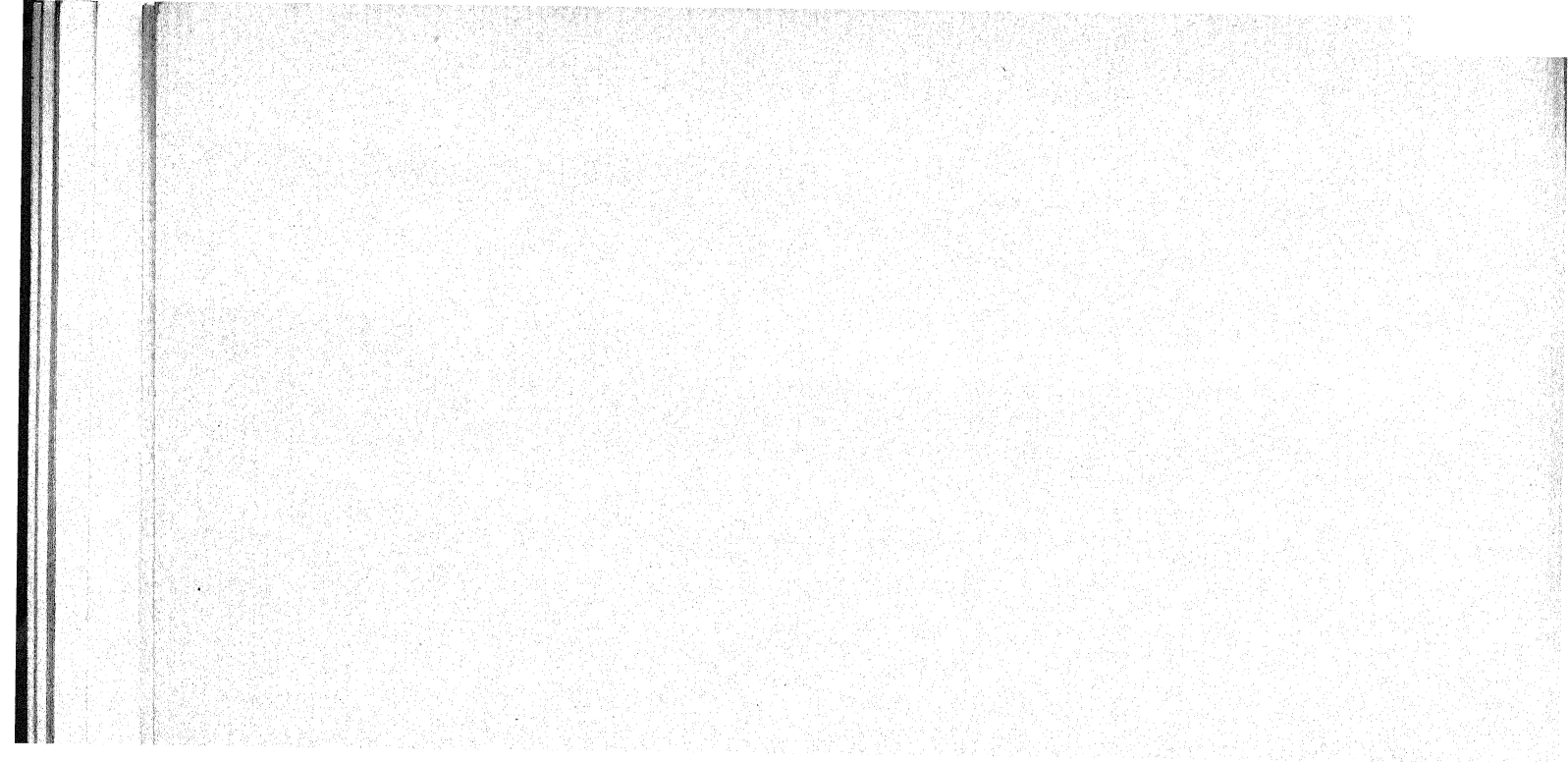
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IN SOUTHERN ASIA)

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NEW DELHI, (INDIA)



# Problems of a Rapidly Growing City in Japan

-Investigation at the Hitachi Mining and Manufacturing Area-

by

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## Foreword

Japan, as is well known, started her progress toward capitalistic modernization after the Meiji Restoration. And, during the short period of less than 100 years since that time, she has become one of the leading industrial countries in the world. The rapid development of industry has naturally increased the urban population: In 1886, it was only 6.7 per cent of the total population; then, it rose to 15.0 per cent in 1908, to 21.7 per cent in 1925 and to 37.9 per cent in 1940. After the temporary drop to 27.8 per cent in 1945 due to the exodus seeking safety in rural areas during World War II, it again rose to 37.5 per cent in 1950 and today it even surpasses the prewar highest. (The rate of 56.3 per cent for 1955 is the result of the expansion of city areas due to the amalgamations of towns and villages which to no small extent were still the farming areas, and, therefore, cannot be compared on the same standard with the rates for the years that preceded.)

While the majority of the thus expanded cities were already the local capitals during the feudal times --- either the local administrative centers where the local lords resided or the local commercial centers, not a few are the cities newly established, the cities that have come into being in the

areas, which formerly were the genuinely agrarian areas, consequent upon the rise of mining and manufacturing industries after the Meiji Restoration. Of these newly opened cities, the Hitachi City which is taken up here for study is the most typical of all rapidly growing cities in Japan.

This Hitachi City is the target of large-scale integral surveys which the Japan Cultural Science Society conducted in 1954 as part of UNESCO's research project entitled "Social Impact of Modern Technique." Results of the surveys were compiled in a large volume of reports in the Japanese language and their English resume was also published by the National Commission for UNESCO. The writer, who managed the surveys and edited the reports, hereby rescrutinizes the part falling under the research subject of this seminar. This report, which still leaves much room to be desired due to the lack of surveys since 1954 until the present, is prepared in the hope that this bit of experience in Japan may contribute, to whatever extent, to the development of Asian countries in the future.

## I. General Background of Hitachi City

### (A) Physical Layout

Hitachi, a mining and manufacturing city, is widely known in Japan in close association with the Hitachi Mine and the Hitachi Works (Hitachi, Ltd.). It is situated in the northern part of Ibaraki Prefecture some 150 kilometers north of Tokyo.

The Hitachi City at present is composed of the long plain land (stepped hills and fan-shaped terrain) lying from north to south along the 23-kilometer coastal line and the mountain area facing the Pacific Ocean. The Hitachi Mine is located in the mountain area and the Hitachi Works in the plain land with a group of factories.

The Hitachi mining the manufacturing area centers around the Old Hitachi City and the former Town of Taga. The Hitachi City of today has grown to its stature after the amalgamation of Town of Taga plus another town and four villages into the Old Hitachi City in 1955 and of Town of Toyoura in 1956. (Hereafter, "Hitachi" is used for the Old Hitachi City and "Hitachi City" for the present New Hitachi City.) Its city area now runs 16 km from east to west and 23.5 km from north to south with an acreage of 142 square km. The Joban Line of the Japanese National Railways runs through the area with four --- Omika, Hitachi-Taga, Hitachi and Ogitsu --- stations in it, while the Class 1 National Highway No. 6 runs along its western boundary. As the result of the amalgamations, the Hitachi City now embraces the fishing port of Kuji at its southern tip and keeps it open to sea-borne commerce. The city planning is now underway for the entire city area, including this Port of Kuji.

Deserving special mention is that located beyond the Kuji River, which forms the southern boundary of the city, is the Tokai Village where the Atomic Energy Institute, a national atomic energy research center in Japan, is established, and that a long-range plan is being shaped up to complete a large industri

center in this neighborhood in expectation of the development of the atomic energy industry in the future.

#### (B) Historical Development and Increase of Population

In the early part of the Me'ji period, Hitachi was a small farming and fishing community composed of four villages. In 1889, the four villages merged into two villages where, according to 1905 statistics, a population falling short of 6,000 formed less than 1,000 households. In that year, however, the Hitachi Mine, which had so far been known as the Akazawa Mine, came under the management of Fusanosuke Kuhara, setting the rapid expansion of Hitachi afoot. Riding on the boom tide of World War I, the mine continued to develop. In 1920, the population of the city was six times the total in 1905.

Needless to say, this rapid increase of population was not due to the development of the Hitachi Mine alone. The fact which must also be taken into account is that in 1920 the Hitachi Works with its 2,600 workers became completely independent of the Kuhara Mining Co. (Nippon Mining Co.) which then employed 3,500 workers. This factory was started in 1908 as a workshop of the Hitachi Mine's repair section and was separately operated in and after 1911.

Thus with their ever-increasing population, the two villages grew into towns. And finally they were amalgamated to form Old Hitachi City in 1939. Since that time, as the production turned to war-priority goods, the population further increased and reached 93,000 in 1944. In 1945, however, the city was exposed to the repeated bombardments from warships, as well as incendiary bombings from the air, with 70 per cent of it destroyed.

Thus in 1945 the population dropped to below 40,000 but, with the reconstruction of the Hitachi Works, began to increase again year after year, recovering to 64,000 in 1954.

A similar course of development is found in the case of Town of Taga also, though this town is less complicated in historical background and more recent in origin than Hitachi. The town, which in the early part of Meiji consisted of nine villages and then grew into four villages, was integrated into one town in 1939 with the establishment of the Hitachi, Ltd., factory. The population in this area, which was gradually increasing in and after 1920, sharply expanded since the factory started operations. The population of 12,400 at the time of the amalgamation in 1939 rose to 26,000 in 1941. That the town suffered no direct war damage was a potent factor that kept its population subsequently at a level of 37,000 and even sent it beyond 40,000 in 1954.

Thus in 1955, with the amalgamation of this Hitachi and Taga, along with their adjacent towns and villages, the present Hitachi City, the largest city in Ibaraki Prefecture with a population of 150,000, was created.

Table 1 Increase of Population in Hitachi City

	Hitachi	Taga	Others .
1872	4,853	6,879	
1905	5,770	11,158	
1920	33,664	11,342	18,331
1930	42,261	12,612	20,527
1940	82,885	20,010	22,678
1950	56,066	36,913	28,638
1954	64,237	40,147	29,409
1960	73,247	47,907	30,217

(C) Economic and Social Structure

As is clear in the foregoing statement, both the Hitachi Mine and the Hitachi Works have played a key role in the development of Hitachi and Taga. The Hitachi Mine, which at present is capitalized at ¥5,600,000,000, is not only the most important mine of the Nippon Mining Co. but is one of the most promising mines in Japan, whereas the Hitachi Works (Hitachi, Ltd.), along with the Tokyo Shibaura Electric Co., is the biggest maker of electric machinery in Japan with a chain of factories all over the country, of which one in the Hitachi area is of greatest importance to the company. It is because of this large enterprise that Hitachi City is called the city of Nikko and Nissei. (Nikko and Nissei are the common abbreviations of Nippon Mining Co. and Hitachi, Ltd., respectively. Both these abbreviations are used in the statement that follows.)

Nissei and Nikko do not of course procure materials of their production, nor do they sell their products, in this (Hitachi City) area. It is not the case either that the associated industries have made particular development. Both mining and manufacturing industries themselves have little, if any, to do directly with the local interests of the Hitachi City. What counts is that the employees of Nikko and Nissei take by far a larger proportion than other groups in the formation of population of the Hitachi City, and that, as a matter of fact, their consumption in daily life controls the economy of the city.

Figures can be cited to prove this fact. Of the total employed population of Hitachi in 1920, 29 per cent were mine workers and 36 per cent were industrial workers. Most of

the mine workers were those employed by Nikko, while in the case of industrial workers 19 out of the 36 per cent were those in the employ of Nissei. Thus the employees of Nikko and Nissei combined accounted for 40 per cent of the total laboring population.

Table 2. Population of Hitachi City According to Industries

	1920		1952	
	Population	%	Population	%
Agriculture	2,418	18	1,169	5
Mining	3,044	22	4,822	22
Manufacturing	4,959	36	8,506	39
Commerce	1,827	13	3,865	18
Others	1,476	11	3,233	16
	13,724	100	21,535	100

As for similar figures for 1938, the year just before the birth of Old Hitachi City, mine workers took 25 per cent and industrial workers 39.9 per cent: a change that reflects the development of Nissei. In 1952, some seven years after the termination of World War II, the similar percentages stood at 22 for mine workers and 39 for industrial workers. Moreover, in view of the workers of Nissei in that year having taken 33 per cent out of the total of 39 per cent for industrial workers, the employees of Nikko and Nissei together accounted for 55 per cent of the entire labor force.

Regarding the remainder of the employed population in industry, most are employed in subsidiary companies or

are dependent upon Nikko and Nissei; hence, no need of elaboration as far as Hitachi as the city of Nikko and Nissei is concerned.

In the case of Taga, the transformation from an agricultural village into an industrial town can be more readily found. As in Table 3, the employed population of Taga in 1939 comprised 72 per cent in agriculture, 10 per cent in manufacturing, four per cent in mining and five per cent in Commerce. In 1952, the figures changed to 29 per cent for agriculture, 44 per cent for manufacturing, two per cent for mining and nine per cent for commerce, showing a big increase in the industrial population. When the number of industrial workers in 1939 is taken for 100, the corresponding rate for 1952 stands at 385, the major part of which are, of course, the employees of Nissei.

Table 3. Population of Taga According to Industries

	1939		1952	
	Population	%	Population	%
Agriculture	3,280	72	4,115	29
Fishery	241	5	283	2
Manufacturing	455	10	6,290	44
Mining	176	4	317	2
Commerce	214	5	1,314	9
Others	208	4	1,965	14
	4,574	100	14,284	100

In the case of New Hitachi City which has absorbed the neighboring villages and towns with a combined population of close to 30,000, the breakdown of population by industries

somewhat differs from Table 3. For, many of the industries in these amalgamated villages and towns are primary industries, and this naturally narrows down the proportion taken by the mining population in the employ of Nikko.

Table 4. Population of New Hitachi City  
according to Industries  
(1959)

	Population	%
Agriculture	7,349	11
Fishery	1,152	2
Mining	4,561	7
Construction	3,910	6
Manufacturing	30,596	47
Commerce	6,989	11
Transportation	2,234	3
Service	5,942	9
Public service	1,159	2
Electric, gas	562	1
Others	942	1
	65,396	100

Even in these areas, there reside not a few people who are employed by Nissei, and, therefore, the proportion which Nikko and Nissei, particularly the latter, takes in the formation of population for the whole area of the Hitachi City today continues to be large indeed.

In the midst of such changes of economic conditions, the social influence of the native population cannot but be drastically weakened. Except for a few land owners who have

profited from the rise of land prices, the native people have had more to lose than to gain from the change of their social surroundings.

And in the case of Hitachi City, the existence of big enterprises, Nikko and Nissei, determines its social stratification. In other words, the management and the high class employees of these two companies form the upper class society with the common employees ranking second. Workers employed by the subcontract plants, who stand much lower in wages also, follow, and the daily laborers living an instable life are in the lowest stratum. Those engaged in commerce are small-scale merchants for the most part with only a few who own subcontract plants belonging to the upper class of society. It is also characteristic of this kind of cities and, as such, deserves much attention that the upper class employees of large enterprises take no further interest in the land than as the place of their temporary residence; they have interest in the area only in the light of the enterprises which are their working place.

In the case of the Hitachi City, most of the employees of the two large enterprises live in the company residences (which take 28 per cent of the total residences in the city). It can never be overlooked either that there exists a distinction between such residential quarters and general residential areas, the former known as "inside the fence" and the latter as "outside the fence." Particularly in the case of Nikko, the employees live in the company residences built deep in the mountain and they therefore live in their own isolationist society, so to speak.

## II. Structure of Municipal Government

### (A) Development of Municipal Government

As mentioned in the foregoing, Hitachi is a city that has resulted from the 1939 amalgamation of two towns. The city owes much to Nissei and Nikko: it was under their initiative that the two towns developed into a city. The reorganization of Taga into township in the same year was also due to the construction of Nissei's Taga Works.

It cannot be said, however, that prior to World War II either Nikko or Nissei took a definite part in municipal government. When the mines were being constructed and the development of the factories began, the two concerns even tried deliberately to avoid intervening in the town and village government and left all such affairs in the hands of the local leaders; they attempted to avoid friction between the traditional village organization and their places of business.

But, as the region expanded and the population increased, the proportion of migrants, i.e., non-local individuals, grew larger than that of native inhabitants. The local leaders, who feared the "emergence of dangerous thoughts," enlisted the cooperation of Nikko and Nissei authorities in preventing "foreign elements" from taking any part in the administration of town affairs. This cooperation proved profitable to the managements of Nikko and Nissei whenever they planned the expansion of factories, buying a site for a new establishment. At the same time, they set themselves up as a buffer between their own employees and the local inhabitants. And yet the two companies were not inclined, before the last war, to participate directly in the local affairs.

Nissei and Nikko did, however, an important part at the time Hitachi was reorganized into a city. The assistant general manager of Nikko took office as the first mayor and he still performs in that capacity. Furthermore, seven persons each from the mine and the factory, namely, 14 altogether, ran in the first election of municipal assemblymen (total: 36 persons) with one topping the poll and all others placing high on the list. This does not mean, however, that they actively intervened in the municipal government. (In view of the fact that the votes earned by all 14 who ran were upwards of half the total, the two companies must have won more seats in the assembly if they so liked.) The management of the two companies had no need of taking part in local politics; they could deal directly with the central government authorities to influence the local government which before the war was bureaucratic in nature. In fact, they found it to be a better policy to stay away from local politics and thus avoid arousing antipathy of the local inhabitants.

Relationships between business and local government have completely changed after the war. Local autonomies now play a part of greater importance than before as the result of the reform of the local government system. With the enforcement of tax reforms, big businesses began to make greater contributions to city finance, and this naturally impelled them to seek "feedback of taxes" paid by their factories. They have thus come to take strong interest in local government and have come to participate positively in it. The same is the case with Nikko and Nissei toward the Hitachi City.

#### (B) Participation of Big Concerns in Municipal Government

The most important post in the administrative

of Nissei. The mayor of Taga was also connected with Nissei. It is not that these men worked only for the benefit of the big companies, but it remains the fact that the factories have come to play an important part in municipal affairs. It was found in our survey that as many as 19 out of the 36 members of the Hitachi Municipal Assembly were the employees of Nikko and Nissei. The employees who ran in this assembly election had been screened by their companies, the labor unions and the management uniting in a single front to formulate a common election strategy. For this reason, the Nissei and Nikko men who were elected to the assembly act with closed ranks, no matter whether they are members of the management or of the labor union, on the issues which have much to do with the interests of their companies. They are conscious of the distinction between "inside the fence" and "outside the fence."

Since, however, there prevails a strong tendency toward self-government "inside the fence", and since the two big companies actually possess the power to achieve that aim, the employees participating in municipal government deal mainly with the affairs of the area "outside the fence". As a matter of fact, the public works of the city are generally so planned that the works "inside the fence" will be given priority as is mentioned later in connection with the revenues and expenditures.

However, because of the overwhelming influence exerted by the business concerns on town affairs, corruptions and irregularities involving the use of administrative concessions for the private profit did not occur. It was not that the possibilities for such abnormalities were completely absent, but that such transactions were conducted openly between the city and

### (C) Some Changes After Formation of Great Hitachi City

Such a situation as mentioned in the foregoing has changed to some extent since the formation of Great Hitachi City in 1955. Although the influence of Nikko and Nissei, particularly the latter, on the city administration still remains large, it can be said that the city administration is now more independent of outside intervention than before.

The annexation was not a natural outgrowth but was brought about under the central government's initiative embodied in the Law for the Promotion of the Amalgamation of Towns and Villages. The new city, which mainly covers Hitachi and Taga, further extends to Hitaka-mura (and Toyoura-cho in 1956) in the north, to Nakazato-mura in the west and to Sakamoto-mura, Higashiozawa-mura and Kuji-cho in the south. Prefectural authorities had originally intended to form new towns out of these five villages, but Nakazato-mura and Hitaka-mura were so closely related to Hitachi that they were anxious of the merger with it. Sakamoto-mura and Higashiozawa-mura liked to be annexed to Taga and Kuji-cho. Despite some differences of opinion and even antagonism that prevailed between Hitachi and Taga, the existence of the Hitachi Works spreading to both places made their amalgamation inevitable. Thus after a period of indecision, the amalgamation finally came true, creating the new City of Hitachi. It is a very large city covering the areas which originally did not like to be included in it and even the areas whose interests conflict with those of the big concerns. The latter found it to be beyond their power to keep them out of the city, however.

In the new Hitachi City which was thus inaugurated, the mayor of the Old Hitachi City who had been continuously elected

to the post for all these postwar years took office as mayor. He is assisted by the former chief of Taga who is now the deputy mayor. Both these men were formerly connected with Nissei but they no longer are the protecting parties for Nissei. And in the municipal election held following the amalgamation, only 13 candidates who ran from Nikko and Nissei were returned; the number of successful candidates from Nikko was reduced to only four from the former nine. In the 1959 election also, Nissei and Nikko shared the same number of candidates who succeeded, whereas those seated in the city assembly on behalf of the farming population are now increased to seven to eight from one or so in the Old Hitachi City assembly.

It can thus be said that the proportion of Nikko and Nissei, particularly the former, in the city administration has now been comparatively reduced. Their influence, at least, on the determination of municipal policies cannot be as strong in the new Hitachi City as it was in the old Hitachi City and Taga Town. This fact, however, does not in the least mean that the city administration today is independent of the interests of Nikko and Nissei, particularly the latter. Nissei as a giant enterprise which had a great deal to do with the economy of Hitachi remains unchanged even after the birth of the present Great Hitachi City.

### III. Analysis of Local Finance

#### (A) Finance of Old Hitachi City

Hitachi is a city noted in Japan for its financial advantage. In the average Japanese city, the 1953 records show.

taxes accounted for 44 per cent of the annual revenue and equalization grants for nine per cent, but in the case of Hitachi in that year the taxes alone represented 58 per cent of the annual revenue, enabling the city to do without the equalization grants.

The resident tax took 48 per cent and the property tax 36 per cent out of the total tax yield. The corporation tax made up 60 per cent of the resident tax, and almost all of the corporation taxes were collected from Nissei and Nikko. Even if the corporation tax was excluded, the special tax which was stopped at source from the wages of employees of the two great concerns reached a large percentage. It might be said that no less than 70 per cent of the total resident tax yield were derived directly or indirectly from Nikko and Nissei. In fact, these two companies provided almost all financial revenue of the city.

Table 5 Percentage of Financial Expenditures of Hitachi  
(1953)

	Hitachi	Average for all cities
Assembly	1.9	1.9
Office	20.6	16.0
Police, fire-brigade	10.7	11.6
Construction	7.4	12.1
Educational	21.4	15.5
Social-labor	19.5	18.7
Hygiene	6.3	4.5
Industrial and economic	1.2	5.6
Public Loans	2.7	3.3

Percentage of the annual expenditure in 1953 is compared with the average for all cities in Japan in Table 5.

Apparently the office expenditures, educational expenditures and social-labor expenditures take a larger percentage than is commonly the case, whereas industrial and economic expenditures form a smaller percentage.

It appears that the large office expenditures are the result of the expenses for construction of offices, travelling expenses, entertainment expenses, and cost of reconstruction for war damage put altogether in one account. The actual office expenditures take only a small portion of this total.

Educational expenditures are large because of reconstruction of war-damaged school buildings, as well as the increase in the number of school children, but this large figure, at the same time, indicates great interest of the Nikko and Nissei employees in education.

The large amount of social-labor expenditures is quite natural for an industrial city: the money goes to unemployment relief works, suggesting that the city has to cope to no small extent with unemployment due to large-scale layoffs which are often seen in industrial cities.

The expenditures for construction works are unexpectedly low in percentage. This is explained by the fact that the money is spent for general compensation, with the construction works themselves to be financed on the large special account for rehabilitation of the war damage. The setting aside of this large amount of budget had already proven a great aid to the rehabilitation works which, with the cooperation of the business concerns, had made rapid progress. The Nissei area, particularly the area around the Kaigan Works (Hitachi Works), has enjoyed the greatest benefits, although this is not a surprising fact considering the important

role they have played. Moreover, the employees of Nikko and Nissei predominate among those who partake of public housing, and this, too, is not exactly surprising. In short, the two companies, and their employees, in particular, have so far remained to be the chief beneficiaries of public works.

The smallness of industrial and economic expenditures can be attributed to the fact that the resident farmers are relatively few, and that commerce is not very active. (This is because both Nikko and Nissei maintain their own supply stores where their employees can buy the daily necessities at the prices lower than the general market prices.) A large industry, they feel little or no need for municipal aid; this reflects the dominance of the big mining and manufacturing concerns over agriculture and commerce which in general are on the decline or remain static.

Regarding the city finance of Hitachi as a whole, it must be pointed out that both its revenue and expenditures indicate the close link between the big enterprises and the local municipal government. They have strong mutual interest which is well manifested in the way of local administration. While the two big firms shoulder a heavy tax burden, the city authorities on their part compensate them for the burden.

#### (B) Finance of Taga Town

Because of the existence of the Taga Works and the Kokubu branch works of Nissei, Taga Town could hold as good a financial situation as that of Hitachi.

In Taga, which, like Hitachi, did not need the equalization grants, large factories paid about 50 per cent of the total municipal taxes, and, when similar payments by Nikko. the

Hitachi Electric Railway Co. and the Hitachi Cement Co. were included, the aggregate amount reached 56 per cent in 1953. When the resident tax is added, which the employees paid through their place of employment, Nissei's Taga Works alone contributed 63 per cent of the total tax yield of the town; and, when the similar contributions by the three other businesses mentioned were also added, the combined total reached 74 per cent. Thus, in Taga, the factories and businesses have provided even a larger percentage of its tax yield than in Hitachi.

However, a close examination of financial expenditures reveals that the administrative organization and public facilities are low in standard; there are, in fact, virtually no public facilities provided by the town. On the whole, the town office was of a village office level, being not adequate for the accomplishment of large-scale town planning, road construction or housing project indispensable for modern industry. Only in the educational expenditures (35 per cent) did the town outgo the national average of the kind (20 per cent).

This situation could rather be interpreted as the result of too small expenditures set aside for other items than as positive emphasis laid on education, since a much larger amount ought to have been allocated for other items considering that the big businesses did not rely much upon financial assistance from the town. Despite the important role it played in the town finance, the Taga Works of Nissei seldom benefited from it directly. It is thus easy to understand that the management of the works was in favor of Taga's merger with Hitachi, which finally materialized in 1955 as already mentioned.

(C) Finance of New Hitachi City

The scale of finance in 1953 prior to their amalgamation was ¥460,000,000 for Hitachi and ¥170,000,000 for Taga, but it has steadily expanded since the creation of Great Hitachi City, reaching 950,000,000 on the general account and ¥550,000,000 on special accounts, totaling ¥1,500,000,000, in 1959.

On the general account, as much as 68.6 per cent of revenue were raised in the form of resident tax with the grants from the central government following with 11.1 per cent. Municipal bonds accounted for 4.4 per cent and the equalization grants 3.8 per cent. (The equalization grants are those for towns and villages amalgamated and they will continue for five years after the amalgamation.)

On the side of expenditures, the office expenditures, though they include the expenses for the construction now underway for new buildings, are lower in percentage than in the case of Old Hitachi City as shown in Table 5. Civil engineering expenditures account for 12.6 per cent, laying emphasis on the improvement of roads, while educational expenditures, though increased in the amount, are lowered in percentage. Industrial and economic expenditures, which were quite negligible in the case of Old Hitachi City, take 8.0 per cent, inclusive of the increased subsidies for primary industries, after the merger.

On the special accounts are the expenditures for city planning, housing, and extension of water service. They are to be spent for the completion of the integral city planning.

Table 6. Main Items on General Account of Hitachi City

	1956	1957	1958	1959
Office	21.0	18.5	16.7	16.4
Fire-brigade	5.4	4.3	4.0	4.1
Construction	8.8	<u>17.7</u>	12.4	12.6
Educational	15.7	13.9	12.9	16.0
Social-labor	19.9	17.1	17.2	15.6
Hygiene	3.5	7.0	7.7	4.0
Industrial and economic	9.4	4.1	8.0	8.0

Note: The underlined includes the construction cost for Kuji Port.

Compared with the finance of the Old Hitachi City, in which the service to the big enterprises was the cardinal point, the finance of the Hitachi City today is fitted to a by far greater extent to be one for a local autonomy though not as yet completely relieved of meeting requirements of the big businesses.

#### IV. Problems in Public Administration

(A) Local Politics and Public Administration Before Formation of New Hitachi City.

As already mentioned, when the mine was being developed and Nissei began to make strides, the big concerns expected little from the local public administration. Being located in the remote farming villages, the companies did many to relieve their employees of the inconveniences in daily living: they built the residences, established the water service, bought

and managed the electric railway to provide transportation to and from offices, and opened theaters, playing-grounds and social clubs for recreation. (Thus established were such subsidiary companies as the Hitachi Land Co., the Hitachi Water Service Co. and the Hitach Electric Railway Co.) There naturally developed autonomy consciousness "inside the fence" and the town and village offices were even reduced to "extortionary" organs. The social framework of Hitachi has thus developed a tradition of its own; it is a kind of social "fault", to use the term of geology, in the distinction between "inside" and "outside" the fence, the former consisting of the employees of Nikko and Nissei who are better paid than the local people and who are comparatively stabilized in livelihood.

Thus, even in case where the business firms have been forced to have interest in local politics and administration in the postwar years, the employees of Nikko and Nissei have kept to the stand as employees of the big concerns rather than the citizens. And in such cases the "inside the fence" consciousness shows up most conspicuously: the private enterprises undertake even the service which ought to be carried out by the municipal authorities; they, for reason of a large amount of taxes they pay, take it for granted that the municipality serves their interests on priority. The laborers, who support the progressive parties in the elections of Diet members, make primary consideration of the interests "inside the fence" in the elections of local assemblymen. And they themselves are totally unconscious of this discrepancy in their political reasoning. Though the employees now have a strong sense of solidarity as organized labor as the result of the active labor union movement, they still retain the

sense of obligation to their companies for sheer reason of their privileged position "inside the fence".

For instance, when the city-wide housecleaning is being conducted by the general citizenry, the people "inside the fence" are exempt from that duty, having only to do it on the different day best fitted for the convenience of their companies. It is also the common practice "inside the fence" to carry out even the disinfection for social sanitation independently with a subsidy from the city authorities. In fire-fighting, the municipality enlists the cooperation of the big business concerns which keep the fire-engines of their own; for medical treatment, the general citizens utilize more often than not the perfectly equipped hospitals of the business concerns. On the contrary, the public residences built by the municipality are more and more being occupied by the employees of the big private concerns although this is partly due to the qualifications which are rather too harsh for the general citizens. Even for the pavement of the roads, priority is given to the ones in the neighborhood of the factories though this is to some extent a matter of course.

This close mutuality between the private enterprises and the local autonomy that existed before the formation of the Great Hitachi City is undeniable. Even the complaints that arose among part of the citizenry gave place, in most cases, to the reconciliation that the privilege was just the tribute to the big enterprises to which the area owed a great deal for its development and prosperity. Such a way of thinking, however, is, needless to say, not wholesome to the public administration which must be keynoted by the independence of the local autonomy itself.

(B) Public Administration in Great Hitachi City

All such points as are mentioned above are being gradually improved ever since the inauguration of the Great Hitachi City. The new city office is becoming more and more independent from the big enterprises and is steadily pushing ahead the modernization of its organization. The composition of the city assembly is also changing with the number of assemblymen elected from the big enterprises decreasing as already mentioned.

In the city administration today, primary emphasis is laid on materialization of the integral city planning. According to the five-year plan prepared in 1957 for the construction of a new city, the water works and highways are to be improved in each of industrial, commercial, residential and arbor zones, and the construction of Port of Kuji (now renamed Port of Hitachi), of which the first stage was already completed in 1959, is also to be finished up.

In order to promote education and culture, efforts are being made to improve the schools and the public hall, as well as to complete the collection of books in the library. The children's clubs for out-of-school activities with which to prevent juvenile delinquency which is often the case with mining and manufacturing cities are also the target of strenuous endeavors.

The promotion of social welfare is one of the important aims of the new city planning. Among the projects are the creation of nurseries, working mothers' dormitories and homes for the aged, as well as the low interest public pawn shops, the improvement of public gardens to provide the citizens with

better means of recreation, the expansion of the zoological garden, and the establishment of children's parks.

The extension of livelihood aid and unemployment relief to an average of 10,000 persons every year during the last several years is also of great importance to the municipal administration.

More positive efforts are being exerted than before to increase the residential buildings in order to ease the stringent shortage of housing due to the ever-increasing population. Already afoot is the construction of fire-proof buildings which can be used for both residences and stores so as to keep the main part of the city safe from fires.

Due attention is being directed to the promotion of agriculture and marine industry, as well as the aid to small business, which in the past was apt to be ignored.

It requires no elaboration that the majority of such equipments will, after all, best serve the interests of the large enterprises. The opening of the commercial port will bring a great benefit to Nissei in connection with the shipments of its products and the heavily paved industrial highway will, of course, do much to facilitate commercial traffic to and from the port. (Needless to say, Nissei pays the beneficiary's dues for these constructions. For instance, for the first-stage construction of Port of Hitachi, which was financed by the state for ¥ 65,000,000, by the prefecture for ¥240,000,000 and by the municipality for ¥141,000,000, Nissei bore the expense up to ¥206,000,000.) It can even be said, therefore, that the city planning is in itself the factory planning of the large enterprises. Of this, a typical example is found in the land readjustment

of the Hidaka area which, after all, was to help the construction of a branch factory of the Hitachi Cable Plant. (This is the first of the cases to which the Hitachi City Act to attract industrial plants has even applied. According to the stipulation, all of ¥17,000,000 fixed asset tax to be paid by the factory every year is to be reimbursed to it for three years.) In this light, it is not impossible to say that the livelihood aid to the poor families and the relief to the unemployed is, after all, to prepare an industrial reserve force for the large enterprises.

Such an interpretation, however, is certainly excessive. For it is unavoidable for a newly rising city, which ought to depend on large enterprises for growth and development, or, to put it more explicitly, cannot survive without large enterprises to depend upon, to serve the interests of such large enterprises. And this is nothing to wonder when it is considered that the large enterprises bear a heavy tax burden and the people in their employ take a large proportion in the local population. The question is whether the municipality, while meeting the demand of large enterprises, on the one hand, is fulfilling, on the other, its own duty and responsibility in the Public Administration, and, by so doing, is safeguarding itself as a local autonomy as it ought to be. In this sense, the progress may still be in the inceptive stage, and, in the case of the Hitachi City, it can be said that the step has just begun to be taken on the right track.

#### (C) Present Problems and Future Outlook

The Hitachi mining and manufacturing area is rapidly grown city wherein the public administration for a local autonomy has always been apt to lag behind its development as a mining

and manufacturing center. Such was quite natural in Japan before World War II where the local administrative bodies were given little or no justice in regard to their autonomy ---- and this was because they could have had no independent source of revenue.

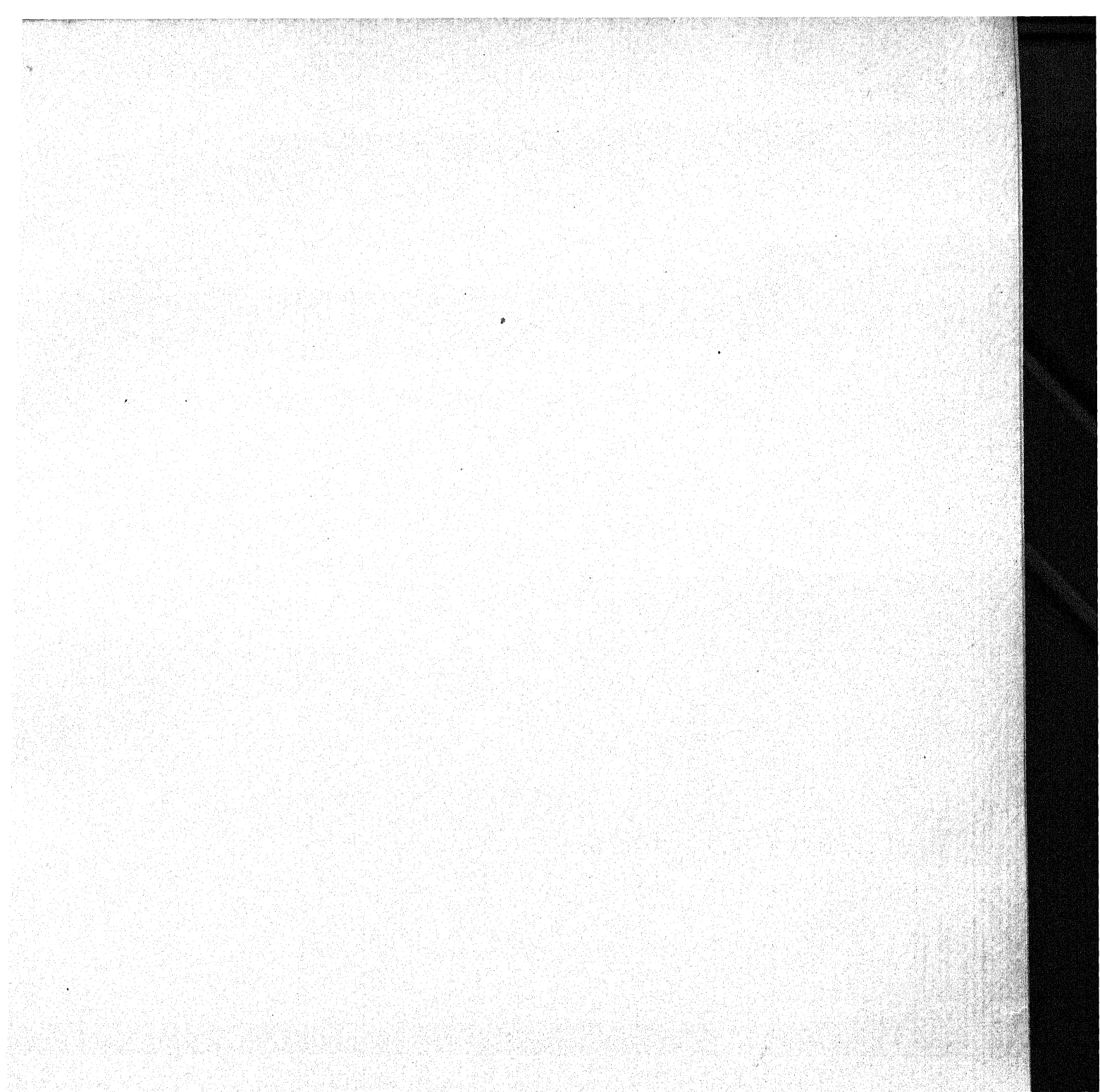
During that period, therefore, the Town of Hitachi also depended on the two big private enterprises for the water works, transportation facilities, as well as medical and welfare conveniences, which the town ought to have instituted by itself. To cite the case of the water works, the service remained under the management of the Hitachi Water Service Co., a subsidiary of Nissei, as is found in the note given before, before it was taken over by the municipality after its inauguration and was incorporated in its public administration. Even today, the municipality has no transportation system under its own management. (The electric car and bus service is being managed by the Hitachi Electric Railway Co. and both Nissei and Nikko have a contract in effect with the company to operate the bus service for the benefit of their employees.) Although the national health insurance system is enforced for the whole city, there is no municipal hospital or even health office open as yet. The municipal authorities have only started the construction of recreational facilities.

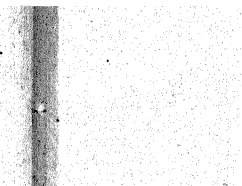
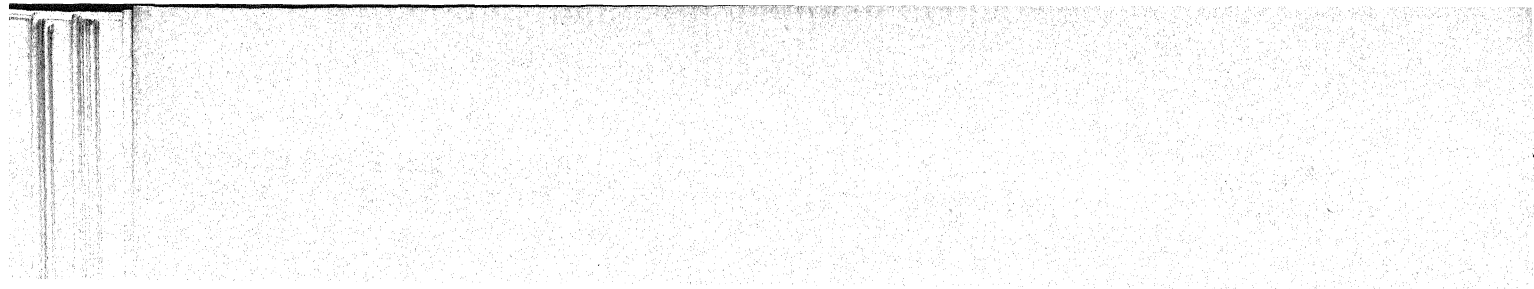
Such, however, is inevitable considering the way the municipality was established. It is still in the stage where its primary task is to push forcibly ahead the integral city planning and thereby secure its foundation as a newly rising city. The basic policy of its municipal administration is, at present, to "maintain a balanced finance by curtailing consumptive spendings

as much as possible and concentrating on constructive and productive activities, and thereby improve and elevate the welfare of the residents". If this policy is steadily translated into practice, the municipality will be able to secure its foundation and proceed ahead to the next stage of progress where to settle various pending problems. Provided that such a novel, positive administration is executed, it can afford to modernize the social interrelations between itself as a local autonomy and the large business enterprises, and establish for itself an independent position required of a local autonomy. And, in that event, it can expect to realize fair and balanced welfare for the whole of the local inhabitants.

Such is not of course the target which can be attained with the power of a local autonomy alone. For the realization of the plans and aims for the future mentioned in the foregoing, the municipality of Hitachi will find it essential that prefectural politics and national politics, particularly the latter, will also be sublined, so they can make progress toward the creation of a really democratic welfare state.

-End-





INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## THE TOWN ADMINISTRATION OF JAMSHEDPUR

BY

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JAMSHEDPUR

INDIA

REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

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A Paper  
on  
The Town Administration of Jamshedpur

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A. General Background:

(I) Physical Layout and Town Planning

For centuries towns and cities have been allowed to grow haphazard. Yet in 1902, Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata, the Founder, as he looked forward to the establishment of this Town could write to his son to "be sure to lay wide streets planted with shady trees, every other of a quick-growing variety. Be sure that there is plenty of space for lawns and gardens. Reserve large areas for football, hockey and parks. earmark areas for Hindu temples, Mohammedan mosques and Christian churches". And today Jamshedpur, in the words of the Committee of Experts appointed in 1954 under the chairmanship of Mr. P.R. Nayak, the then Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, "has been able to achieve and maintain a high level of services and amenities. Comparisons are odious, but it would not be wrong to say that the only towns that, in our experience, approach

Jamshedpur in this matter are New Delhi (before the war and the influx of displaced persons affected its standards), Mysore, Bangalore(Parts) Secunderabad and Bombay(parts). Overall, it is perhaps the best."

The period between 1902 when the Founder Visualised his pattern of a township that was yet to come up and the present day is history. We shall delve briefly into its pages.

Jamshedpur is situated in the Dhalbhum Sub-Division of Singhbhum District in the State of Bihar. It falls on the main Railway line connecting Calcutta and Bombay and is situated at a distance of about 156 miles from Calcutta and 1007 miles from Bombay, and at an altitude of 532' above the sea level. Sources of the principal raw materials for the steel works lie within 200 miles. The town is bounded on the West by the Khorkai river, on the East by the Cadestral Survey boundaries of certain villages, on the North by the Subarnarekha river and on the South by the South Eastern Railway line. It spreads over an undulating area, interspersed with nales, of nearly 25 sq.miles.

Initially an area of 3,564 acres was acquired. The preliminaries for the construction of the Tata Iron and Steel Works commenced in the year 1907 and the plant was ready in 1911. Messrs Julian Kennedy Sahlin of Pittsburgh, U.S.A., were appointed the Consulting Engineers for planning the site and erecting the works. A small number of bungalows and quarters was constructed for the accommodation of the staff. The town, then known as Sakchi, was originally laid out to accommodate about 8,000 to 10,000 employees. The Railway station was known as 'Kalimati'.

Recognition, however, came in 1919 when the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, visited the Iron and Steel works and renamed Sakchi 'Jamshedpur' in honour of the Founder, to whose 'prescience, imagination and genius', the great enterprise was due. A little later the Bihar Government renamed Kalimati station 'Tatanagar'

The works expanded and along with it the Town, and since the growth was much beyond the expectations of even the promoters, some trouble areas soon cropped up. As against the 8,000 to 10,000 employees, for whom provision was initially made, the Town was returned in the 1921 Census with a population of 57,360 compared to 5,672 in the Census of 1911. Consequently, housing failed to keep pace with this rapid growth, and irregular, insanitary and unsightly juts began to grow up on the outskirts of the Company's land.

During less than a decade, therefore, a host of human problems developed. The Company, however, was quick to take note of the rapidly changing conditions. It thought in terms of more land and scientifically planned development. Steps to acquire an additional 12215 acres to the east were taken. In this contest, the famous Sydney

Webb in 1916 wrote a memorandum on 'The Medical Service in the Welfare work at Sakchi' and Beatrice Webb on 'Co-operative stores, Benefit funds and thrift agencies'. On the advice of a committee that was set up under the Chairmanship of Sydney Webb the Company in 1918 invited Dr. Harold Mann, a well-known social worker of Poona, and Mr. A.V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society, to report on the problems of Social Welfare at Sakchi (as Jamshedpur was then called). After thorough investigation, Dr Mann submitted an informative and valuable report on all aspects of the Town. In addition to the subjects more usually considered under social Welfare Schemes, the report related to everything connected with the development of the Town, such as town planning, housing, sewage and Sewerage disposal, water supply, cultivation and dairy farming. etc.

Soon after, in 1919, Mr F.C. Temple, who was Sanitary Engineer to the Government of Bihar & Orissa, and himself a townplanner, was appointed as Chief Town Engineer. In about 6 months' time he submitted a Town Plan. Dr Mann's report, just preceding, was a valuable guide. The Temple Plan however, was not concerned with the details of planning the area of the 2nd acquisition, which started coming into the Company's possession only in 1919. This plan, which broadly continued to be the basis for planning till about 1943, was confined to the planning of (i) residential areas, (ii) business areas, (iii) road alignments, (iv) green lungs and (v) removal and replanning of bustees within the area of 3,564 acres first acquired.

In 1920, Mr G. Witter, a Director of the F.R.I.B.A., who visited Jamshedpur at the instance of the Directors of the Steel Company, considered, on examination, the scheme as proposed in Temple's Town Planning Report, satisfactory. Apart from making some concrete suggestions on some specific matters and proposals regarding the construction of buildings then contemplated by the Company, he felt that there was an opportunity for developing a definite character or note that should form the motive for all building designs and that this note should be essentially Indian.

Temple's Plan did not deal with the eastern area, as in 1919 the nature of its development was still uncertain. The Associated Companies started coming up in 1920-21. As their number increased and as they grew, and as the Steel Company grew, the need to have an integrated plan for the whole town was felt and in 1938 the company secured the services of Mr. P.G.W. Stopes, Civilian Engineer Adviser to the Chief Engineer, Quetta, to advise on Town Planning

since the Temple Plan was already nearly 18 years old. Stopes had been associated with the reconstruction of Quetta after the great earthquake of 1935. He spoke in very general terms about Jamshedpur, but emphasised that the district had grown out of its clothes and that the time had arrived when stock-taking was essential. It was in this background of accumulating problems that Dr Otto Koenigsberger, the then state Architect of the State of Mysore, was commissioned in 1944 to prepare a Master Plan for Jamshedpur. Since, with certain modifications, it still continues to be the guide for development, perhaps a brief description of the Plan will be of interest.

Dr Koenigsberger set out, in his own words, "a plan which leaves scope for theoretically unlimited growth, but which, at the same time, is not dependent on the attainment of any given size and provides a suitable town organization at any moment". This was 'elastic planning', designed to obviate two defects in the growth of Jamshedpur, viz., insufficient housing and the intermingling of houses and industries. Dr. Koenigsberger assumed that "the town will grow even if the steel plan itself does not expand any more". The more important elements of Dr. Koenigsberger's plan are briefly set forth below:

- (i) Clearly separated areas should be earmarked for the various facets of urban life, such as industries, housing, recreation, traffic, education, and marketing.
- (ii) The most important task at Jamshedpur was the reservation of separate areas for factories and for housing. Developments that had already taken place automatically suggested the limits

of the industrial zone, but steps must be taken in future to remove from this area houses that had come up through the earlier absence of a plan of segregation.

- (iii) All the land to the north of the factory area should be reserved for housing, but the development of this area should be on the basis of self-contained "neighbourhood units".
- (iv) Bustees, except as transitory accommodation for those who were not yet used to urban ways of living, should not be allowed in future, and most of the existing bustees removed in the process of redevelopment.
- (v) Roads to serve as Express Highways for through traffic from one end of the town to the other, Arterial Roads for internal traffic circulation, and Housing streets to serve the purpose of giving access to buildings in the "neighbourhood units" should be provided.
- (vi) The minimum housing accommodation to be provided in future should be a two-roomed house.  
Resort to pre-fabricated houses would reduce cost.
- (vii) Housing schemes should be executed on the basis of lateral as opposed to vertical development.
- (viii) A 'Tisco Housing Agency' should be set up to take charge of all housing properties. Rents for houses should be charged at economic rates on a formula prescribed, so that the Agency could be self-supporting. Funds for new housing should be provided by the Steel Company or other interested investors, but interest at 3% should be paid thereon.
- (ix) The creation of 'Jamshedpur Recreation Fund' and a 'Jamshedpur Welfare Fund' was proposed.
- (x) A 'Jamshedpur public Services Administration' should take charge of electricity supply, transport, water supply, sewage, conservancy, public health, schools, public safety, markets and slaughter houses.

(xi) The necessity of increasing water supply and sewerage facilities, as the Town grows, must be foreseen and adequately planned for.

(xii) The creation of 'Regional Planning Board', a 'Jugslai Board of Public Health', a Trunk Roads Committee and a 'Sub-arnarokha & Khorkai Valley Administration' should be envisaged.

It has not been possible for various reason to accept all the recommendations of Dr Koenigsberger or implement fully as yet all of those that have, in principle, been accepted by the Company. But the one definite gain from Dr Koenigsberger's recommendations has been the rigid adherence to the idea of the 'industrial or factory zone'. Fair progress has been made with the creation of 'neighbourhood units'. Development has generally been on the basis of two-roomed houses. The new housing colonies have been planned, so as to provide reasonable recreational and shopping facilities. The twin problems of water supply and sewage disposal have come to the forefront, as have others relating to the administrative machinery of the Town. It was not, however, considered practicable to create a number of more or less self-supporting agencies for looking after the different services, as recommended by Dr Koenigsberger. Some of the other recommendations of Dr. Koenigsberger also now stand in need of further examination. New considerations and fresh data have a bearing on the future course of action and the nature and magnitude of the problems of town development must be reassessed from time to time.

For instance, Dr Koenigsberger expressed his preference for single storied houses. For a number of reasons, it may not be possible in the present circumstances fully to agree with this view of Dr Koenigsberger. The factors of distance of houses from the place of work and the limited area of land available for such construction are two important considerations that recommend multi-storied construction.

## (II) Population Structure:

Next to Patna, which is the capital city, Jamshedpur today is the biggest town in the state of Bihar. At present, it is estimated to have a population of over 3,00,000. The rate of growth is best seen from the several decennial census figures furnished below:-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1911	5,672
1921	57,360
1931	92,459
1941	1,65,395
1951	2,18,162

A Socio-Economic Survey, sponsored by the Research Programme Committee of the Planning Commission, was conducted in 1954-55 under the supervision of Dr. B.R. Misra, Professor of Applied Economics and Commerce, of the Patna University. The Technique adopted for conducting the survey of households was stratified systematic sampling. The data on the population structure was observed from a sample survey of 5% of the families living in this Town. The surveyed population was divided into two groups, the 'inside' and the 'outside'. Inside referred to persons living in Jamshedpur, the rest being described as persons living "outside" the town. Since this survey provides the latest available data

on the Socio-economic conditions at Jamshedpur, some of the information collected then would bear repetition in the present context, if only to focus attention on some noticeable and possible trends.

The Survey revealed that about 78.8% of the population covered by it resided 'inside' the Town and 21.2% 'Outside' it.

The Sex-ratio, i.e., the number of females per 100 males, for the entire population was estimated at 89.3. But the sex-ratio of those living 'inside' and 'outside' the town, considered separately varied to an appreciable extent. In the case of those living 'inside' the Town, the ratio was 84.4%, whereas for those living 'outside' for every 100 males there were 110.5 females. According to Dr. Misra, one of the possible reasons for this disparity could be that a large number of persons employed in the Town had left their families behind at their native places.

Two significant points relating to the sex-ratio for 'inside' the Town were (i) the gradual drop of the ratio from 93.2 in the age group of 15-24 to 48.4 in the age group 45-54 and (ii) its gradual rise to 270 in the age group 75 and above. The thinking was that between the ages of 15 to 24 males started moving into the town in search of employment. This movement increased appreciably till the age of 54. This entry of males into the Town, not accompanied by the female members of their families, resulted in a regular fall in the sex ratio. A reversal of the trend, however, began when, about the age of 65, males started retiring to their native places. This explanation was corroborated by an opposite trend of sex-ratio 'outside' the Town.

The age structure of the population, according to the Survey, is set out in Table I below:

TABLE I - AGE STRUCTURE

...10

Age-Group	Male	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Inside	Outside	'Inside' ex-pressed as number of ti-mes of the 'outside' population	Total	Percentage according to the Census of India 1951
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number of times	%	%
Below 1 year	2.1	1.8	3.9	1.0	.9	1.9	3.1	.4	7.8	3.5	13.5
1-4	6.6	6.6	13.2	4.4	3.5	7.9	10.4	1.7	6.1	12.1	24.8
5-14	13.7	11.9	25.6	12.6	10.6	22.6	20.2	4.8	4.2	25.0	17.4
15-24	8.5	7.9	16.4	9.4	8.9	18.3	12.9	3.9	3.3	16.8	15.6
25-34	8.2	7.4	15.6	4.8	6.6	11.4	12.3	2.3	5.3	14.6	11.9
35-44	7.3	5.4	12.7	3.1	6.2	9.3	10.0	2.0	5.0	12.0	8.5
45-54	5.6	2.7	8.3	4.0	6.2	10.2	6.6	2.2	3.0	8.8	5.1
55-64	1.7	1.3	3.0	4.5	6.0	10.5	2.4	2.2	1.1	4.6	2.2
65-75	0.4	0.5	0.9	2.5	2.8	5.3	0.7	1.1	0.6	1.8	1.0
75 & Above	0.1	0.3	0.4	1.2	1.4	2.6	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.8	
Total	54.2	45.8	100.0	47.5	52.5	100.0	78.9	21.1	36.9	100.0	100.0

Dr Misra has concluded that, to some extent, rapid urbanisation is associated with:

- (i) Shorter span of life,
- (ii) Higher birth-rate,
- (iii) Higher death-rate, and
- (iv) Preponderance of males over females.

The classification of the population according to religion showed that the percentage of Hindus (73.8%) was lower than the All India percentage (85.0%) because of the higher percentages of Muslims (13.3% - 9-9%), Sikhs (4.4% - 1.1%) and tribal people (4.1% - 0-5%) in this town. When compared with the average town, this indicates that Jamshedpur has acquired a more cosmopolitan character.

The survey also estimated that the average size of the family consisted of 5.8 persons, with 4.6 persons living 'inside' the Town and 1.2 persons 'outside' it.

The study of the distribution of families according to the number of persons in each family living 'inside' the Town indicated that there were 1-3 persons in 38.3% and 4-6 persons in 40.1% of the families surveyed. They constituted the majority.

Some years earlier it had been estimated that worker's family in Jamshedpur consisted of 1.3 workers.

On Emigration there is no data whatsoever available, and on immigration it is but scanty. The survey conducted in this direction was based on the information collected from persons residing in the Town at that time and it was estimated that 44.28% of the immigrants entered the Town before 1940 and 55.72% after it. There was not much variation in the number of immigrants arriving each year between 1940 and 1955. Table II below shows the percentages of immigrants from different sources before and later 1940.

See table II on page 12

Table II = Immigrants according to places of migration

Place	Before 1940			1940 to Feb, 1955		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
(a) Same District	6.41	.84	7.25	4.43	.48	4.91
(b) Other districts of the state of Bihar	15.44	3.56	19.00	20.08	4.17	24.25
(c) Other states of India(excluding Bihar)	50.59	10.34	60.93	41.43	9.75	51.18
(d) Foreign countries (including Pakistan)	11.46	1.36	12.82	16.40	3.26	19.66
Total	83.90	16.10	100.00	82.34	17.66	100.00

The Jamshedpur population is made up of the permanent factory workers with their dependents and the 'others' with their dependents. The 'others' constitute categories present for rendering the different services to and meeting all the wants of the community, and in addition casual labour, refugees, those coming in search of employment and other non-essential classes. It is estimated that there would be about 60,000 permanent or quasi-permanent employees engaged in the major factories at Jamshedpur of whom about 35,000 are with the steel Company. If the family of this group comprises an average of 1.3 workers as estimated in 1951 it would appear that about 46,000 heads of families are dependent on the major industries located in Jamshedpur. With an average size of 4.6 members per family, as estimated by Dr Misra, a population of about 2,00,000 can be said to belong to the category of permanent

or quasi-permanent factory workers and their dependents. About 1,00,000 would be the 'others' and their dependents. This ratio of 'others' to factory workers would seem to be disproportionately high in an industrial township like Jamshedpur, and to a great extent would appear to account for some of the major administrative and financial problems discussed later in this paper.

(III) ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS:

The area on which the Steel plant and the Town have grown was largely a forest area with barren tracts and a few patches of arable land. We are told that people had to depend on hunting and gathering, besides cultivation, because the yield was poor due to the fact that the soil was not uniformly fertile and irrigational facilities were almost non-existent. It was a typical Primitive economy and industrial revolution took place in the heart of this economy.

In over 50 years that economy has vastly changed. But the shift was gradual without many sparks and much flame. It was therefore, steady if somewhat slow.

Besides the Associated Companies, several Small-scale industries have gradually grown up in Jamshedpur by utilizing the urban economies like power supply, transport, etc, in view of the existence of sizable market for a large population. It is estimated that there are over 150 small-scale enterprises of various descriptions in this town.

Wages have to be viewed in the context of real income. If they are inadequate in relation to the cost of living and the price index, the standard of living will be obviously low. If, however, wages are unduly high, particularly in a country like India, the market will show inflationary trends. The question of striking a balance presents a delicate task, but it can be said that the employees of the steel company, at Jamshedpur were in the past and perhaps are even today about the best paid in the country.

An assessment of real income has not been made in recent years due to the lack of reliable and adequate data. The Govt. of India statistics on cost of living in Jamshedpur do not throw much light on the actual cost of living in the day to day life of the people. It must vary from one income group to another because of the group weights given to different items of consumption, which is dependent on income. Average weights therefore represent a flat picture and the following statement is only indicative of the trend in a very general way:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Average Cost of living</u>	<u>Group weights</u>	
1947	123	Cereals	36.49%
1951	160	Other articles	29.27%
1954	140	Fuel & Lighting	5.43%
1955	135	Clothing	10.16%
1956	146	House rent	4.69%
1957	174	Miscellaneous	13.96%
1958	169		

On industrial indebtedness • in Jamshedpur a Survey was conducted by the Government of Bihar in the early part of 1956. The sample taken was rather small - 2.5% of the permanent factory workers, selected on a stratified random sample basis. Only workers drawing salaries upto Rs. 400/- per month were surveyed.

This survey revealed some interesting facts. Whereas in 1938-39, when the Family Budget Enquiry was made in Jamshedpur there was an overall deficit of 10% of the income over expenditure in 1956 there was a surplus of 1.06% in income over expenditure. But inspite of it, there was considerable deterioration in the position of indebtedness. Whereas in 1938-39, 75% of the families were in debt, in 1956 the indebtedness had spread to 80% of the families, and the average debt per worker's family was as high as nearly six times the monthly income of the family. 23.60% of the total debt was for productive purposes. Out of which construction and repair of houses accounted for 12.57% and acquisition of property for 5.41%. Social ceremonies accounted for 38.42%, social difficulties for 15.54% and individual disability for 11.81%. Out of the debts for social ceremonies, 32.79% accounted for marriages of dependents. Religious ceremonies accounted for only 0.68%.

Professional money-lenders were held to be responsible for 14% of the total credit, provident fund provided 3.91% and co-operative credit societies 71.97%. Kabuliwallas and refugees from West Pakistan charged as exorbitant a rate of interest as 100/150%.

It was also found that the Company's employees withdrew money from the Provident Fund account and took loans from the Co-operative Credit societies to lend to needy persons on exorbitant rates of interest.

The Co-operative credit societies are by far the most important source for obtaining credit. There are about 42 co-operative societies in Jamshedpur. Of them, as many as 39 are co-operative credit societies of Tisco employees. The imbalanced emphasis on credit is apparent.

The credit co-operative though successful in expanding the corporate assets have failed to reduce indebtedness. Instead, it would appear that they have raised the incidence of indebtedness by making easy credit available. It is also not unlikely that this factor is responsible for inducing the members to live beyond their means. The success of the credit co-operatives would appear to be primarily due to the fact that the Steel Company helps them by deducting the loan amounts from the wages of loanee members. Left to themselves, it is doubtful if they would have survived the pressure of loans. The few non-credit co-operative enterprises have been struggling hard against severe odds for their survival inspite of the keen interest taken and substantial contributions made by the Steel Company in furtherance of their cause.

#### SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

Jamshedpur during the past 50 years has witnessed great many changes due to multifarious physical, demographic and economic factors. These in turn have altered the nature, content and structure of social groups and institutions, transforming an essentially rural society into an urban or industrial society.

People from different groups arrived in Sakchi in 1907/8. They found themselves in a melting pot of cultures. In 1919, Harold Mann reported that people from different provinces and various communities lived in diffused groups. The traditional community thus began to disintegrate. At the same time the process of social reorganisation also began to operate. Jamshedpur started assuming a new social form built around the factory. Whereas the traditional villages consisted of relatively small groups of people characterised by a consciousness of direct personal relations and common values, at Jamshedpur that consciousness was being substituted by impersonal and diversified contacts. Furthermore, informal groups inside and outside the factory consisting of members of the same age-group, the same political views, the same native village or State, or with common grudges came to be formed. But through the observance of certain customs, practices and festivals, the different communities have also preserved their basic characteristics.

In regard to the tribal groups, however, one gets the impression that some of the vital traditional bonds are stronger among them than among the non-tribal groups. Although the tribal population does not now live in isolation, different tribal groups have a tendency to unite to form an organisation entirely of their own. Kinship provides a stronger binding force among them.

There has also been a weakening of the joint family system for the reason that as the male member of a joint family with his nearest kith and kin moved to Sakchi, he formed a unit

of his own and drifted from the parent body. He could not participate as frequently as he did in the affairs of the residuary family at the village and, in general, physical distance restricted personal interaction.

Caste has been the traditional system of social stratification among the Hindus. Whilst this still continues to be a fairly powerful system in the village, in an industrial society, such as at Jamshedpur, it is undergoing considerable readjustments. Apparently caste considerations cannot have any important role to play in the life of a society grown around a factory. But it would be incorrect to say that the caste system with deep roots in the Hindu social structure has disappeared under industrial conditions - at home there is still the pressure of the tradition. The scope of the caste system has therefore narrowed down to the confines of the home, while outside it other determinants involving inter-caste social intercourse regulate the activities of life.

In an industrial society, the working class must attract special attention. In fact, organised labour greatly influences the pace and pattern of the social changes. A brief reference to the attempts made at organising labour is therefore necessary in the present context.

Labour has had a fair deal at Jamshedpur both before and after it was organised. The Management of the Steel Company introduced among others an eight-hour day as early as in 1912. Leave with pay was also introduced in 1920. Gradually, however, as the factory tended to unify the workers on a single platform, and as this unity became an organised force,

there was less appreciation of the paternalistic attitude of the Company and greater evidence of restlessness. In 1920 and 1922 there were two successful strikes. By about 1925, as a result of discussions with Mahatma Gandhi, C.R.Das and C.F. Andrews, the Labour Association with Andrews as its President was recognised. Later various fissiparous tendencies joined hands with the workers, who developed group rivalries within the labour movement, and Andrews could not stop the successful strike in 1928, which continued for about 4½ months. Subhas Chandra Bose succeeded Andrews and the strike of 1928 was finally resolved. In 1937, Abdul Bari came to Jamshedpur to organise labour on behalf of the Indian National Congress. He formed the Tata Workers' Union, which was immediately recognised by the Company. In spite of his close contact with the masses, factions and frictions still continued when Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajendra Prasad visited Jamshedpur for resolving the difficulties and paving the way for greater co-operation. Consequently, barring a political strike in 1942, there was no strike for about 30 years. With Bari's death in 1948, the presidentship of the Tata Workers' Union fell on Michael John, who still holds that office.

Discord and dissension in the labour field have recently again reappeared. Jamshedpur witnessed several illegal and unsuccessful strikes in 1957/58. The Steel Company had more than its share. There was a Town Strike in 1957 and a general strike in 1958, the latter by Communists, more for political reasons than for any other reason.

## B. MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND ITS PROBLEMS

### (I) Administrative framework, functions and procedures

#### (a) The past 50 years

An industrial township may be defined as a township built around one or more industries. In a broader sense it could also mean any urban community that depends for its economy on industry located in the area. In an age of industrial revolution, specially in a developing country like ours, several if not most of the existing big centres would sooner or later satisfy one or the other of these two conditions. There are however at present, not many industrial townships of the first category, but several are being built, and more are likely to come up as the wheels of industrialisation move on.

Jamshedpur is an industrial township of a proprietary nature built around a number of industries in the private sector. The requirements of such a township would be -

- (i) housing,
- (ii) water supply,
- (iii) sewerage & sewage disposal,
- (iv) roads and service alleys,
- (v) electrification,
- (vi) medical & health services,
- (vii) educational facilities,
- (viii) recreational, social & cultural facilities,
- and (ix) markets.

The functions of providing these facilities and services and maintaining them constitute the essentials of any town

administration. The factors that hinder the efficient discharge of these functions are the problems.

The town of Jamshedpur has witnessed several changes during the past 50 years in the form of its management. These were occasioned by the varying needs, for, as the Town grew and the times changed, the administration became increasingly complicated, and set-ups were devised to meet the new requirements of an expanding township and altered situations.

Initially the Town was managed entirely as a department of the Works under the direct control of the General Manager. There was a small Town Office controlled by an Assistant Engineer, who was later called Town Superintendent. This official administered the Town and looked after the bazars, the roads, the buildings, the letting of houses, and everything connected with the Town, except sanitation and water. There was a separate section to control the sweepers, clean the drains and remove refuse.

In March 1919, the Government of Bihar and Orissa, with the approval of the Government of India, appointed a Committee consisting of four members of the Government and one representative of the Steel Company, the President being Mr. W. Maude, Member of the Executive Council, Bihar & Orissa, to examine the various problems and to submit recommendations regarding the future administration of this area. It was felt that the rapid expansion of the Steel Works and the proposed establishment of numerous subsidiary companies in this area would have the effect of developing this area into a large and populous industrial sector, and the Governments

thought it desirable to be fully prepared for this development; and to meet the needs of the industries concerned as well as of the attendant population. This Committee submitted its report in November 1919. Their conclusions are now of academic interest only, for no action was taken on their report mainly due to the financial implications of the proposals.

So far as can be ascertained, the Government issued no orders on the findings of that Committee since the financial issues were regarded to be of such complexity that they were not thought capable of being easily resolved.

In the meanwhile, in 1919, the Town Department was reorganised in two separate branches - one purely administrative and the other executive. The administrative branch was entrusted with the allotment of houses, market administration, land acquisition, management of the farm and the like, while the executive branch was to attend to the implementation of the town planning schemes. In 1920, however, the separate divisions of administrative and executive branches were abolished, and the control of the entire division was placed under an official designated Chief Town Engineer and Administrator. This organisation existed until 1932, except during the brief period of existence of a Governing Body for Jamshedpur that came to be formed in the circumstances and with functions stated below.

In 1923, the Steel Company and the Associated Companies had entered into an Agreement for the formation of a purely voluntary body for the better municipal government of the Town and the local area of Jamshedpur and for the

mutual advantage of the various industrial concerns. In terms of this Agreement, a Governing Body of the Town of Jamshedpur was formed consisting of - (a) a Committee of Companies and (b) a Board of Works, to hold office for a period of three years, unless previously superseded by some authority constituted by Government. The constitution provided for the Chairman of the Committee of Companies to be appointed by the Steel Company, and the Secretary to be nominated from amongst the representatives of the Steel Company on the Board of Works. The Secretary would also be the Chairman of the Board of Works.

The duties of the Committee of Companies and the Board of Works consisted of the following:

(I) Committee of Companies:

- (i) To approve with or without alteration the budgets submitted by the Board of Works;
- (ii) To appoint auditors and pass their reports;
- (iii) To give administrative approval to all projects of the Board of Works estimated to cost over Rs. 5,000/- and to accept tenders for works estimated to cost over Rs. 1,00,000/-;
- (iv) To decide any question referred to it by the Board of Works;
- (v) To sanction the creation of any post under the Board of Works with a salary of over Rs. 300/- per mensem and the appointment of officers to posts carrying a salary of over Rs. 1,000/- per mensem.

(2) Board of Works

Administration of public health, sanitation, hospitals, fire protection, sewerage, water works, lighting, education, bazars, slaughter houses, communications, general welfare work and everything ordinarily administered by the Commissioners of a municipality.

The revenue of the Board of Works was to be derived from municipal taxes, bazars, licence fees, sale proceeds of dairy and agricultural farm, cattle pounds, etc. and contribution from the subscribing companies.

This attempt to secure co-ordinated development was however of a short-lived nature, the main difficulty being that the two bodies possessed no statutory powers in respect of many important matters. Government was unable to take any legislative action to confer statutory powers upon this voluntary administrative body, but decided to take action under the Municipal Act and created in June 1924 a Notified Area Committee for the Town, the members being also the members of the then Board of Works. For several reasons, and more especially because with the formation of a Notified Area Committee there came into being a statutory body that could take care of almost all of the Board's activities, the Agreement of 1923 was not renewed when it expired three years later, and when that happened, the Town was left to be administered by the Town Division of the Steel Company and the J.N.A.C.

In 1932, the Town Division was again divided into two branches, administrative and engineering, but under the overall

control of the Chief Town Administrator. At the head of the engineering branch was the Chief Town Engineer. Medical was separate, but constituted a part of the Town Division between 1941 and 1946 and again between 1955 and 1959. Health was always the responsibility of the Town, except for a period of about 10 years between 1946 and 1955, when it was merged with Medical under the control of the Director of Medical & Health Services. In 1955, the Town, Medical & Health Departments were brought under the unified control of the Director, Town, Medical & Health Services. In early 1960, the Division was once more reorganised by separating the Medical Department from the rest of the Town including Health. The Superintendent, Tata Main Hospital, is in charge of the former, while the control of the latter rests with the Director, Town Services.

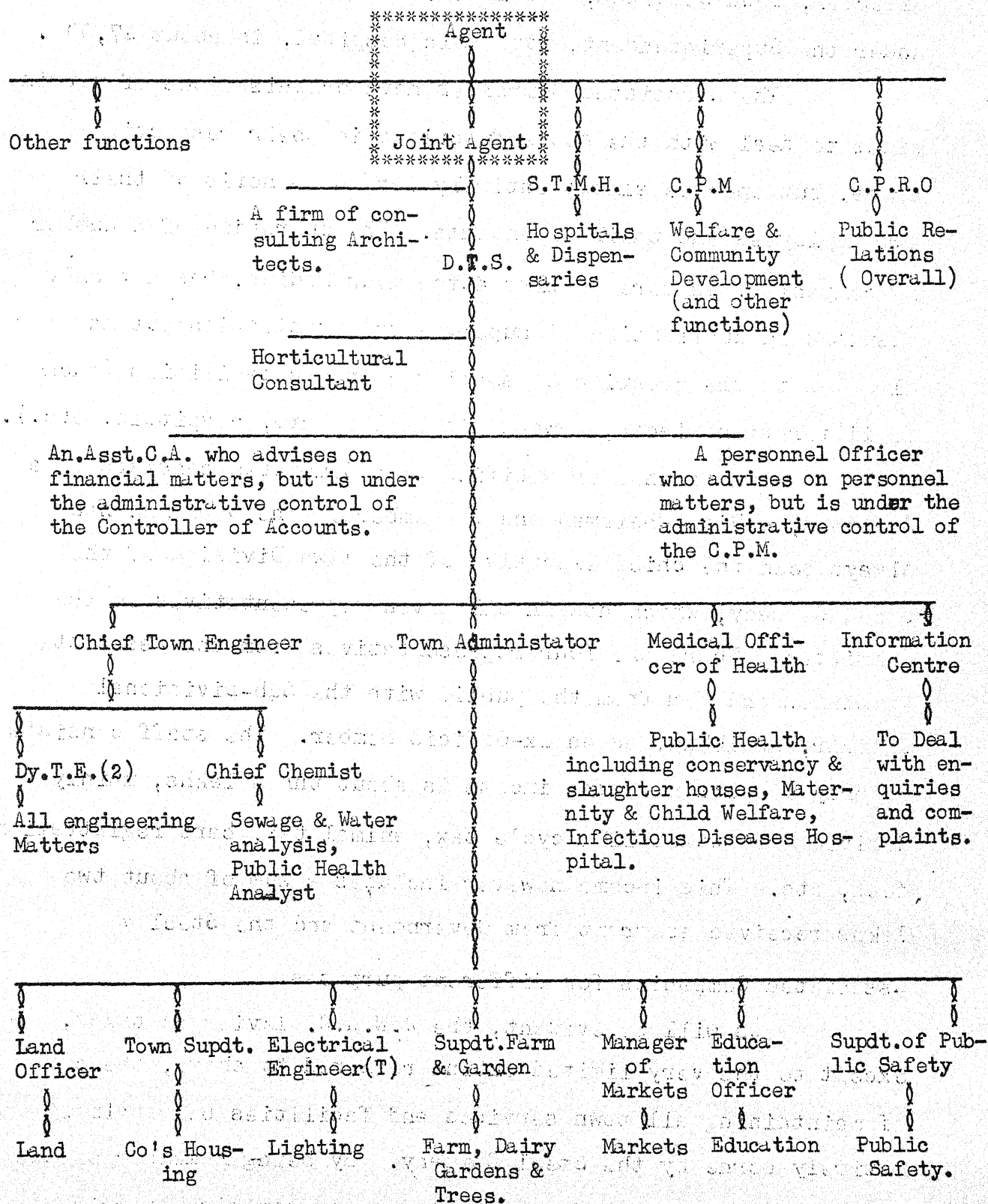
(b) The present set-up

The Town continues till the present day to be administered by the Town Division of the Steel Company and the J.N.A.C. The former discharges virtually all the functions of a local body. The administrative and executive authority is vested in two wings of the Town Division - one under the Director, Town Services, and the other under the Superintendent, Tata Main Hospital, who is also the Member Secretary of the Hospital Visiting Committee constituted in 1959. The function of the Visiting Committee is to advise on matters concerning the hospital, with particular reference to the standard of service provided for the patients, including their diet and clothing, and questions of cleanliness and tidiness in general.

The Director, Town Services, and the Superintendent, Tata Main Hospital, work under the control of the Agent who may be compared to the policy making authority in a normal town administration. Under the Director, Town Services, there are departments dealing with town engineering, town electric supply including street lighting, land, Company houses, markets, dairy farm, education, roads and gardens, maternity and child welfare, and public health including conservancy and slaughter houses. New works relating to electricity supply to the Town, however, is the responsibility of the Chief Electrical Engineer inside the Works. There is an Advisory Council for Education, the more important functions of which are to act as an effective liaison between the Company and the community, to study the educational needs of the Town and assist the Management in the formulation of a suitable educational policy within the limits of the resources available and to generally advise on the development and functioning of the Company's schools. Each High School has also a Committee that exercises, subject to the Education Code and the rules & regulations of the Company, general direction and control over the conduct of business and other activities of the school. An Horticultural Consultant advises on the development of parks, gardens and roadside plantations. On matters connected with planning and design the Company refers to a firm of Consulting Architects, with which it has entered into a standing agreement for such services. The Superintendent, Tata Main Hospital, controls the main hospital, veterinary hospital and dispensaries. The welfare and community development activities are directed by the Chief Personnel Manager, and Public relations by the Chief Public Relations Officer both working under the control of the Agent.

The following chart indicates the pattern of the existing organisation of the steel company for the administration of the town

.. 27



The total number of staff employed in the departments under the Director, Town Services, and in the hospitals and dispensaries under the Superintendent, Tata Main Hospital, is about 47,00 .

The Associated Companies have organisations of varying sizes to deal with the above functions in their respective areas, but operate almost entirely for the benefit of their own employees and their dependents. The operation of a number of companies, as more or less autonomous bodies, has not only resulted in duplication of supervisory organisation but has also led to the creation of small uneconomic facilities (such as filtration plants, sewage disposal plants, hospitals, etc.).

The Jamshedpur Notified Area Committee consists of a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and 20 members. The Chairman has always been the chief executive of the Town Division of the Steel Company, which has in all seven representatives on the Committee. There are four representatives from the Associated Companies and ten from the public with the Sub-Divisional Officer, Dhalbhum, as an Ex-Officio Member. The staff consists of only 38 persons. The income is about three lakhs, mainly derived from taxes like cycle tax, animal tax, cart registration fees, etc. This income however includes a sum of about two lakhs received as grant from Government and the Steel & Associated Companies for different purposes.

As will be evident, the J.N.A.C. levies no taxes, except to the very limited extent referred to above, the cost of maintaining all town services and facilities being almost entirely borne by the Steel Company. By being a member of the J.N.A.C., an officer of the Steel Company can also exercise certain powers under the Municipal Act. This has been done

in respect of certain public health measures. Building construction is regulated under the building bye-laws of the J.N.A.C., but control is exercised through the agency of the Town Engineering Department of the Steel Company, which allots land on certain terms and conditions. So far, these two have been the primary functions of the J.N.A.C.

## (II) Relationships

### (a) With the J.N.A.C. & Government

The J.N.A.C. can undoubtedly exercise substantial powers under the Bihar Municipal Act, but has not been doing so mainly due to paucity of funds. The Committee's staff is meagre, and though some of its powers are exercised through officers of the Town Division, the resulting control is somewhat weak and ineffective.

The Government's attitude generally appears to be what the Maude Committee had felt in 1919. It reported that in the beginning the Company was somewhat in the nature of an experiment, and starting work in a purely rural area it had naturally only provided for the accommodation of employees, who otherwise would not have taken service under it. Therein Jamshedpur differed in its origin from every other town in the Province. The enterprise had proved successful, and a permanent industrial area had been created, which, the Committee thought, required to be developed from that point of view on lines as near as possible conforming with the general administrative system of the Province.

Obviously, such an approach is in conflict with the approach of

the Steel Company, which has from the very start worked on very different lines and for very different ideals, which it is striving hard to preserve even to-day.

(b) With Associated Companies & Public

Brief references to the relationship of the Steel Company with the Associated Companies and the public in matters concerning the administration of this Town as a whole have been made earlier in this paper. It is predominantly characterised by the parent-child relationship which sees to the satisfaction of all elementary wants without demanding reciprocal cooperation. This would seem to be the result of the paternalistic attitude of and the administrative arrangements made by the Steel Company. Except in very recent times, there has, therefore, been no attempt at self-help or community service. One recalls here the view expressed by the Maude Committee in 1919 about making the individual feel that he too contributes to the well-being of the community.

The Associated Companies are content with their own small units, and the fact that the functions which the Steel Company performs in the Town confer both direct and indirect benefits on them is not appreciated to the extent that it should be. The maintenance of good roads facilitates traffic; the public health measures are of incalculable value to an industry; parks, gardens and playgrounds are provided on a lavish scale for public edification; above all, the existence of a town, well-conceived and serviced, is a matter of the greatest importance and consequence to the prosperity of the

Associated Companies. Hence there appears to be a case for a greater measure of cooperation and active assistance from the Associated Companies in the discharge of public responsibilities than at present, which is limited to the mere payment of certain charges to the Steel Company for the services rendered to them.

So far as public cooperation is concerned, there is not much indication that the Steel Company's employees and others residing in the Town are becoming aware of their duties they owe to the Town.

Any enlightened public administration must endeavour to stimulate an understanding of the duties that an individual owes to the community. Jamshedpur offers much scope for efforts on these lines and a start has recently been made by the Steel Company to make the public cleanliness-and-waste conscious, to secure cooperation in the maintenance of public health standards, to permit the formation of groups that will help in improving other services, such as education and physical fitness, and generally to mobilise public opinion behind the official acts of the administration, to stimulate cooperative enterprise, to form vigilance committees, etc., by introducing community development programmes in some of the bustee areas. It is the intention to gradually extend this organisation so as to ultimately cover as large a population as possible. There are also some social and service organisations, like the All India Women's Conference, the All India Council of Women, the Lion's Club and the Rotary Club, to which must go the credit for trying to generate a spirit of cooperation and service in the community and also for contributing quite substantially to the cause of suffering humanity.

(III) BUDGETARY QUESTIONS

In studying the Town Administration under the Steel Company's control, one is struck firstly by its cost. The ordinary revenue expenditure (exclusive of proportionate charges for the services rendered by the Agents, Controller of Accounts, Controller of purchase & Stores, Chief Personnel Manager and Others) is about Rs. 172 lakhs per annum. But if the revenue was made to bear the depreciation and interest on account of capital investment, the gross annual expenditure would be about 257 lakhs. The Associated Companies also incur a revenue expenditure of about Rs. 20 lakhs per annum on rendering municipal services within their colonies.

The per capita revenue expenditure incurred by the Steel Company for a total population of 3,00,000 would be as follows:

Ordinary (i.e. excluding capital charges) .....	Rs. 57.32 per head
Gross (including capital charges) .....	Rs. 85.71 per head

These figures would be higher if the expenditure incurred by the Associated Companies is also taken into account. The following figures provide interesting comparison:

Jamshedpur (Gross) in 1954-55	..	Rs. 82/- per head
Bombay City "	..	Rs. 39/- per head
Bombay Suburbs "	..	Rs. 25/- per head
Ahmedabad "	..	Rs. 30/- per head
Poona "	..	Rs. 24/- per head
Patna "	..	Rs. 20/- per head

The deficit incurred by the Steel Company on the Town has been steadily increasing as the following figures will show:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Overall deficit in lakhs of rupees</u>
1939-40	1.41
1940-41	4.35
1941-42	4.98
1957-58	59.74
1958-59	65.39
1959-60	80.06

In 1954, the Nayak Committee thought that the reasons for the growing deficit were primarily the abnormal increase in maintenance cost and the rapid growth of expenditure on the pay and other allowances of the Town employees who had not been distinguished from the employees in the Works and were therefore on comparable levels of pay and other service conditions. The Steel Company receives no grant or assistance; except for a nominal grant for education, from the Government, the entire financial burden being its sole responsibility, and by being deprived of assistance on a par with that available to other local bodies in the State, the industry is being required to provide for a large population of 'outsiders' for whom the Government should correctly assume responsibility. However that be, in view of the competitive era that lies

ahead, a large town deficit must be a matter of great concern to any management.

The more important proposals made by the Committee to reduce expenditure and increase revenue - this was the primary consideration for the appointment of the Committee - are stated below, with brief explanatory notes wherever necessary:

(a) Proposals for reducing expenditure

(i) Reduction of staff and reorganisation.

(ii) **Introduction** of revised scales of pay and service conditions, comparable to those in force in other Local Bodies, to new entrants to the Town service.

Note: It has not been possible to do such in these directions yet because of the numerous difficulties inherent in the process involved, specially in recent times.

(iii) Maintenance of buildings to be increasingly put on the basis of contract working, the departmental system being inordinately expensive.

Note: This is being done wherever possible. It is not practicable however to do away with the departmental system altogether.

(iv) Mechanisation of conservancy practices.

Note: This is being gradually implemented.

(v) Gradual transfer of certain responsibilities like road maintenance, primary education, some public health items, etc., to the J.N.A.C.

Note: For considerations referred to at various places in this section of the paper, this proposal has not so far been seriously pursued.

(b) Proposals for increasing revenue

- (i) Future disposal of land to be on a fair market value basis as the then existing rates were low.

Note: Recently in respect of leases the rates of rental have been revised.

- (ii) Wherever possible, monthly tenancies to be converted into regular leases on normal rates of ground rent.

Note: Whilst such a proposal might be financially advantageous, in the present day conditions control would become more difficult. In the case of monthly tenants, their tenancies can be terminated on 15 days' notice, and in the absence of statutory powers this is an effective procedure for exercising overall supervision and control over the areas in which these holdings are situated. It however does preclude construction of architecturally sound and good buildings, but if properly planned and maintained it can create a rural atmosphere and blend pleasantly the urban and the rural ways of life and living. The monthly tenancy has its origin in the distant past, when land was allotted to the lower paid employees

and others to put up their residences and shops in different areas of the Town, the intention being that if such areas, commonly known as 'Bustees', were later required for the purposes of the Steel Company, the land could be acquired without much difficulty by shifting the tenants to other areas. Though not many, a few such bustees have been removed for expansion of the Works and other allied purposes. Whenever tenants have been so shifted they have been allotted alternative plots of land, and in case of residential holdings paid compensation also. Leases on the other hand are governed by a set of terms and conditions contracted between the lessees and the Steel Company, and usually cover a long period of time. This does enable better class of buildings to be constructed but results, in our circumstances, in weaker control. It is also doubtful whether conditions demand abolition of the monthly tenancy system altogether, if one considers the capacity of the persons whom these bustees are meant to accommodate to put up buildings of the types that are generally built on leased plots.

(iii) Grants to be claimed from Government in respect of medical relief facilities made available at the hospital for members of the public and Government servants.

(iv) Government to be approached for giving the Company a reasonable measure of assistance on a par with that available to Local Bodies in the State for primary education and on a normal basis for middle and secondary schools.

Note: Regarding (iii) & (iv), the future of the Hospital in the context of the Employees Health Insurance Scheme is at present somewhat uncertain, and so is the position regarding primary education which the State Government proposes to make free and compulsory.

(v) Municipal contribution payable by non-employees to be increased.

Note: Non-employees were paying a municipal contribution equal to  $9\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the rental value in respect of the residential and non-residential buildings built on plots of land leased to them, in addition to water charges on a metered basis. The Nayak Committee observed that under the Municipal Act municipal taxation could be charged upto a maximum of  $23\%$  in respect of holding, lighting and latrine/drainage taxes, and

thought that in view of the high standard of services made available at Jamshedpur the levy of municipal contribution on both leased premises and monthly tenancies at the maximum rate was both fair to the residents and necessary from the Company's point of view.

Note: On representations received from the non-employee-lessees that the charges were being more than doubled at one time, the Company agreed to increase the incidence of the charge from  $9\frac{1}{2}\%$  to  $12\frac{1}{2}\%$  only.

(vi) Municipal contribution payable by Associated Companies to be increased.

Note: This matter is under consideration.

It would appear from the above analysis of the proposals that whilst there is undoubtedly scope for reducing expenditure and increasing revenue, it is not to an extent that meets the situation. It is true that some of the important recommendations that would have yielded more substantial results have not been given effect to, but for the reasons explained they are difficult of implementation in the present circumstances. The questions of income and expenditure therefore continue to be burning problems with the Steel Company, for which a solution has to be necessarily found before long.

(IV) Public Services

(a) Housing

The Bihar Labour Enquiry Committee, which was constituted by a resolution of the Legislative Assembly on 3rd September 1937 under the chairmanship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, for the purpose of conducting an inquiry into the conditions of industrial labour prevailing in the important industrial centres in Bihar and for making such recommendations as may appear practicable for the purpose of improving the level of wages, conditions of work, employment, etc., in the major industries, submitted its report to the Government in June 1940. The Committee, among other things, considered the question of industrial housing and made the following recommendations:

- (i) The Government should assume power to enquire into the incidence and the basis of the rents paid for workers' quarters wherever any serious grievance exists and to fix reasonable rents;
- (ii) Provision of housing on an adequate scale should be a statutory obligation of manufacturing industries; but the extent to which an industry can be required to carry out the obligation will depend on its financial position.
- (iii) The workers should be encouraged to build their own houses; for this purpose, loans on reasonable terms should be advanced to them. Where an employer owns land, plots should be leased out on reasonable terms; the Government will have

the power to revise these terms, if they are unreasonable;

- (iv) The Government should lay down minimum standards for industrial housing.

Since the Committee made its recommendations, a great headway has been made in the various projects of labour welfare including industrial housing. Several schemes for the development of industrial housing were formulated by the Central Government with the assistance of the State Governments. The question of industrial housing also attracted the attention of the Bihar Central (Standing) Labour Advisory Board, which, in its general meeting held in December 1948, recommended the setting up of an Industrial Housing Board for formulating housing schemes for industrial workers. Though a number of employers in this State availed of the facilities offered under these schemes, no satisfactory progress in the matter of construction of houses for industrial workers was made. Meanwhile the Government of India formulated a scheme of "Subsidised Industrial Housing". The scheme contemplates the construction of tenements for industrial workers through the agencies of State Governments, Housing Boards, Employers and Registered Co-operative Societies of Industrial workers. Since the construction of houses for industrial workers in Bihar still did not progress in the desired manner, the State Government in the Labour Department visualised the idea of constructing houses for industrial workers in important industrial centres of the State, the idea being to supplement the existing housing facilities with houses constructed by the Government

which would be made available to workers on reasonable rents. While contemplating such a step, the choice naturally fell on Jamshedpur, which has a larger industrial population than any other area in this State, and where the housing facilities available fall short of the demand. About 2,000 such quarters are under construction on the outskirts of Jamshedpur.

But before taking up the construction of houses at Jamshedpur the State Government desired that certain statistics about housing of workers in some of the bigger factories in the Town should be collected. An Industrial Housing Survey was accordingly conducted by the Labour Department of the State Government during 1955-56, and since no other scientific assessment covering the entire Town has been made thereafter, the information that it furnished has been considered for our present study of the problem.

Of the permanent workers employed in the major factories at Jamshedpur, the Survey estimated that 34.03% lived in accommodation provided by the employers; 27.94% in houses of their own; and 38.03% were living with friends and relations or in rented houses. On this basis the potential demand for industrial housing for permanent workers at Jamshedpur was estimated at about 24,000 houses. This number represented about 60% of the permanent workers surveyed. If the temporary workers were also taken into consideration, it was estimated that the total demand would be for about 29,000 houses. Other demands were estimated as follows

For workers engaged in smaller factories .. 922 houses

For Contractors' labour .. 6,000 "

For persons employed in business  
and commercial sectors .. 7,000 "

Whilst estimates may vary, the acuteness of the problem cannot be denied. At the same time it is beyond the capacity of the industries, much less of the Steel Company alone, to provide for adequate housing for the entire community, and this again raises the important question of the presence of a large population of 'outsiders' in a township of this nature. It is clear therefore that unless other agencies also build houses for those persons who are not employed as workers in factories, the demand for housing at Jamshedpur will not be satisfactorily met. In this context the recommendations made by the Maude Committee in 1919 and also much later in 1944 by Dr Koenigsberger are significant.

So far as the Steel Company is concerned, it provides for housing in two ways, firstly by constructing quarters and bungalows for its employees, and secondly by allotting land on lease as well as on monthly tenancy to employees for residential purpose and to a lesser extent to the essential categories of non-employees, such as businessmen, doctors, lawyers, etc., for residential or shop-cum-residential purposes.

A building loan is also granted to the employees.

The Company has so far built about 13,500 quarters, and has allotted about 7,750 plots on monthly tenancy, of which about 53% belong to employees, and about 800 plots on

lease, of which about 50% belong to employees. The Company employs about 38,000 persons at Jamshedpur, of which about 3,000 are temporary employees.

(b) Transport

The Survey estimated that nearly 60% of the workers resided within two miles of the factories, and not more than 4.2% were coming from outside a radius of five miles. This fact, more than any other, has perhaps arrested the growth of a good and efficient public transport system or systems that one would wish a town like Jamshedpur to have.

(c) Public Health

The Steel Company's Department of health and sanitation is under the direct supervision of the Medical Officer of Health. It deals mainly with conservancy; anti-malaria and anti-epidemic measures, general sanitation, maternity & child welfare, family planning and school health service; it also controls the Infectious Diseases Hospital, the slaughter houses and the stray dog nuisance.

Expenditure in the current year is estimated at about 26 lakhs and the staff consists of about 1400 employees. There are six Maternity and Child Welfare Clinics, baby shows are held annually, attention is being focussed on family planning by Lady Health Visitors through talks and distribution of contraceptives, and the School Health Service provides for the regular examination of students and their treatment and lessons on health education. Anti-epidemic and anti-malaria measures have resulted in a most satisfactory control of the communicable and infectious diseases and malaria.

Leprosy relief work has also received due attention. Of the five clinics in the Town, four are managed by the J.N.A.C. on grants received from various sources, and one by the Health Department.

Latterly, the cattle in the Town have posed a serious health problem. This is linked with the general question of a good milk supply scheme for the Town. The possibilities of making community cattle sheds acceptable to those keeping cattle and creating a milk producers' co-operative are being explored.

The enforcement of public health measures in Jamshedpur, is, however, becoming increasingly difficult owing to the paucity of legal powers on the one hand and population increase on the other. In a number of matters relating to public health the staff under the Medical Officer of Health can only report breaches to the J.N.A.C., and further action, if any, is taken by that body.

(d) Education:

For primary and secondary education Jamshedpur has about 157 schools, of which 34 are Tisco-managed, 33 Tisco-aided and 90 private schools. Of the 90 private schools, 49 are Government recognised and 41 unrecognised. These provide educational facilities for approximately 48,000 children - 31,700 boys and 16,300 girls. With the gradual increase in the number of employees' children, the Steel Company introduced a few years ago the policy of admitting in its schools only the children of employees and a few other allowed categories. That firmness has resulted in encouraging groups of citizens

to cooperate in raising private schools for their children. There is however not a single school raised and managed by Government.

Correct information is not available regarding the number of boys and girls of school going age who are not in schools. But in a town with a population of about 3 lakhs, it is likely that the number of children of school going age will be in excess of 48,000 for which the schools can at present provide. In pursuance of its educational policy, Government may take over the elementary schools in the near future and free primary education may be introduced. Such a step would necessarily reflect on the position at the secondary stage also, and greater governmental and private effort will be necessary to meet the growing demand at this level. A free Night High School is run by the Steel Company for workers. There are also a few other night schools run by private agencies.

In regard to college education, an experiment of considerable importance has proved successful. The Jamshedpur Tutorial College, taken over by the Jamshedpur Educational and Cultural Co-operative Society in 1954, is today the Jamshedpur Co-operative College affiliated to the University upto the degree level in Arts, Commerce and Science and provides for about 1,500 students. Another institution is the Jamshedpur Women's College, a degree Arts College affiliated to the University, with about 650 students. A recent addition is the Workers' College, which provides a degree course in Arts and Commerce, for about 400 students. These three are private institutions and have grown up from humble beginnings. It can

be argued that opportunities for college education at Jamshedpur are still inadequate and ways and means for providing greater facilities for higher studies for the increasing number of students have to be explored.

Jamshedpur being mainly an industrial town required added and special attention to workers' educational problems. There is also a large segment of the population which needs to supplement the deficiencies of an incomplete school education. A carefully planned technical training programme of the Steel Company began as far back as 1921; a Technical Institute was established to train youngmen for positions of responsibility in the plant and it has extended considerably in the intervening years. The present technical programme is made up of:

- (i) The Technical Graduate Trainees' Course intended to train selected engineering degree holders for positions of responsibility;
- (ii) The Artisan Trainees' Course intended to train youngmen with at least a high school education for various crafts and skills for positions of skilled craftsmen and junior supervisors;
- (iii) The training of men already employed and who desire to improve their knowledge and skill in particular craft or crafts, as well as educational qualifications;
- (iv) The training of men desiring to acquire technical and scientific knowledge in a night school.

The Regional Institute of Technology established this year across the river Kharkai at Adityapur will be providing facilities for higher technical education in this area.

Since 1949, the Xavier Relations Institute has been doing commendable work by training educated young men and women in the skills and techniques of Industrial Relations, Labour Relations and in other allied and connected spheres.

### C. CONCLUSIONS

With over 50 years behind it, Jamshedpur has much to tell. Some of its more important and specific problems have been discussed in earlier sections of this paper, from which several inferences could be drawn. An attempt is made to present one such view on some basic aspects of Town Administration that have both general application and are also closely related to the problems at Jamshedpur.

On general administration, Prince Philip describing himself as a democrat said in Toronto not many months ago that he would rather live in a council town than in one organised by an industrial concern. Between Kittimat and Jamshedpur, both of which are 'Company towns', he would prefer to live in Kittimat than in Jamshedpur for the reason that the former was run by an elected town council from the very start whereas the latter by a steel concern. This would appear to be the general attitude of all peoples governed by democratic principles, and no town administration can afford to ignore this basic desire of the community. The question is at what stage of development of a 'Company town' should such association take place and to what extent? It would be unrealistic to compare Kittimat with Jamshedpur because the two are made up

of incomparable elements. In conditions as presently obtain in this country, the paternalistic approach of a benevolent employer seems essential for progress, and it is likely to be so for some time to come, but it may be desirable to regulate and extend it only upto a point beyond which it tends to be a liability both on the community and the Company. Striking a correct balance from time to time between paternalism and self-rule will be a delicate but necessary task of Companies. The view that the community should be made to realise that it also contributes, on a normal basis and not on a nominal basis, to the cost of the services rendered and the facilities made available in the town merits serious consideration. For such and closer association, separation of the Town from all other branches of the Company's activities would seem to be essential. But these could be achieved if introduced only at the very start. Later, separation presents innumerable difficulties, some incapable of being resolved, and introduction or enhancement of charges sets in a series of reactions, as amply proved at Jamshedpur.

It is being increasingly recognised that provision of adequate housing and community facilities must accompany, or even precede, resource development if serious obstacles to economic progress and the high social costs of haphazard urbanisation are to be avoided. In these circumstances, there seems to be need for providing facilities for low interest loans. To this end it is perhaps also necessary to establish special agencies and institutions whose purpose it will be to channel and attract into the housing field,

in addition to public finance, individual, cooperative and institutional savings and funds, as well as the contribution of industrial enterprises. Rent for houses should be charged at economic rates so that such agencies are self-supporting, leaving it to the Companies to recover the whole or any part of it from their workers. Briefly, the problem needs to be tackled on a national basis rather than on an industrial basis. Such a view is confirmed by the trend of the discussion at the third meeting of the 18th Session of the Standing Labour Committee in April this year which pointed to the fact that construction of houses by employers will not be a permanent solution to the problem, for even after retirement workers would need shelter. The judgment of the Supreme Court in the dispute between Patna Electric Supply Co. Ltd. and its workers' Union is also significant. It was held that having regard to the present state of our national economy and the general financial condition of our industry, it would be undesirable to think of placing on employers the obligation to provide housing accommodation for the workmen.

One of the impediments in the way of rapid construction of houses by employers under the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme lies in the time taken in obtaining Government's sanction for the housing projects and the consequent delay in the payment of the subsidy and loan. A probable reason could be the tendency on the part of Government to rigidly adhere to standard specifications and plans prescribed under the Scheme. Finalisation and execution of agreements also take inordinately long. Liberalisation in view and procedure should serve the cause well.

It is also doubtful if schemes that enable workers to be owners of houses are appropriate at this stage of our development. Shortage of land for building new houses in place of those transferred to workers who have retired and agglomeration of a large population of 'outsiders' in due course of time are two important considerations that do not recommend adoption of such schemes in townships of a proprietary nature. In this context, the policy of allotting land by Companies to employees and non-employees for building their own houses would appear to stand in need of revision.

In land matters, the problems point out the urgent need for reconciling the rights of the individual with the Company's interest and for making adequate provisions for the protection of both.

Acquisition formalities and proceedings are also becoming increasingly cumbersome, time consuming and costly. The enactment of requisite land legislation before the full force of industrialisation and urbanisation has stratified land patterns and made rearranging difficult seems essential to avoid speculation with urban land and to ensure that the Company's additional requirements of land are met at reasonable cost and in reasonable time.

The growth of population in 'Company towns' appears to be inevitable if there is economic development. Growth on the urban fringe with a sprawl to the outlying areas is no solution as concentration of industries is not reduced greatly and the demand on public services is not diminished. While efforts must be made to improve the conditions by

providing increased amenities and public services to the growing population, it is also necessary to call a halt to the growth of these towns beyond a limit. Industrial zoning or other town planning measures while useful to regulate the growth of industrial areas cannot be very effective in solving the many problems arising out of growth beyond the optimum limit. One would think that Jamshedpur has perhaps reached that stage of development when such an assessment ought to be made as quickly as possible. No serious steps have been taken to arrest the growth of towns generally, perhaps because there is no easy solution. Of recent origin is the attempt that is being made in this country to arrest the 'pull' factor to large towns and cities by constituting what is called 'Industrial Estates'. Establishment of these 'Industrial Estates' has involved in some cases the creation of entirely new townships, which have been generally situated not far from the big towns and cities - in fact, they are generally found on the arterial highways leading to such cities. Measures to reduce rural-urban migration, such as by proper location of new industries, provision of adequate incentives to cottage industries, by etc., would appear to be steps in the right direction. What other tools should be used to carry out such a policy and to what extent town planning and overall planning on the Regional and National basis could be dovetailed are matters that would seem to demand from Companies and Governments - both State and Central - much greater thought and attention than hitherto given to these problems.



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

**KHULNA TOWN ADMINISTRATION**

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EAST PAKISTAN

**REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA**

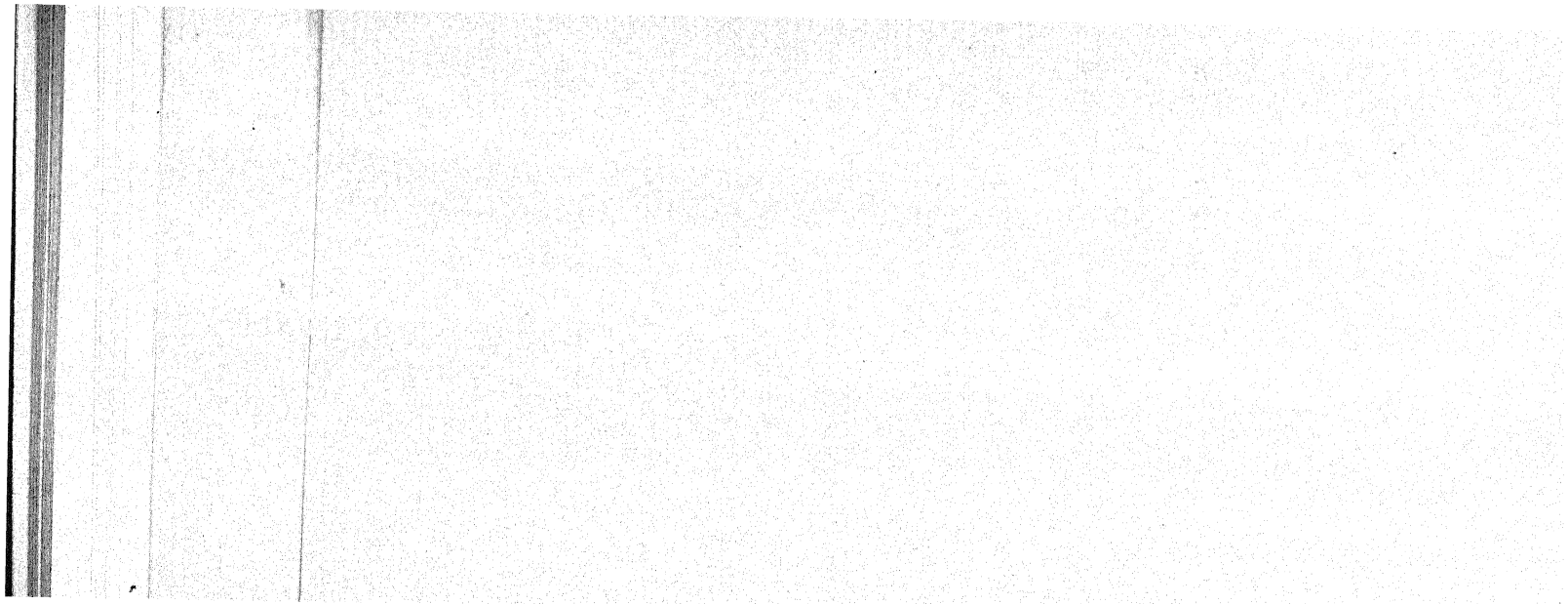
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## KHULNA TOWN ADMINISTRATION

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### I N T R O D U C T I O N

The history of Khulna Town goes back to 18th Century. Originating as a Village Bazar, in the early 18th Century, it was the supply base of essential commodities of the neighbouring area. Khulna may be described as the Capital of Sundarbans; and for the last two hundred years at least it has been a place of considerable importance. It was the Head-quarter of salt department during the period of the Company's salt manufacture. The whole boat traffic from the east and north-east passed by this place on its way to Calcutta. As it was situated at a very convenient place on the river Bhairab and had also good inland communication facilities it gradually rose into prominence and importance. The most important land mark in its development occurred when it became the Head Quarters of the newly formed District in 1882 and it was also the terminus of the then Bengal Central Railway. The journey to Calcutta took only 6 hours and as such it became the centre of trade and commerce. The produce of Sunderbans and also of the neighbouring districts were exported through this town and the import facilities through Railway made it the centre of great business. Population began to increase rapidly and by the natural law of supply and demand, shops and institutions grew up to satisfy the growing wants. As it began to provide the amenities and facilities of a town well-to-do people began to settle down here, in preference to their Mufassil homes. Thus from an humble beginning it gradually reached the status of a town.

PHYSICAL LAYOUT AND TOWN PLANNING

Khulna Municipality comprises 5.66 square miles with a population of nearly one lakh as against 41,409 of 1951 census. On the north lies the river Bhairab and Jora Gate, on the south the Golamari and Mathabhanga, two rivulets; on the east lies the Rupsha river and on the west Khulna Textile Mill and Nurgaon Union. It is between 21.3 and 23.1 N.Latitude and between 86.54 and 84.58 E.Longitude.

In Town Planning zonal reservation is essential. It means that a particular area is demarcated for a particular purpose. To be more explicit, there should be a residential area, an industrial area, business centre and areas segregated for recreational facilities and educational purposes. But it is a matter of great regret that since its very inception as a Municipal Town there was no zonal reservation due to lack of proper planning. Everything developed haphazardly due to the laissez-faire policy which allows free competition amongst the enterprisers. As a result everything grew without planning. For example, the town park is situated in the heart of the town and the Hospital on the river bank near the Office buildings. So what Khulna needs today is proper planning for its systematic development. That is why under the new expansion scheme of the Government there is provision for zonal reservations which will lead to its systematic growth. The most acute problem of Khulna that needs the attention of the Government is the housing problem. A scheme has already been drawn up for the construction of residential houses for the low income group and refugees, who have settled down in Khulna

Municipality. The scheme provides, for the construction of 700 houses, 600 flats, 150 shops, 3 primary schools, 2 dispensaries, 1 Maternity Home; on an area of 3.50 square miles. For roads and open space this plan provides 1.40 square miles. Provision for residential plots of land is to be made by acquiring land on the outskirts of urban areas and developing it by raising, levelling and other methods and also providing the necessary community facilities such as road, water supply, sewerage, electricity, etc. These plots will mostly be 200 square yards to 600 square yards each but there will be some bigger plots as well as for the growth of harmonious community life. Some utility buildings such as Primary Schools, Dispensaries, Maternity Homes, etc. will also be constructed for the convenience of the inhabitants. And as the people who will be settled here will require employment, zones will be earmarked for Industrial and Commercial purposes. There will be constructed low cost houses in some of the plots. The present scheme is thus an attempt to solve the housing problem to some extent though the need is much greater. The total cost for materialising the scheme stands at Rs. 137.46 lakhs. The estimated period for execution is 1959-62.

Khulna Municipal area is also going to be extended further to include the Industrial belt. Thus the plan for greater Khulna goes upto Mirardanga, and Jogipole a distance of 6 miles from the present boundary line of the town. In the new plan also comes the other side of the river Bhairab, comprising Digholia, Senhati, Betiaghata, Chandanimohal, Sulpur, Jugihati, Rajapur, Aichgati. The blue print of the whole area, indicating all the different places is attached along this as Appendix "A".

## ECONOMIC CONDITION

The importance of Khulna as a central place in the riverine traffic of East Pakistan hardly needs any emphasis. It is the focal point on which converge the arteries of the river transport of the entire Brahmaputra region. It serves as the collecting and distributing centre of goods passing through Chalna Port or in transit between Calcutta and East Pakistan and is fast growing into a big commercial and industrial town. The opening of Chalna Anchorage has raised the status and importance of Khulna greatly. It is through this anchorage that the finished Jute products and raw jute are being exported in huge quantities to different countries. The subsidiary Institutions and Offices for running this big export trade are housed in Khulna Municipality.

Khulna is one of the five Industrial Units of East Pakistan. Khulna produces varieties of commodities for domestic consumption as well as for export. Jute manufactured goods occupy the most important position. There are as many as five Jute Mills here. They are solving the problem of the best utilization of our raw materials and earning foreign exchange which ultimately is utilised for the industrialisation of our country. These Mills have 2500 Looms and working in 3 shifts are providing employment to nearly 35,000 workers.

There is only one Cotton Mill formerly called A.P.C. Cotton Mill and now known as Khulna Textile Mills. It is going into production very shortly, extended and innovated to a great extent. It will produce both fine and coarse varieties. A considerable number of labourers are employed here who put their best for

the betterment of our economy.

There are more than 17 Jute Pressing Mills in Khulna. In East Pakistan, the Idiosyncracies of the Redcliffe Award have torn into two, an economy built on the basis of the golden fibre, i.e. jute, throwing the manufacturing and pressing plants to the lot of India and settling the growing areas in the hands of Pakistan. To solve the acute problem P.I.D.C. came forward and joined hands with the private enterprisers and as a result we have got the above number of Jute Mills and Baling Presses. The Jute Baling presses provide employment to nearly 40,000 workers.

The problem of Newsprint was very urgent to catch the attention of the Government and imagination of technicians. The Newsprint Factory at Khalispur has solved the problem greatly. It has been completed at an estimated capital cost of 14.80 crores and has an annual production capacity of 35,000 tons of Newsprint and printing papers. It is expected to produce an additional 16,000 tons of Newsprint and other varieties of papers, when the whole plant goes under production.

The P.T.D.C. sponsored Khulna Shipyard laid out magnificently on 53 acres of land on the river front of 1800 yards was formally opened on November 24, 1957. This is one of the major projects undertaken by the P.T.D.C. and is of vital importance to the economy of East Pakistan. In this land of mighty rivers, water communication, the maintenance and operation of river flotillas establishment of ships construction and ship repair facilities deserve the highest importance. That long felt need has been best served by this magnificent Shipyard.

In Khulna there are Two Match Factories. They produce a huge quantity of Matches for export as well as for domestic consumption. The soft woods of Sunderban forest are well utilised by these factories. These provide work for nearly 12,000 workers.

In respect of carpentry Khulna is not backward. She is very rich in respect of woods. Khulna gets her entire supply of woods from the 200 square miles of Sunderban forest. Unfortunately, there is no firm of furniture production producing on a large scale. Almost all of them are producing on a small scale basis.

There are few important furniture marts at Khulna which have gained popularity in respect of the quality and varieties of furniture.

Tiles and bricks manufacturing firms which supply materials for construction are few in Khulna. Though they produce a large quantity of bricks and tiles, it is like a drop in a big ocean considering the great demand. Government help will give the necessary impetus to the growth and development of this industry. A big tile and brick manufacturing plant has been opened near Jogipole recently which will solve the problem to a great extent.

Coming to the transport and communication of Khulna we see a discouraging picture. Though Khulna is one of the most important industrial centres of East Pakistan, it has no well developed transport and communication system. She is connected with the entire province by Railways and Waterways. The Railway communication is not economical. Railways offer connecting link between Khulna and the hinterland of North Bengal and East Bengal. Khulna is connected by Railway to all Northern Districts via Ishwardi and to Eastern Districts via Jagannathganj and Sirajganj

Ghat and via Goalundo. The distance between Dacca and Khulna by Railway is more than 300 miles, whereas the air distance between the two places is not more than 100 miles. Waterways are very economical as these connect Dacca with Khulna directly. Waterways are superior to Railways in respect of carrying goods from one place to another. So our immediate need is not to develop the Railways but to develop waterways to provide speedy and economical transport and communication system to Khulna with the rest of East Pakistan.

In respect of local transport the same pathetic condition can be observed. Total number of pucca roads at Khulna is 152 covering 21.04 miles. There are 125 street high drains. The drainage system and water supply at Khulna have not been developed in a scientific way. Most of the drains are kutchra drains; kutchra drains cover 65 miles. These are insufficient for the exit of water <sup>during</sup> Monsoon and some parts of Khulna Municipality particularly Tutpara side and the neighbouring area remain submerged under water. There is no town bus service at Khulna. Rickshaw is the only means of local transport and their number is 900. But these Rickshaws face tremendous difficulties to ply on the roads due to the fact that almost all the roads are very narrow and this is the main cause of frequent road accidents. Most of the roads of Khulna get insufficient lights at night.

Water supply position is quite hopeless. In Khulna Municipality there are 224 houses having connection of water supply. It is fantastic to think that since independence practically no improvement has been made in the system of water supply though the population has increased manifolds. There are

two tanks bearing a capacity of 75 thousand gallons and 50 thousand gallons respectively per day. The water supply position has remained more or less the same even now when we make a comparison of the present situation with the situation that prevailed when the population of Khulna was only 25 thousand.

With the vast increase in population the problem of housing has become very acute. Housing, like food and clothing, is one of the basic requirements of human life. In Khulna, before independence, houses with luxurious accommodation were available at a monthly rent of Rs. 30/- to Rs. 50/-. Now-a-days such a house cannot be had even paying ten times of the former rent. Before independence Khulna was merely the district head quarters but now it is being developed as an industrial town and divisional Head Quarters. The housing problem of Khulna, in a sense, is more acute than that of Dacca or Chittagong. At Dacca and Chittagong Government meet the problem partially by building houses and residential areas for higher income groups and in some cases for lower income groups. But no such attempt has been made by the Government in Khulna town in the past. consequently slums have grown in most unhygienic condition. The people of low income group having no other resources had to be content with a hut. The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation is, however, constructing a number of houses in the industrial area to house the employees of P.I.D.C. concerns. But that will not solve the general housing problem.

It is, however, pleasing to note that a master plan has been prepared for the solution of the housing problem and has been submitted to the Planning Commission for approval. The

situation that has arisen at Khulna due to over congestion, cannot be over emphasised. The scheme has, therefore, been framed so that people in low income groups may be provided with proper housing facilities.

As a result of rapid industrialisation the economy of Khulna has experienced various changes. The effect of heavy rise in population during the post-partition period has been well felt on the general level of prices.

The cost of living at Khulna has increased and is still increasing enormously since the last twenty years. For want of data we are not in a position to give a correct picture of the present condition of price level. But it can be said with every accuracy from our observations that taking 1941 as base year in the year 1960 the general level of prices has shown an increase of at least 200%, if not more. As such the standard of living of the middle class and of low income earning groups with fixed income has deteriorated beyond imagination. Quite a large number of people in Khulna Municipality and mainly in the industrial area live at a very low subsistence level. The rise in the general price level of commodities of everyday use has told badly on the condition of the middle class intellectuals who are mostly fixed income earners. It has become very difficult on their part to live with a reasonable standard with the present level of income. As a result the intellectual class spend most of their time in the pursuit of money and as such the cultivation of fine arts and culture has been hampered to a great extent.

## POPULATION STRUCTURE

The area of Khulna Municipality is 5.66 square miles with a population of more than 100,000, as against 41,409 of 1951 census. According to the new expansionary scheme of the Government, the Khulna Municipality area would increase to the extent of 171.50 acres more at the first instance. This expansionary area of Khulna Municipality would consist of Khalispur town, the growing industrial area formerly known as suburb of Khulna and the Daulatpur area, and Digholia on the other side of river Bhairab. It is a fact that the population of Khulna Municipality area has increased tremendously since the last census of 1951. For want of statistical data it is not possible at the present stage to give the correct figure of the rise in population. But since the area in question is a rapidly growing industrial unit it goes without saying that the rate of increase of population is very high. Taking into consideration not only the permanently settled population but also of the day-to-day floating population it can be said without the least apprehension of doubt that the Khulna Municipality (according to the new expansionary scheme) is one of the most densely populated towns in East Pakistan. Roughly it can be assumed that in Khulna Municipality the average density of population is about 25,000 per sq. mile. An alarming feature about Khulna Municipality's density of population lies in its uneven distribution, making some parts of its area - especially the industrialised belt of Khalishpur town - most thickly populated. Here too, for want of statistical data, we shall simply rely

on intelligent guesswork. Probably more than 50% of the total population of Khulna Municipality are concentrated in Khalishpur town and Daulatpur are - the growing industrial unit. The table below gives the correct figure of the population of Khulna Municipality according to the census of 1951:-

P.C. of total population	P.C. of Muslim population	P.C. of Caste Hindus	P.C. of Scheduled Caste.
41,409	66.5	18.9	14.6

This census report clearly shows that in Khulna Municipality the Muslims are in majority and Hindus form the minority. It is of great interest to compare the census report of 1951 with that of 1941. The census report of 1941 is presented in a very simple form in the following table:-

Total Population	P.C. of Muslim population	P.C. of Caste Hindus	P.C. of Scheduled Caste
31,749	36.8	52.3	10.9

The most important thing to note in the census report of 1941 in comparison with the census report of 1951 is that it gives a clear picture about the rising trend in the Muslim population. It is quite evident from the census report of 1941 that the Hindus were in majority whereas the Muslims were in minority. But the report of 1951 indicates a great fall in

the Hindu population. There are good number of reasons for such a remarkable fall in the Hindu population. One of the main reasons for the fall in Hindu population is due to the exodus of Hindus from this area to the Indian Dominion owing to the partition of this Sub-Continent in August 14, 1947. Moreover it is also to be taken into consideration that the accuracy of the census report of 1941 had been prejudiced by the effort of the different communities to inflate the figures for political purposes. Hence no correct figure was given to the enumerators. The sharp decline in Hindu population can be explained thus to a great extent.

Now so far the rise in Muslim population is concerned it is to be admitted that a large number of Muslims migrated from Indian Dominion to Pakistan and quite a large number of them settled in Khulna Municipality. In addition to the Muslim immigrants a large number has also come from the different districts of East Pakistan. It has already been stated that since partition Khulna is developing very fast as an industrial town. So a large number of people from various other districts of East Pakistan flocked to Khulna in search of employment. Hence this great rise in Muslim population.

Now there is no denying the fact that since the very inception of Pakistan the population of Khulna is increasing at a very fast rate. The rising trend in the population of Khulna has been very much accelerated due to the importance and peculiar position of the Khulna town itself.

One of the most important features of Khulna Municipality's population is that most of its population belong to the labouring

class. This is simply because Khulna is an industrial town. It is quite reasonable and understandable to assume that Khulna's population has increased enormously at least eight times of the population of 1951. It would have been of great help to us if we could present an 'Age Distribution' of Khulna Municipality's population, because that would have given us a correct figure of Khulna's working population. But here too, for want of statistical data, it is not possible to find out the exact number of working population of Khulna Municipality. On assumption it is estimated that it would fall in between 75,000 to 1,00,000 as against the total population of 3,00,000 in 1960 of greater Khulna.

Another important characteristics of Khulna's population is that the number of male would always exceed the number of female. It is generally believed that in an industrially growing town the number of male would always exceed the number of female, and as it has already been told that Khulna is an industrial town, it is quite reasonable to assume that male population is by far greater than the female in Khulna Municipality.

The racial qualities of the population of Khulna Municipality is being represented by Mongolo-Dravidian people with a sprinkling of Indo-Iranian race.

#### SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND STRATIFICATION

In a populous town like Khulna including the developing industrial area the need of social organisations can hardly be exaggerated. Social organisations look after health, education

and other social services. The number of such organisations in Khulna is very few in relation to the total requirement. Because of the growth of industries a slum area has developed, the sanitation of which is not at all satisfactory.

In Khulna town one urban community development project exists which is sponsored by the Government, to look after the health, education and economic condition of the people of Khulna Municipality area and to that effect it is assisted by the United Nations Organisation through the Government of Pakistan. At present the ward No. (4) and ward No. (5) of the Khulna Municipality have been selected by this urban community development project with a population of 20 thousand. This organisation is still in its infancy and upto now it has practically achieved nothing towards its goal. It is really a herculean task for only one such organisation to meet the requirement of a populous town like Khulna. With the growth of industries, trade and commerce there is greater necessity for a number of such organisations.

There are of course, a few voluntary social welfare organisations and the number of such organisations is only six namely:

- (1) Farazipara Women Association.
- (2) Iqbal Nagar Welfare Association.
- (3) Khan Jahan Ali Welfare Association.
- (4) Tutpara Mohalla Welfare Association.
- (5) Women Voluntary Association.
- (6) Chhoto Boira Welfare Association.

These voluntary organisations work with very limited

resources and workers yet these agencies are running five Primary Schools and health clinic centres, sewing and embroidery centres. Some agencies have equipped the Centre with radio sets. Milk feeding programme was carried out by these agencies for children. These organisations are also maintaining maternity centres and family planning centres the importance of which in a growing and developing town can hardly be exaggerated. A direct knowledge of family planning among illiterate masses would be of great help for the planned development of the town. During occasional outbreak of epidemic diseases which is the characteristic of an industrially growing town these organisations render anti-epidemic services, through their workers. In spite of the valuable services rendered by these organisations none can deny the point that Khulna is badly in need of many such social welfare organisations which would work on those lines more vigorously. At present the existing number is quite inadequate to the demand. Not only there is shortage of such organisations but whatever number exists in Khulna Municipality these are not well organised. These organisations are facing a good number of difficulties both financially and administratively. Government should come forward with a helping hand in this regard.

It is a patent fact of economic history that as a result of industrial development of a particular area a number of changes take place in the socio-economic life of the people. For want of statistical data we shall have to base our analysis purely on intelligent guess work and day to day observation. In order to trace the economic implication of the industrial

development of the said area we shall have to go back to the economic history of the area in question for at least twenty years. Since partition the socio-economic Structure has undergone a nice matamorphosis. It has already been shown in the chapter of population structure that before partition this area was not as populous as it is now. Because of the exodus of Hindu people and the great increase in the Muslim Population, Socio-Economic Structure of Khulna has undergone a great change. To begin with the social stratification of Khulna it is necessary to distinguish between classes and castes. Various societies have developed due to the rapid growth of industry, trade and commerce in Khulna. The interest and attitude of each of these societies differs from each other. As a result there have cropped up classes even in a particular society. Thus we speak of commercial class or of the merchants class, ruling class, middle class etc. Each of these classes have their own way of life. But there is difference between caste and class. The former is based on birth and therefore rigid whereas the latter is based on function and therefore mobile. The line that separates one class from another goes on continuously shifting and it is possible for an individual to pass from one class to another. Between classes there are no hard and fast rules and it is possible for one to move into a higher class. In fact it is possible for one to raise oneself by individual effort or other means to a higher class.

In Khulna, before partition, the Hindu Zamindars were at the helm of all cultural activities. They were the people of high rank and naturally dominated the society in all fields of activities economically, politically and socially. This landlord class is now no more and in its place a new class has sprung.

up, viz, the growing industrial class. This class is a well-to-do class and in the social stratification this class occupies the highest rank.

In general there are three classes in Khulna namely, top class, middle class, and low middle class and wage earners.

The top class and the high Government officials form the higher mobility in the society. The big business magnates are mostly the people who have migrated from Indian Dominion after the partition of British India and have established big business concerns here. This new mercantile class, who belong to the top most class in Khulna Municipality's society are Muslim. Unlike the Hindu landlord class, who have left for Indian Dominion, this mercantile class is not interested in cultural activities. There is no use of denying the fact that these new born mercantile class are financing various cultural institutions which would have died a natural death without their assistance. With the coming of this mercantile class, the economic growth of Khulna has been accelerated very much.

But by far the vast majority of population belong to the middle class. Within this group we may list the teachers, pleaders, Government employees, merchants, businessmen etc. The cultural activities of Khulna are being predominantly dominated by this middle class people. Rather, they may be termed as the intellectual group. Then there is the lower middle class group of shopkeepers, petty business men, teachers of non-Government Schools, clerks and others.

The lowest rank in the social ladder is occupied by the labouring class; the daily worker who works in various mills and

factories and lives in the slums. This class is the natural outcome of the industrial development of Khulna. The members of this labouring class were formerly peasant workers in the rural economy of the neighbouring districts. Any how this labouring class forms a considerable portion of the total population of Khulna.

The social Institutions of Khulna Municipality area are not different from the pattern of social Institutions, as prevalent in the rest of East Pakistan. For example, early marriage, polygamy, caste system, joint family system, religion and culture, racial qualities, laws of succession, Parda, Language etc. conform greatly, if not fully to what is prevalent in the rest of the province. With very slight modification or alteration, the same pattern of social Institutions prevail throughout East Pakistan. The impact of rural population on the urban population cannot be assessed fully now as the integration is of recent growth. It is from 1956 onwards that the industries went into production and many are as yet in the development stage. Subsidiary industries, of course, in small scale are growing up all around Khulna and Daulatpur area giving employment to limited number of workers. For example, Rice Mills, Dal and Oil Mills, Saw Mills are being established, at every convenient place and corners, which the enterprising people can find vacant.

Most of the workers in Jute Mills and factories have come up from the neighbouring Districts of Khulna. Of course, a good number has also come from Chittagong, Noakhali and Sylhet. These people bring with them their own costumes,

behaviour, social traditions and the little bit of culture of their own native places. But there is little difference between the different Districts of East Pakistan in matters of social Institutions and organisations. When the worker comes from his native village to earn his living in the industrial area, he is unsophisticated, simple and illiterate. Three types of people usually flock to Industrial areas for employment. During the lean months in the rural areas a fourth category of part time workers also come here to earn money. The three types may be enumerated as follows:-

(a) The surplus labour in agriculture in the rural areas - Agriculture is the main occupation in rural areas but it has its capacity to absorb labour. Population in East Pakistan is increasing rapidly and even children can help their guardians in cultivation; so there is a good surplus labour in rural areas. This surplus labour comes to industrial areas to eke out a living.

(b) Habitual criminals and offenders who find life too hot for them in their native village. Village society is very limited and rigid. Hence these people seek new pastures in order to get out of hellish time.

(c) Displaced persons and uprooted humanity from Indian Dominion;

After the partition of the Sub-Continent a good number of Muslims from Calcutta, Bihar, and other Provinces of India Migrated to East Pakistan. It was really a problem to settle these displaced persons.

The establishment of new Mills and Factories opened avenues of employment for them and quite a large number of these Muhajjeers

have come to settle here. No statistics is available but on a conservative estimate the percentage will be from 15% to 20% of the labour force.

These people speak Urdu and in dress, behaviour and social customs, they are different from the native labour force. As yet the fusion has not produced any appreciable change in the social pattern but gradually words and phrases and turn of sentences are taking a bias towards Urdu and in dress 'Pyjama' is gaining in popularity.

These Muhajjeers have erected huts, and thatched structures in any vacant space they could get but they like to live in one place forming a society of their own. But slowly and surely an integration is going on. Marriages, religious ceremonies and the employment in the same type of work is drawing them nearer each other and a complete fusion is not far distant.

In diet as well a gradual change is visible. Fish, vegetable and rice which were the staple food of the Bengalee labourer force is being replaced by beef and meat, Chapati and Tundoori Roti; which is the staple food of the Urdu speaking people. Before partition there was not a single Butcher's stall in Khulna Municipality but there are now not less than 25 such stalls.

Thus in dress, diet language and customs, a gradual change is coming which will become more pronounced with the lapse of time.

Of course, we may mention here that if due to flood, draught, pest or other inclemencies of Nature, the crops fail then also

a good number of workers come to industrial areas in search of employment. This forms <sup>a</sup> floating population which increases or decreases with the vagaries of Nature. As majority of the labourers come from rural areas where they have been leading simple and honest lives, naturally they are very unsophisticated and simple. But in the industrial areas the worker finds himself among other faces, new minds. And being away from the chastening influence of home life and living an unrestricted and free life - free from social ties, taboos and obligations he falls an easy victim to the wiles and guiles of a rapidly growing industrial town.

But the moral picture of this newly formed industrial belt in Khulna where nearly 75,000 labourers are huddled together, is not so very gloomy or sad. It is gratifying to note that there is only one toddy shop in Daulatpur-Khalishpur area and that is also not so liberally patronised. There is an apology for a brothel where the inmates are very few in number. Many of the labourers bring their wives and children to live with them and this saves them from sinful life. Of course the incidence of crime particularly burglary, petty theft, larceny has increased in great proportion. There is an explanation for this. The floating population whom I have mentioned earlier are very often out of employment and so they do not hesitate to commit a crime to get food for the belly. Moreover many of them become chummy with the habitual criminals, e.g. the emigrants of category (b) and imbibe bad habits. If proper care is taken and if proper guidance is given to these stray people, particularly

philanthropic societies, it will be quite easy to reclaim and reform them.

## B MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND ITS PROBLEMS

(1) The administrative frame work of all the Municipalities was conducted under provisions of the Municipal Act called Bengal Local Self Government Act of 1939 (as amended after partition) and called East Bengal Local Self-Government Act wherein the functions and other connected Municipal works were stated. This Act was in force till 1960 when the Martial Law Authorities abrogated it and replaced it by a new Ordinance, taking into consideration the new problems which have arisen owing to the Industrial development in these sectors.

### CLAUSE - 2(B)

All the Municipalities in Pakistan are being composed according to the Municipal Administration Ordinance, 1960, promulgated by the President of Pakistan. Khulna Municipal Committee consists of 8 elected members and 6 nominated members. According to the Ordinance, the total number of officials and appointed members shall not exceed the total number of elected members. In the matter of appointment of members Government shall consider the ability of persons and due consideration shall also be given to the representation of minorities and women, and organisations concerned with the agricultural, industrial or community development and other interests.

There shall be a Chairman, who shall be appointed and hold office during the pleasure of the Provincial Government. The Chairman shall be an official member. The Additional Collector of Revenue, Khulna has been appointed Ex-Officio Chairman of Khulna Municipal Committee.

From among the elected members of the Municipal Committee one will be elected, the Vice-Chairman. His tenure of office is five years. The Vice-Chairman shall vacate office if a vote of no-confidence is passed against him by the majority members of the Municipal Committee.

The President, on behalf of the Central Government has promulgated the Municipal Administration Ordinance to consolidate and amend the law relating to Municipal Administration in Pakistan. It extends to the whole of Pakistan. The right to amend or alter any clause of the Ordinance is with the Central Government of Pakistan but the Provincial Government is to Superintend, direct and control the Municipal Administration. If the Municipal Committee is unable to discharge or persistently fails in the discharge of its duties or exceeds or abuses its power, the Provincial Government may supersede it for such period, not exceeding the residue of the term of such Municipal Committee. All functions of the Municipal Committee, during the period of supersession are to be performed by person or authority as the Provincial Government may appoint in this regard. All funds and property belonging to the Municipal Committee during the period of supersession, rests in the Provincial Government. On the expiry of the period of supersession, the Municipal Committee shall be reconstituted in accordance with the provision of the

Ordinance and rules.

The organisation and outline of the functions of the Municipal Committee have been determined by the Central Government but the Provincial Government have been given wider power to regulate the activities of the Municipalities.

The Municipalities in the urban areas have been set up to look to the welfare and needs of the people. Every Municipality has to perform the following functions for the welfare of the city dwellers. It has to construct and maintain roads, streets, squares, parks, gardens, play grounds, markets, slaughter houses etc. It has also to make arrangements for drainage, conservancy and removal of rubbish. It has to provide for water supply. Preservation of public health is its another important function directed to the welfare of the people. For this purpose it makes arrangements for vaccination, sanitation, medical relief, maintenance of dispensaries etc.

For the development of the town and better amenities for the people of Municipal Committee performs its duties in collaboration with other local Councils. Khulna town is growing very fast. During the last few years population has increased tremendously. With the increase of population and establishment of factories and industries, many new problems have cropped up. These problems relate mainly to water supply, drainage, sanitation, public health and communication. The Municipality at present, under-staffed as it is, is at a disadvantage to meet the growing needs of the people. It has to incur heavy expenditure to perform its function. To meet the expenses the Municipality imposes tax on houses, land, vehicles of trades etc. Income of the Khulna

Municipality is not adequate. Most of the people living in this town are not rich enough to pay taxes regularly. Under the circumstance, the Government should be liberal to extend its financial help to the Municipal authority.

As the present number of staff in the different departments of the Municipality is not adequate, the number of expert hands should be increased. Long as well as short term development programmes should be chalked out for the over all development of the town. Of course the recently set up town Committees under the Basic Democracy Scheme are doing good work for the welfare of the people.

(2) As this Ordinance has been recently promulgated, it is too early to prophesise anything correctly. But taking the over all picture, it is expected to yield, good dividend as the work of the Municipality will be conducted under the able guidance of a senior Executive Officer, who will be free from all party affiliations and interests. The Municipality is greatly handicapped in the discharge of its function for want of trained technical personnel. For a new State this problem is acute in every aspect of National development; Khulna Municipality is urgently in need of the following officers:-

(a) A well qualified and expert Engineer for Road construction and maintenance. Most of the roads in Khulna Municipality are very badly in need of repair and expansion as the population has increased so enormously. Moreover, the widening of roads is imperative in order to give proper facilities for vehicular traffic and pedestrians.

(b) There is no town planner in the Municipality. Such a locality as Khulna Municipality which is in the process of great development, extension and improvement cannot do without the expert technical advise of a Town Planner. To put into operation the Master Plan of the expansion of Khulna Municipality a Town Planner is urgently required.

It is gratifying to note that recently 24 Pakistani specialists have left Greece, after a completion of a year's training in Town Planning, arranged through the co-operation of the Government of Pakistan and a private American Philanthropic organisation.

Those specialists will continue their training in Pakistan and will start the City Planning School to be established in Karachi.

(c) Sanitary and sewerage expert. There is no such expert in the Municipality. The same old system is continuing as yet, but it is high time that with expansion of the Municipality this item is taken up in right earnest. Only a very limited number of houses in Khulna Town have sanitary Sewrage arrangement of that type.

(d) At present there is no co-ordinated plan for the development of Towns and villages in East Pakistan. Separate Government Depots and organisations look after the development of each.

The only national service for which there is a province wide programme is the supply of electricity. Khulna Town and the neighbouring areas are being supplied by Goalpara Power Project situated in the Industrial belt and having a capacity

of 22,000 KWT. all other services are under separate local authorities.

(3) The Revenue of Khulna Municipality from all its sources was 6 lakhs of rupees. This amount also could not be realised regularly due to non-payment of rates by tax payers. There was always a huge amount outstanding as arrear. Moreover the expenditure under all heads went to the neighbourhood of 9 lakhs besides an outstanding liability of 2 lakhs.

Thanks to the imposition of Martial Law, the whole picture has changed. The old order has changed and Government has taken over the administration of Khulna Municipality. It is expected that in the ensuing general revisional assessment, revenue will cover up the expenditure. Moreover when the area of the Municipality is going to increase with the inclusion of the industrial belt, naturally the income will increase greatly, but the expenditure is also going to increase in the same proportion.

We see that no improvement in its roads, drains, sewerage and water supply is possible unless substantial financial help is forthcoming from some quarter. Government has been moved for a long term loan of 10 lakhs for the all round development. But this amount will not be adequate. For the all round improvement at least four times of that amount is necessary.

The Municipality does not get any financial grant from the Central or Provincial Governments. It has simply to stand on its own legs, so far as the finances are concerned. Of course, it gets long term loans when it is in moribund conditions. The need for greater financial help is very urgent and pressing so that the Municipality may provide the barest amenities and

facilities to the inhabitants.

The Municipality has the following sections under its control:-

1. Public Health Department: In charge of the sanitation, prevention against epidemic, clearance of nightsoil and garbages.
2. Public Works Department: Construction of new roads, repair and maintenance of roads.
3. Collection Department:- Collection of Municipal taxes, holding rates, water rate, conservancy and lighting rates, issue of bills and demand notice.
4. Licensing Section:- Issue of licences, collection of licence fees from rickshaws, farighats, trade taxes, business, hotels, restuarant eating houses etc.
5. Accounts Section:- Preparation of budget estimate, checking payments of bills and preparation of establishment bills.
6. General Section:- Deals with correspondence.
7. Water Works:- Supply of water to the town people.

(a) The conservancy of Khulna Municipality is in the same condition as it was in pre-partition days. There has not been any improvement in this respect. The same old method of transportation of night soil by bullock or buffalo carts is prevalent even now, much to the inconvenience of the inhabitants. Service latrines are not cleared regularly and hence the offensive

smell is a permanent feature of by lanes. Moreover few houses have sanitary latrines as the Municipality has not underground sewerage system. This is a very urgent problem of the Municipality and with the growth of population poses a serious question for the health of the citizens.

(b) Same is the story about the drainage and water exists of Khulna Municipality. These are not only inadequate but fail to serve the purpose for which they are meant. Earlier it has been clearly pointed out that Khulna Municipality is highly deficient in this respect and it is high time that the services of an expert were requisitioned to reorientate the whole system. The accumulation of filth, dirt, dust and garbage really poses a very difficult question for the health of the population and the outbreak of typhoid and dyspepsia which is a frequent phenomenon among the inhabitants of low-lying areas of the town should be checked.

(c) Housing problem is very acute in Khulna. We have discussed this point at length earlier. We would suggest that it is high time to institute an Improvement Trust which will give pattern and shape to buildings and roads, as these have come into existence without any plan or scheme. The Improvement Trust will be able to build better roads and soffer better maintenance and help in the housing facilities by providing scheme and pattern for the construction of new houses.

(d) With the exception of a monthly grant ranging from Rs. 15/- to Rs. 25/- allotted to some 20 primary schools the Municipality does nothing for the education of the citizens. Even these Schools are housed in thatched, dilapidated

structures and the teachers are the proverbial pedagogues to whom the golden rule of hammering knowledge into unwilling heads, is the rule of the rod. Of course, there are other Institutions both primary secondary and higher which are subsidised by the Government and nearly 95% of the students receive their education in these Institutions.

(e) There are 4 (four) parks in Khulna Municipality, but people usually flock to one which is situated in the heart of the town. Another one which is meant for the children is in its infancy and another one, in the southern border of the town is not used at all. Recently one new Park has been opened which promises to offer facilities for rowing, swimming and other recreational amenities. There is a beautiful garden on the outskirts of the present Municipality known as "PREM KANAN" which offers good recreational ground to tired people. This garden is particularly overcrowded in the evening.

(f) There are 3 Cinema Houses in the Municipality providing accommodation to nearly 2,000 persons. There is also another Cinema Hall in the Industrial area of Khalishpur which has accommodation for 450 persons. These Cinemas are always overcrowded as these only offer means of diversion to the population.

Delinquency, adaptation to urban living conditions of recent immigrants and related socio-economic matters.

A man is always ready to move with his belly where food is available. History of economic development shows us two way movements of men. Before industrialization men moved gradually

to the fertile land where food was sufficient. In the post industrialized age the movement is quite the reverse, e.g. from land or village to the towns or industrial centres. This movement is not as easy as it may appear at the first instance. It brings with it problems of great magnitude which are not easy to solve.

Bulk of factory labourers of Khulna come from the rural areas. In the villages joint family system is the common practice. They take their food with their parents and with all other members of the family. This gives them a peculiar sense of satisfaction. But when they come to urban areas to work in factories they are deprived of this facility. So it takes a long time for them to adjust themselves to the new way of life. In some case it may happen that a particular labourer completely fails to adapt himself to the changed condition and goes back to the villages.

Majority of the factory labourers of Khulna have their lands in the villages however small this may be. They cannot sever their connections with the village permanently. It seems that they keep their one leg here and turn their faces towards home, whenever they get an opportunity. As a result most of the factory labourers cannot take the town as their own place and hence they take no interest in their work and remain inefficient forever.

There is a gulf of difference between the working conditions in the villages and that in towns. In villages they do not get their remuneration in terms of money only but in kind also. In rural areas the employers and employees are not unknown to each other. Since they are living in the same village, they will feel themselves related to each other. The employees will get

from the employers good behaviour and kind words and they will take their food together. But when the labourers come to the towns they observe a completely different scene. Here there is no relation of mind but the only relation that exists is between work and money. If a labourer can work, he will get his wage and if he fails to do that he will get nothing. A particular labourer may not have seen his real employer at all. This state of affairs cannot give them what they could get in the villages and as such they remain ever foreigners to the urban areas.

When labourers come to the Khulna urban areas from the rural areas, they are compelled to lead a mechanical life. In villages they pass most of their times leisurely and even when they work they do not follow any hard and fast rule. They work when they like, they take rest when their minds desire it. But when they work in the factories they lose that freedom. They are to work according to the time-table. They are to sacrifice their happiness to the rigorous rules and disciplines of the firm. Naturally, they cannot submit to this discipline gladly since they are reared up in a different environment. This mental dissatisfaction leads to their inefficiency.

Cent percent of factory labourers with rural background live in their villages in a place which is quite different from that in the town. In villages they live in a calm and cool atmosphere, but in towns they are compelled to live in densely populated areas. This is the meeting centre of people of different colour, language and nationality, whereas in rural areas there is one people speaking one language. So the

cordiality which can easily grow in rural areas is an impossibility in the industrial centres. Where there is no exchange of ideas and cordiality, it becomes a place of strife and quarrels. So in Khulna industrial centre we see the occasional outbursts of this hidden contempt of people for men of different taste and temperament, language and outlook. Above all, since workers of both the sexes are compelled in Match Factories to work together and live in congested houses, various forms of social crimes can easily take place. So in the industrial centre of Khulna like all other industrial centres, the baser elements of men get greater freedom than they can get in the villages. But as pointed earlier the picture is not so very dark or depressing. Moreover adolescent delinquency does not post a serious problem in this industrial centre with the exception of a few born criminals, the incidence of crime by juvenile delinquents is very much limited and very few in number. The police gave out that they seldom record cases of adult delinquency here.

#### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

In our discussion we had mainly to depend, as already mentioned on guesswork and day-to-day observation. So there may be some divergence between the actual figures and our quotations. But these minor divergences will not vitiate our general conclusion with regard to the paucity of proper accommodation, better means of transport and communication, facilities of medical care, education and recreation, modern drainages,

water supply lighting and so many other things. These are the basic necessities of human life. In the absence of all these how much inconveniences are to be encountered by the inhabitants of Khulna can be imaged very well even by a layman.

Towards the grave need of this populous town our Government does not play the part of a silent spectator. The Government has come forward, for help and has chalked out a programme called 'Master Plan' for the alround development of Khulna. This plan will go a long way to supply the minimum requirements of modern life to the inhabitants of this industrial town. Only time will show how far this Master Plan can become successful to realise its objectives.

That is about what the Government is doing. But as inhabitants of Khulna Municipality we have our role to play. As far as our observation goes the following measures should be taken immediately to bring about an end to the age long miseries of the people of this town.

Of all the problems housing problem is the most acute and its early solution is essential. The distance between Khulna and Daulatpur is more than four miles. As both Khulna and Daulatpur are expanding rapidly due to heavy pressure of population, the distance between them will be wiped out very soon. The Government should segregate some portion of this vast area for residential purposes. Part of the area then could be leased out to individuals and companies to build their own houses according to the Government plan. On the remaining portion Government can construct houses, for both higher and lower income groups. A residential area between these two towns will be advantageous

on many accounts. The Government employees and business community of Khulna as well as the industrial labours of the industries group round. Daulatpur will want accommodation not far off from their respective places of work.

After the housing problem the second important one is the problem of local transport, and communication. The only metalled road which connects Khulna with the industrial establishments is a portion of Military road, which runs from Khulna to Jessore. At present there are two roads running from Daulatpur to Khulna, and a third one which joins the Industrial concerns.

This military road should be broadened without delay. For pedestrians and vehicular traffic roads of Khulna town should be widened and made straight. Private bus service should be abolished if needed by State Bus and if possible regular shuttle train service can be tried. Auto-rickshaws can be introduced in the narrow roads. There should be special buses for school children and College students. Electric trainways can also provide cheap means of communication, as cheap electricity will be available from Goalpara Power Project.

There are only very few schools for educating the overgrowing population. More schools should be established. For the education of sons and daughters of factory labourers, industrialists should be given pressure to run up-to-date schools. Daulatpur College is the only college to teach diversified course to both male and female students. But this college also suffers for lack of proper accommodation and hostel facility.

Medical facility - More charitable dispensaries - family planning centres - More maternity homes; - change of place of

of existing hospital; separate hospital for contagious diseases, lunatic asylum, these are some of the basic needs of the citizens of Khulna Municipality.

Recreational facilities should be provided on a liberal scale. More attractive parks, cinema halls, libraries and clubs should be established to offer diversion to the labourers and officials. At present there are only 3 (three) clubs where the membership is restricted. Demolition of slum quarters and replacing these by modern labour quarters, particularly in the Industrial concerns is another urgent requirement of the expanded Municipality. For this financial assistance can be had from the Industrial concerns themselves. A comprehensive plan should be drawn up and executed without any delay to check discontent among the labour force.

If these basic requirements of housing, communication, education, recreation, sanitation and medical relief are provided in modern scientific method and in consultation with experts, Khulna Municipality can become a fine Industrial Town and can arrest the growth of unrest and discontent among the labouring class and low income groups.





INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## MANILA AND SUBURBAN TOWNS

BY

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MANILA

REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

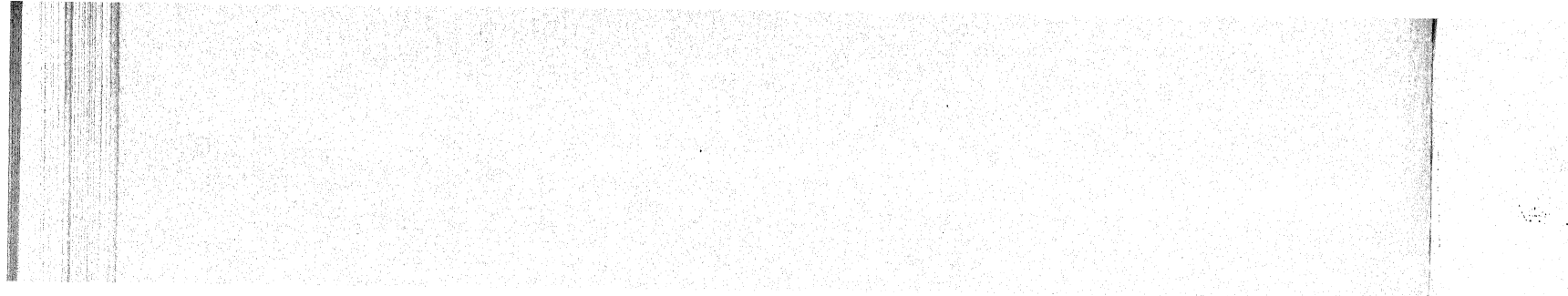
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CENTRE ON THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION  
IN SOUTHERN ASIA)

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF  
THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

NEW DELHI - 14 TO 21 DECEMBER 1960

INDRAPRASTHA ESTATE, RING ROAD  
NEW DELHI, (INDIA)



MANILA  
And Suburban Towns

A. GENERAL BACKGROUND

1. Introduction: - Manila was founded in 1571. In June 1574, this city was made the capital of the Philippines by royal decree of King Philip II of Spain. With the development of its port facilities to absorb the rich galleon trade, arose a city of cathedrals, large Spanish buildings and narrow cobblestone streets. A massive wall of stone and brick was built around the city of a land area of approximately 120 hectares. This wall in the 17th and 18th centuries protected it from marauding pirates and attempted invasions from the China Sea in the west.

2. In the 18th century, Intramuros, the walled city, began to spread beyond its walls to the outlying villages and settlements. By 1898, when the Spaniards capitulated to the Americans in the celebrated battle of Manila Bay, these settlements had already developed into thickly populated districts.

3. In 1903, Manila became a municipal corporation under a special charter grant. The total population stood at 220,000. Today, this population has grown to one million and a half over a land area of 3,700 hectares.

4. As a long established capital city, this overly urbanized Asian city has somewhat outgrown itself. However, Manila remains the economic base of all its suburbs. Its administrative frame-work is employed as a model for developing towns in the area. Therefore, as suggested, this report of Manila considers its growth in connection with its rapidly growing suburban towns.

Two of these towns are also chartered cities, the rest being municipalities<sup>1/</sup>. Of the two suburban cities, Quezon City, about seven kilometers northeast of Manila, was given greater attention in this paper. Its population has increased three and a half times in the last ten years. This rapidly growing town is being developed as the capital city of the Philippines. The major part of the national government services and facilities now located in Manila are to be transferred to Quezon City.

5. The city of Manila, together with its seven adjacent suburban towns, comprise Metropolitan Manila. This report follows the outline of topics in the tentative agenda of the Regional Conference.

(i) PHYSICAL LAYOUT AND TOWN PLANNING:

PHYSICAL LAYOUT

6. City of Manila:- The City of Manila has an area of 3,700 hectares. It is situated in the west coast of Luzon in latitude  $14^{\circ} 36'$  North and longitude  $120^{\circ} 58'$  East <sup>2/</sup>. The length of the western boundary of the city runs from north to south to include the harbours which are the nation's major ports of call for world and interisland shipping, the city's parks and the broad, tree-lined highway and bay-side promenade known as Dewey Boulevard.

7. Across Manila Bay to the west is the China Sea. From the sea blows the wet season through the southwest monsoon bringing typhoons and heavy rainfall each year. The only other season is the dry or hot season. Manila is of low elevation, rising a few feet above sea level.

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<sup>1/</sup> Municipalities are small urban towns. They are the administrative centres of a cluster or group of villages or barrios

<sup>2/</sup> See Map of Manila and environs, Appendix A.

8. Across the waist of the city, is the winding Pasig River over which seven bridges cross to connect the north and the south sides of the city. Just across the main bridges on the north side is downtown Manila, the commercial, banking and main shopping districts. Twenty seven kilometers of tributaries branch out of this river in a network of canals and esteros that are mainly non-navigable. Undrained for a hundred years, the silt and refuse from the factories and from the hundreds of squatter families along their banks have made these canals a constant menace to the health of the people of the city. The City of Manila claims that it is the national government authorities that ought to drain them.

9. The city of Manila is divided into 14 municipal districts for "administrative and other municipal purposes".<sup>1/</sup> Over these districts are distributed the city's schools, markets, health centres, police precincts, fire stations, and so forth. The city is also divided into four political districts, each of which elects five councilors to the Municipal Board. Each of these political districts also elects one representative to the Congress of the Philippines.

10. The charter of Manila defines the jurisdiction of the City as one that extends to three miles from the shore to Manila Bay, and for the purpose of protecting and ensuring the purity of the water supply, "over all territory within the drainage area of such water supply, or within 100 meters of any reservoir, conduit, canal aqueduct, or pumping station used in connection with the city water service."<sup>2/</sup> Manila's water supply comes from Quezon City and the suburbs.

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<sup>1/</sup> Charter, City of Manila, Sec. 6

<sup>2/</sup> Charter of the City of Manila, Sec. 8

11. Manila authorities also maintain jurisdiction over territory located in the suburban municipality of Marikina to the west. This is the 23 hectare Boys' Town maintained and administered by the Mayor's Council for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency. About 420 boys occupy Boys' Town. Indigent and orphaned, they are housed, maintained and trained in citizenship in this village.

12. Manila's underground drainage and sewerage systems were probably adequate for the needs of the city 30 years ago. Today, with the tremendous increase in population and the heavy demands of industries, the drainage, sewerage and water distribution systems have become quite inadequate.

13. Metropolitan Manila:- Table I that follows shows the towns that compose Metropolitan Manila, together with their respective population, area and density of population in 1939, 1948 and 1960.

TABLE I

	<u>P O P U L A T I O N</u>			<u>A R E A</u>		<u>D E N S I T Y</u>		
	1939	1948	1960	<u>in Hectares</u>		<u>per hectare</u>		
				1939-48	1960	1939	1948	1960
Manila	623,492	983,906	1,149,000	3,700	3,700	169	270	311
Quezon City	39,013	107,977	395,020	7,380	15,660	5	15	25
Pasay City	55,161	88,728	132,549	1,480	1,480	37	58	90
Caloocan	38,820	58,208	146,709	1,870	8,525	3	5	17
Makati	23,530	41,325	114,418	1,340	1,710	25	31	67
Mandaluyong	18,200	26,309	79,311	1,190	1,680	15	22	47
Paranaque	21,125	28,884	61,753	1,480	1,950	14	19	32
San Juan	18,870	31,493	56,945	2,670	1,515	7	12	38
Total for Metropolitan Manila	848,211	1,366,840	2,135,705	31,110	33,220	27	44	65

Source: Bureau of Census and Statistics, Office of Treasurer and Engineer in towns of Metropolitan Manila and Rizal Province.

14. The boundaries and land areas of the towns around Manila were largely determined during the Spanish era. The parish churches were the centres around which the towns developed. An urban settlement became duly recognized as a town upon establishment of its parish church. The religious orders owned sizeable tracts of land and towns were in the main, administered by the church.

15. The advent of the American regime at the turn of the 20th century saw no major changes in the size and areas of the towns that now comprise Metropolitan Manila. On the contrary, these land boundaries were firmly established each town becoming a Municipal corporation under the administrative Code. The rapid industrial and commercial development of Manila and environs had the over-urbanized state into which these towns had developed makes the re-examination of land boundaries and uses necessary.

16. All seven suburban towns are within a range of five kilometers from the centre of the City of Manila. Most of these towns are on a hilly region. They are rapidly developing into residential places. Many housing projects are being established for the low and high income groups. Also, a growing number of commercial and industrial establishments are to be found in all of Manila's suburban towns.

17. It is to be noted that within Metropolitan Manila are three cities, namely, Manila, Pasay and Quezon cities. Each of these cities is governed by special charter granted by the legislature. These cities, as well as the Municipalities, are administratively independent of each other.

18. Quezon City to the northeast is a new city. Originally conceived as a place wherein to house the factory workers and laborers of an overly populated Manila, under the program of "social justice" of the late President Manuel L. Quezon, it was granted its city charter in 1939. In 1948, when it was selected as the site of the future capital of the Philippines, its area was increased to 15,660 hectares, more than twice its original size. This city is now being developed into a capital city. The five municipalities in the metropolitan area administratively belong to the Province of Rizal, Metropolitan Manila has a total land area of 32,019 hectares.<sup>1/</sup>

19. Eight kilometers southeast of Manila and within the Municipality of Makati are the local and international airports. The principal source of electricity for Metropolitan Manila comes from the Caliraya hydro-electric plant 80 kilometers southeast of Manila City.

20. The overstraining of services and physical facilities through uncontrolled development and over-urbanization can result in the loss of human lives and properties. Manila is learning this lesson at great cost to itself. For example, during the rainy season of 1943, a few days of heavy rainfall submerged a great portion of the city under water. For days, the city lay with flood heights much higher than any attained previously. In 1947, and again in 1951, heavy rains seriously inundated the city.

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<sup>1/</sup> Cities enjoy much greater taxing powers and measure of self government than the municipalities which share their revenues with the provinces of which they are a part. Municipalities, in turn are subdivided into barrios or villages of 500 or more inhabitants. These barrios derive part of their revenues by sharing with municipalities of which they are a part. Some cities had formerly been municipalities. Therefore some cities, such as Quezon City include barrios within their boundaries.

21. Recently, during the typhoon of the 28th of May, 1960, disaster struck unexpectedly at 4.00 o'clock in the morning when the onrush of swift river floods swept away hundreds of squatters' shanties along the river banks. A great many lives, mostly women and children, perished in the swirling waters. The higher places of Caloocan, Quezon City and San Juan suffered just as heavily in lives and properties as the lowlands of Manila. Two months later brought back the flash floods at a sacrifice of more human lives and more properties.

22. Studies attribute these disasters to the very rapid rate of development of the higher suburban towns east of Manila particularly in the last five years. Deforestation, levelling of the land, paving of roads, construction of buildings and other public works created a run-off for the overflowing Marikina and Pasig rivers. The flood waters was temporarily slowed by the antiquated drainage and sewage systems, and was dammed along low bridges through the clogging of the channels because of accumulated refuse from squatter shanties and the overgrowth of water lilies. When the pressure of the rising waters in the higher areas broke through these obstructions, it was as if the dams broke. The racing current surged down with much force sweeping down whole shanties with all their occupants along its path.

23. On the other hand, for the rest of the year in the dry season, the situation is reversed. Manila is stricken with serious shortage of water.<sup>1/</sup> Experts believe that the water supply at the source should be at least twice its present capacity and that the underground system of water distribution ought to be changed if immediate needs are to be

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<sup>1/</sup> Manila's potable water is safe to drink from tap.

adequately satisfied.

24. As the core city and economic base of the suburban towns, Manila absorbs the greatest impact of over-urbanization. The rapid and unbridled development of the surrounding towns, however, instead of relieving the pressure in Manila seems only to worsen the situation. The resulting ills of over-urbanization has spread to the rapidly growing towns of the suburbs.

25. Blighted and congested slum areas, uncollected refuse, heavy and insoluble traffic conditions, overcrowded schools and jails, lack of fire hydrants, water shortage and low water pressure, rising criminality, prostitution and juvenile delinquency are problems that are no longer the exclusive concern of Manila. These problems and many others have begun to invade Quezon City and the other suburbs. In Quezon City the facilities of the Philippine Army are in constant use to help in the collection and disposal of refuse. Army assistance has also been called in to help the repair of the streets. Conditions seem to be in a continuing state of "emergency" because local government resources and services are far too inadequate to cope with the rapid development of commerce and industry and the ever greater rate of population increase.

#### Town Planning

26. City of Manila. It has been said that Manila was one of the most damaged cities in the world during the last war. Only a few days of arson and sidespread demolition of buildings reduced the heart and major portions of the city into shambles. Those were the liberation days of 1945. Today, the walled city of Intrumuros in the main still lies in ruins amidst hundreds of squatters' shanties and newly constructed buildings.

27. The period immediately following liberation provided the opportunity for replanning and reconstructing Manila. In the early days of 1946, a plan for "a new city" was submitted to the authorities. Problems of immediate survival and recovery from the deep wounds of the war, however, made first claim on the attention of the policy makers. It was not until very much later, in 1954, when a master plan for Manila emerged. By then it was obviously much too late to do any major change.

28. In the meantime the prewar zoning ordinance was brought back into force, based on an outmoded plan that is hardly appropriate and responsive to the demands of the changed conditions.

29. In 1946 an Urban Planning Commission was created to prepare general plans, zoning and subdivision regulations for urban areas.<sup>1/</sup> The following year, under a new administration, with the election of a new President, a Real Property Board "to attend to problems involving real estate in connection with the planning of the City of Manila was created. <sup>2/</sup> It is not known what accomplishments or concrete measures resulted from the studies made by either the Urban Planning Commission of 1946, or the Real Property Board of 1947.

30. The Master Plan for the City of Manila of 1954 is nothing more than a physical plan unaccompanied by serious economic or social studies. It suggests a new arrangement of city streets and thoroughfares, transportation terminals, shopping centres, sites for government and semi-government buildings, parks and playgrounds, including a pattern of land uses. Six

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<sup>1/</sup> Executive Order No. 98 of the President of the Philippines, 11 March 1946  
<sup>2/</sup> Administrative Order No. 38 of the President of the Philippines; 12 July 1947.

circumferential routes are proposed to help solve Manila's serious traffic problems and solutions are suggested to problems of industrial congestion and mal-distribution.

31. The text of zoning regulations to implement this plan was subjected to public hearings as required by law. A final draft was then prepared by the Commission and forthwith submitted to the Municipal Board. The Board conducted public hearings on the final draft, but failed to enact a new zoning ordinance for the city. And so the City of Manila, with a population today of over a million, has grown on the old pattern established by the pre-war 1940 zoning ordinance, an ordinance based on a town plan designed in 1928, when the population was about one half million occupying the same area of land.<sup>1/</sup>

32. Governed by an outmoded zoning ordinance administered with laxity and callous indifference by a succession of political administrations, Manila today has become an extremely congested city with streets and land uses in a state of indescribable disorder. In a recent report, the National Planning Commission stated that more than 50 percent of the city suffers from indiscriminate mixture of land uses and that laxity in the matter of permits and licensing has produced a situation where industries and commercial establishments have been allowed in places where they should not have been tolerated.<sup>2/</sup>

33. The enormity of the problem is seen as one realizes that one third of the country's total industries are operating in Metropolitan Manila and one half of these industries are concentrated in the City of Manila.<sup>3/</sup>

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<sup>1/</sup> Master Plan, City of Manila, National Planning Commission 30 June 1954

<sup>2/</sup> "Growth of Manila", National Planning Commission, UN Seminar on Regional Planning, Tokyo, 1958.

<sup>3/</sup> See map of industrial dispersion in the Philippines, Appendix B

With a very bad traffic situation and hardly any space left for expansion within the City of Manila, the development of the suburban towns proceeds at a rapid rate.

34. In 1948, the Congress of the Philippines enacted a law creating a Capital City Planning Commission.<sup>1/</sup> This law designated Quezon City as the Capital of the Philippines and the permanent seat of the National Government increasing its land area by twice its original size. The Commission was directed to "submit to the President within one year after its organization the master plan of the Capital City of the Philippines ... and shall be charged with the execution of the master plan as approved by the President. "The President under the law would issue "bonds in the amount of twenty million pesos, the proceeds of which shall be used as a revolving fund for the acquisition of private estates, the subdivision of the area, and the construction of streets, bridges, waterworks, sewerage and other municipal improvement in the Capital City of the Philippines.<sup>2/</sup>

35. With the Quezon City Master Plan completed and approved by the President in 1949, and the source and method of financing together with the implementing authority all determined in the Law, the important foundation for seeing the plan realized were established and one might have expected the new capital city to actually begin to take shape. This was not what happened.

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<sup>1/</sup> Republic Act No. 333, Approved 17 July 1948  
<sup>2/</sup> Ibid. Sec. 6

36. The national elections of 1949 brought in a new administration. The President elect, by Executive Order abolished the Capital City Planning Commission, the National Urban Commission and the Real Property Board, transferring the "powers, duties and functions" of these three agencies to a newly created agency within the Office of the President known as the National Planning Commission.<sup>1/</sup>

37. With the exception of a few lots that had been purchased by the government and a zoning and subdivision ordinance that had been adopted by the Quezon City government in 1956, no further action on the Master Plan for Quezon City of implementary nature had been taken.

38. As a matter of fact, the whole question of the responsibility for planning and development might now be viewed from an entirely new light as a result of the recent passage by Congress of the so-called Local Autonomy Law of 1959. <sup>2/</sup> This far reaching law on local governments in the Philippines grants planning functions to local administrations. This law empowers the local municipal boards or city councils in cities and municipal councils in municipalities to adopt zoning and subdivision ordinances or regulations. The National Planning Commission may be consulted by local governments from time to time but reserve to themselves the final decisions on master plans prepared by the national government.

39. The census of the Philippine that is just nearing completion now places the population at 27,535,912. <sup>3/</sup> The totals for the last three censuses are as follows:

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<sup>1/</sup> Republic Act No. 333, Approved 17th July 1948.  
<sup>2/</sup> Republic Act No. 2264, approved 19 June 1959  
<sup>3/</sup> The 1960 Census enumerations commenced February 1960. The final results are not expected to deviate too much from the figures now announced as tentative.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Census totals</u>	<u>Percentage Increase</u>	
		1939-1948	1948-1960
1939	16,000,303	20.2	43.2
1948	19,234,182		
1960	27,535,912		

40. An Inter-Agency Committee on Demography established in April 1958 estimated the birth rate to about 50 and the death rate to about 20. This committee placed the rate of natural increase close to 30 for each 1000 or three percent annually.

41. The United Nations projections of population trends to the year 1980 for the Philippines is 50,840,000. The results of the 1960 census seem to indicate that the population will double in even less than 20 years, if the present trends continue unchanged.

42. As to what proportion of the population lives in urban areas, the answer would be either 24.1 percent, or 31.1 percent, depending on which definition of "urban area" is used, that is, the definition of the 1939 and 1948 censuses, or the classification of urban areas used by the Philippine Statistical Surveys of Households (PSSH). The 1939, 1948 censuses define urban areas as "Manila and poblaciones (administrative centre of the municipality) of all sizes, "in which case, the answer would be 24 percent urban. The PSSH, on the other hand, classifies urban areas as "the chartered cities and provincial capitals, and Metropolitan Manila". Under such classification, 31.1 percent would be the proportion living in the urban areas.

43. Metropolitan Manila, with its total land area of 38,189 hectares now supports a population of 2,135,705. Of this, the City of Manila alone, with its very limited space of 3,700 hectares carries a resident population of 1,149,000. The population of this city alone is larger than the total

aggregate population with all its seven suburban towns combined by about 16.5 percent.<sup>1/</sup> Within the City of Manila itself, the population densities rise to as high as 600 or more per hectare in some of its fourteen districts.

44. Quezon City in the suburbs registered a population of 395,020 in 1960. It has become the second most populous of the 34 chartered cities in the Philippines. From a population of 107,977 in 1948, this rapidly growing suburban town has more than trebled its population within the last ten years. Its large land area of 14,459 hectares of rolling country, the construction of several housing projects, and the fact that the seat of the national government is being transferred from Manila to this suburban city probably accounts in fact to its very rapid rise of migration.

45. Pasay City, the suburban town south of Manila is the sixth most populous with its 132,549 inhabitants. The suburban municipality of Caloocan, with 146,709 residents, has a slightly larger population than Pasay City.

46. The growth of Metropolitan Manila and its component parts may be better illustrated by a table prepared by the Office of Statistical Coordination and Standards of the National Economic Council.

Table 2				
Average Annual Rate of Growth by Locality for Metropolitan Manila, 1903-1960 and for the Philippines, 1903-1960				
(Rates in percent)				
Locality	1903-1918	1918-1939	1939-1948	1948-1960
Metropolitan Manila	2.58	4.32	5.02	4.01
Manila	1.65	3.99	4.80	1.38
Quezon City	(a)	20.10	11.01	12.13
Pasay City	6.51	5.46	5.06	3.60
Caloocan	7.90	3.40	4.15	8.50
San Juan	10.70	6.90	5.15	5.37
Mandaluyong	(a)	15.55	3.84	10.23
Makati	9.70	4.22	11.94	9.40
Paranaque	7.50	0.23	3.37	6.93
Philippines	1.92	2.22	1.90	3.22

(a) No population data for this locality available from published results of 1903 Census.

47. The table above shows a marked decline in Manila from 4.80 percent in 1939-1948 to 1.38 percent in 1948-1960. The gradual decline in the rate of growth of Pasay City to the south throughout the years since 1903 should also be noted. Such decline is matched, however, by the sharp rise in the rate of development of the four suburban municipalities. There is evidence to show that an overflow created by a state of over-urbanization of Manila and Pasay cities has spilled over to the suburban areas. Incidentally, these industrially developing municipalities are an administrative part of the neighboring Rizal Province. Their sharp gain in population is reflected in the fact that Rizal Province has more than doubled its population as shown in the 1960 Census.

48. The Philippine Statistics Surveys of Households (PSSH), based on data compiled for the month of May 1957, makes the following figures available:

<u>Age Range</u> (years)	<u>Metropolitan</u> <u>Manila</u>	<u>Philippines</u>
<u>All ages</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
0-14	41.9	45.7
15-44	46.5	41.0
45-64	9.6	10.2
65 over	2.0	3.1

49. It is to be noted that there is a lower proportion of the younger groups in Metropolitan Manila than in the Philippines as a whole. There is also a lower percentage of the aged, 65 years and over in Metropolitan Manila than in the whole country. This probably is a reflection to some degree of the migration of young adults seeking employment in Manila. It is probable too that the effect of urbanization has been to reduce fertility.

50. There is evidence in the census data that the age of marriage has been higher in Metropolitan Manila, and that there have been lower proportions of marriages in Metropolitan Manila than in the other regions for many decades.

(iii) Economic Conditions

51. The Philippine economy is one of "free enterprise" and shaped primarily by the non-governmental sector. Only in rare instances does the government enter the field of industry as entrepreneur, and when it does, it does so temporarily and only in those instances where to undertake them is to respond to a public need and where private initiative is unable to venture into the field.

52. Indeed, it is the declared policy of the government to encourage private capital. Towards this end, incentives are offered in such forms as liberal extension of credit, facilities for marketing and distribution, subsidies, and a five-year tax exemption for "new and necessary industries". Protection to local industries are extended through import restrictions and monetary exchange controls.

53. Manila is the commercial and industrial centre of the Philippines. As the seat of the national government, it is also the country's political as well as administrative centre. Within the 3700 hectares that comprise the land area of Manila are located the leading universities, colleges, schools and cultural institutions of the country. But then also within the same area are mainly concentrated the country's unemployed, not to mention the country's densest areas that are being rapidly blighted by spreading colonies of squatters and destitute migrants.

54. As the principal port of entry for raw materials and finished

products, Manila provides a ready market for manufactured goods. This, together with the availability of power and other resources, generated the rapid growth of industries within the city and its suburbs. Nearly one third of all industrial establishments in the country is concentrated in Metropolitan Manila.<sup>1/</sup> Among these industries are textile mills, iron and steel, pulp and paper, plywood and veneer plants, transportation, canning, bottling and glass factories, and all manner of tertiary and non-productive but labour-oriented enterprises.

55. From the period previous to 1945 and onwards to 1954, a greater number of establishments were organized in Manila proper as compared to the suburbs. From 1955 on, to the present, however, the number of industries established in the suburbs have surpassed the number of established in Manila over the same period.<sup>2/</sup>

56. The percentage of the employed by major industry groups in Metropolitan Manila, with the exception of agriculture and mining, is twice greater than the percentage for these industries through the Philippine. This is shown in the following Table 3 prepared by the Philippine Statistical Survey on Households for May, 1957:

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<sup>1/</sup> Of a total of 7208 operating establishments for industry groups, 2398 are in Manila. The 1956 Annual Survey of Manufacturers, Manila, 1958. See Industrial dispersion map of Philippines, Appendix B

<sup>2/</sup> The National Economic Council and Bureau of Census and Statistics 1958-1959 Survey of Manufacturers, Bureau of Printing, Manila.

Table 3

Percentage of the Labour Force by Major Industry Group, May 1957 3/

<u>Industry Group</u>	<u>Metropolitan Manila</u>	<u>Philippines</u>
Agriculture, forestry hunting, fishing, mining	0.8	55.3
Construction	4.4	2.5
Manufacture	19.3	11.3
Commerce	17.2	9.0
Transport, storage and communication	7.4	2.7
Gov't and other services	37.0	9.3
Other industries	---	0.6
Industry not reported	0.6	0.7
Total employes	86.7	91.4
Unemployed	14.3	8.7
Total	101.0*	100.1

\* Rounding errors account for a total of more than 100.

57. It is to be noted that the government of Manila accounts for a good portion of the employed labour force. The City Government of Manila alone employs some 14,000 people. The various departments and offices of the national government located for the most part within Manila have close to 200,000 employees. The transfer of these departments and offices from the City of Manila to the new capital site should create an impact upon the economy of these places.

58. The government itself, as a large employing institution, is an economic power in the area. More than this, the status of its public services, its tax and regulatory policies should be a major influence in shaping the economic structure of the city and the suburbs. It would be interesting to study, for example, the extent to which the city's retail and wholesalers

tax and its gasoline tax have influenced the movement of industries and the mobility of labour and capital within the metropolitan area.

59. Nonetheless, Manila constitutes the primary economic base of the suburban towns. It remains the chief source and place of employment for the commuting suburban people. Metropolitan Manila might indeed be regarded as the country's primary economic base.

60. Reliable data on the status of unemployment is not available. However figures on the size of the labour force and its percentage of unemployed in Metropolitan Manila, as compared to the country as a whole show the following:- 1/

<u>Percentage of Population Aged 10 and over in the Labour Force</u>				<u>Percentage of Unemployed in the Labour Force</u>			
<u>Metropolitan Manila</u>		<u>Philippines</u>		<u>Metropolitan Manila</u>		<u>Philippines</u>	
Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
62.9	31.2	80.4	42.9	14.6	14.1	5.1	4.7

61. The figures above indicate low proportions of males and females in Metropolitan Manila that are available to produce goods and services. This condition might be explained in the presence of a great proportion of students, retired persons and wives who do not seek employment. Furthermore, not only do the figures show a relatively smaller percentage of the labour force to the population in Metropolitan Manila, but a very much higher proportion of unemployed males and females in Manila as compared to the rest of the Philippines. This high level of unemployment in Manila may reflect a difference in the incidence of underemployment as compared with the

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1/ Records of the Philippine Statistical Surveys on Households for May 1957

rural areas. Indeed, one would expect agricultural workers to be specially subject to underemployment, whereas in urban areas, unemployment is more likely to be the outcome when labour is in excess supply.

62. In this connection, the school population of Manila alone number as high as 390,552 students in 1958. Concentrated within the city area are a total of 235 other schools public and private.<sup>1/</sup> The University of the Philippines, the State University, still maintains a few units in the City of Manila, such as the Institute of Public Administration. The main units of this University have been moved to its campus at Dilliman, Quezon City.

63. The law fixes the minimum wage to four pesos per day. This minimum is to be observed both in rural as well as urban areas. The law does not apply to situations where the crop-sharing system is the practice and where the land under cultivation is less than 10 hectares. The uniform application of the minimum wage to both the cities as well as the rural areas, where cheaper labour might have been a major attraction to set up industries, in effect tends to "push" the industries to Manila and other cities where power, transport and so forth are more assured. This would be especially true with the manufacture of perishable goods. In view of this, the policy of the Government for the dispersal of these industries would seem to be even more difficult to achieve.

64. The government in 1949 launched a bold industrial development program. To support such a program the government went into deficit spending. A vast program of public works and the importation of foreign machinery and other goods were carried out. As a result, the balance of trade further

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<sup>1/</sup> From the records of the Bureau of Public and Private Schools and the Division of City Schools, City Government of Manila.

deteriorated from an already bad situation and the Philippine international dollar reserve dipped to an alarmingly low level.

65. To check inflation and spiralling prices, a "retrenchment policy" was adopted. Controls and other fiscal restraints were instituted and public borrowing was restricted. In addition, a marginal fee of 25 percent on dollar-peso exchange was by law adopted.

66. The economy recovered. Within a brief period, production increased and foreign trade was enhanced through a greater volume of exports to the world markets for the country's main exportable products, namely, copra, sugar, Manila hemp, metal ores and lumber. The high prices went down, unemployment decreased in Metropolitan Manila and the dollar reserves climbed to a more comfortable level. It is to be noted in this connection, that it might have been deficit spending which brought in the crisis that precisely laid the ground for the rapid rate of industrial development that today is taking place in the suburban town of Manila.

67. The economy has so recovered that the Central Bank now is able to afford a new policy of limited decontrol. The hope of course is towards full decontrol, in order to replace an artificial development under the present system of controls, with a more natural and healthful development of the economy.

#### (iv) Social Organization and Social Stratification

68. The social effects of the high state of over-urbanization in Manila finds manifestation in the family size, family relationship, social status and in the incidence of crime, delinquency and prostitution of the inhabitants in the city in comparison with the conditions of the family in the rural areas.

69. As previously indicated, there is a lower proportion of the younger ages and those aged 65 years and over in Metropolitan Manila. The burden of dependency in Metropolitan Manila is proportionally lower than that of the Philippines as a whole. This condition is more than offset, however, by a higher proportion of the unemployed in Metropolitan Manila. Such state of unemployment creates a heavy social burden to the city.

70. The younger adult who migrates to Manila or the suburbs leaves his enlarged family clan in the provinces to join a friend or relation in the big city. He migrates for the opportunity of a new and better life. He takes this step to escape poverty and with the knowledge that after all, "no one actually starves to death in Manila". He very soon finds that, among others, the money economy drives him to seek employment. He seeks refuge in the house of a friend or relation, perhaps in one of the squatters' areas. Here he learns how to get about in the town. He would be fortunate to get temporary employment as a vendor or as a member of a road gang or construction group. On a full time job he gets at least four pesos a day. Out of job, he joins the cast army of the city's unemployed.<sup>1/</sup>

71. To go back to the provinces would be a difficult, if not an impossible thing for him to do, as he will lose face and there will be nothing to go back to in the first place. In despair he will pursue occupations outside of the law. Perhaps time and circumstances will permit him to learn a skill. In such a case, steady work may come through some labour union. With the years he will begin to have his own family. But such a family as his will be different from the one to which he belonged when he departed. It will be a smaller one that will lack that filial kinship and cohesion that was the essence of the extended family that he left long ago.

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<sup>1/</sup> An actual case in a survey of a squatter area conducted by the Social Welfare unit of the Social Welfare Administration in Collaboration with the health department of the City of Manila.

72. This is not to say however that close kinship of large, extended families do not exist in some measure in urban Manila. Clanishness and neighborliness are a general part of the Filipino way of life. They are a necessary feature of insecurity in underdevelopment.

73. Traces of the rural-provincial structure of the extended family are to some extent reflected in the social status of the city mayor, the municipal mayor and other heads of local governments. The Barangay 2/ of the old pre-Spanish period was ruled by a headman or datu to whom everyone in the barangay owed respect and from whom everyone expected justice and protection. Ecologically the mayor is the "headman" of the community. He is expected on a personal basis to minister to the personal needs of individual residents. Therefore the mayor is continuously approached for jobs or financial assistance, advices on family domestic problems, performance of marriage ceremonies, sponsorship of fiestas, family celebrations, even funerals. He is obliged to play such a role in addition to the time demanded of him in building and mending his political fences. Indeed, he finds very little time for his administrative duties.

74. Clan-filial relationships find reflection in the bureaucracy itself. Administrative heads of units assume a parent symbol to the work force. At times an attempt is made to establish familial relations with "The Chief", if not directly, indirectly, through members of his family. To some, this is quite the normal thing to do, very especially should one happen to have come from the same province or region as one's superior. After all, it might be said generally that the relationship of the executive

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2/ Small and autonomous settlement of pre-Spanish times that had been originally organized through migration of Malay and Polynesian families from other islands in large native sailboats called barangay.

to his job and those whom he directs is a very personal one.

75. Therefore, it should not be unusual after a while, for one to invite the boss to sponsor (padrino) the baptism of one's child, or the wedding of one's son or daughter. Such a happy event cements relationships and the boss becomes one's "compadre". The tie of kinship is a personal one, an honest one perhaps; one which may even outlast the next generation. It should not be amiss on occasions under such circumstances to give the boss a gift or to do him unusual favours. An important aspect of such relationship however is that invariably, from the point of view of the subordinate, he has enlisted his compadre-boss to a measure of social security to himself and perhaps the members of his family.

76. Suffice it to say that familial relationships are a part of the essential character of the Philippine administrative organization. They must have a considerable influence in shaping the character and functions of the organization. This is an area where deeper studies may yield new knowledges that will help in the better understanding of the problem of making the administrative organization, in the context of the social and cultural norms of the locality, a more effective instrument in helping share the task of coping with the enormous problems of economic and social development.

77. There is also evidence to the general proposition that urbanization has resulted in the loosening, at times the dislocation of family ties. The legal prohibition of divorces however seems a deterrent to the breaking up of husband and wife, although as might be expected there have been in Manila courts an increasing number of cases of "separation from bed and board". Parental care of children in Metropolitan Manila has also suffered

in some degree. The struggle for livelihood, the lack of facilities required for the healthy growth of children, the poor substandard conditions in blighted areas; all these have contributed to the rise of crime, juvenile delinquency and prostitution in Metropolitan Manila. The crime rate, although somewhat **high**, is under control.

78. In the Philippines, economic change has been reflected in the social structure. World War II has brought considerable changes. While the basic pattern remained the same, there has been increasing mobility between and amongst the classes, particularly in the middle and lower classes.

79. Highest in the social ladder are the large-land-owning class and producers of basic agricultural crops for export, the industrialists that occupy commanding positions in the economy. Along the lowest social strata are of course the army of landless tenants, the unemployed and underemployed, the industrial workers.

80. The war years brought about the emergence of the "buy and sell" crowd especially in the City of Manila. Capital and credit gained laid the basis for a newly rich middle class in the Metropolitan area. The opportunities provided by the trenches both economically and socially in the post war era. This group, together with the rise of a young entrepreneurial group, constitutes an increasing middle class in Metropolitan Manila.

81. The lower middle class would include the "jeepney"<sup>1/</sup> drivers, shopkeepers of corner stores, rank and file employees of government, sidewalk and market vendors, the petty politicians, the restaurant and nightclub hostesses and "percentage operators". These are the most mobile, oftentimes the most unstable and certainly the noisiest of the classes.

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<sup>1/</sup> "Jeepneys" are U.S. Army surplus jeeps locally converted to vehicles that can carry as many as ten passengers. There are about 60,000 of these in Manila and environs.

## B. Municipal Administration and Its Problems

82. Within the context of the role of local administrations in economic and social development, the impact of the administrative structure, functions and operations is a very real one. What is desirable is to be able to achieve such an administrative pattern as would make for better responsiveness ("sensitivity" might be a better term) to the needs and wishes of the people of the locality through services that should be adequate and efficiently performed. More than this, the problem includes the adoption of the means by which the capacity of the local administration should be increased in order to be able to effectively deal with the growing pains of development. In the light of the experience of growing cities in Metropolitan Manila and elsewhere in the Philippines, one demonstrated need is for a unified structure at the top which would improve the relations between the Mayor and the City Council on the one hand, and the Mayor and his executive departments on the other. Another need relates to the effective utilization of a competent management staff enjoying the confidence and support of the city executive and the installation of practical managerial procedures to attain higher business standards. Many other needs may be cited. Also of fundamental relevance are the questions of financial resources, local-central relations and politics in administration. These directly influence the success or failure of the city's administrative machinery in its endeavour to find solutions to such concrete problems as the squatters, flood control, housing, traffic, sewerage and a host of other problems.

83. What follows is a brief description of the administrative structure of the city of Manila and Quezon City and their respective administrative reform programs in the light of the problems of rapid development. In this

connection, the administrative structure of the 33 other cities in the Philippines is essentially the same as that of the City of Manila, whose charter (including many of its weak features) was used as a model in the drafting of their respective city charters.

(i) Administrative framework, functions and procedures

84. The City of Manila. - On the whole, it might be said generally, that the City of Manila is able to render reasonably satisfactory services to the people of the City. At the head of the Government is an elected mayor who, with the assistance of his administrative staff, directs the eight line departments and services of the city, namely; finance, police, fire, assessment, engineering and public works, schools, health and public services (collection and disposal of refuse). There is also a vice mayor. By recent law, the Vice Mayor was made the "presiding officer" of the Municipal Board.

85. The legislative function is performed by a municipal board or council. From each of the four political districts in Manila are elected five councilors to the Municipal Board. The Mayor, the Vice Mayor and Councilors hold office for a term of four years.

86. Victorious candidates for elective positions in the city (mayor, vice mayor, councilors) are determined on the basis of the highest number of votes for each of these positions, regardless of party affiliations. This has made possible our having in the City of Manila a mayor who belongs to the majority or Nacionalista Party while the Vice Mayor belongs to the opposition or Liberal Party. 1/

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1/ The same situation now obtains in the national government, where we have a Nacionalista President and Liberal Vice President.

87. Within the City Government of Manila, and financed from city revenues are services that are administratively independent of the city authorities. These services are extensions of national government services and are supervised by national authorities. They include the Office of the City Auditor, the Law Department that prepares and prosecutes offenses committed in the city, the Municipal Courts, and the Office of the Sheriff of Manila. Under the same category is the Division of City Schools that had been listed previously among the eight line departments. This division consumes the largest financial support from city revenues, much larger than any of the other departments in the city government. The Division of City Schools is part of the national system of education under the national Department of Education. The Division of City Schools is under the administrative supervision of the national Department of Education.

88. Under the Office of the Mayor, but separated from the line departments, are a number of special services that are directly under the supervision of the Mayor. These are the Manila Civil Defense and Disaster Organization, Council for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, City Library, Manila Zoological and Botanical Gardens, the Board of Tax Appeals and the Meat Inspection Board. Aside from these services, are ad hoc boards and committees composed of representatives of citizens groups that advise or recommend matters of policy covering specified areas to the Mayor.

89. Within the Office of the Mayor are his Secretariat and managerial staffs, each headed by an assistant secretary under the Secretary to the Mayor. In practice however there is a direct channel of communication between the head of the management staff (assistant secretary) and the City

Mayor. This Office of Management is divided into two divisions, namely, the Management and Planning Division and the Personnel Division. Planning of the annual budget, organization and methods and to a limited extent city planning, recruitment and selection of personnel and inservice training are the main functions of this office.

90. One major problems of structure concerns the legal and structural separation between the executive and legislative functions of the city government. The past experience of the City of Manila has shown the tendency towards the isolation of these two bodies from each other. There had also been an inclination for the interests of these two political bodies to collide. This, inspite of the fact that the city executive and the great majority of the councilors belonged to the same political party. Not infrequently, the results were delays in many important matters that required action. As a matter of fact, liaison men had to be employed to improve communication between the Mayor and the Municipal Board. This device however, did not seem to improve the situation. In addition, the working procedures within the Municipal Board itself seem to require improvement. Division among its members has invariably resulted in deadlocks. Such condition is responsible for the failure of the city government in every fiscal year, to adopt a budget within the deadline laid down by the city charter and its failure to adopt a new zoning ordinance.

91. The situation is further aggravated in the enactment of a general law making Vice Mayors of cities the Presiding Officer of the Municipal Board.<sup>1/</sup> Under a recent judicial interpretation of this law, the Vice Mayor as presiding officer can participate in the deliberations of the Board, sponsor legislation and apparently perform the functions of the duly elected

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<sup>1/</sup> Republic Act No. 1219, approved 10 May 1955.

councilor. It is not clear now whether the vice-mayor is an executive or a legislative officer.

92. The heads and assistants heads of the city's executive departments are appointive officials. However, they do not owe their tenure of office to the City Mayor who is not empowered to select and appoint them. It is the President of the Philippines who appoints them, "with the consent of the Commission on Appointments of Congress". The same situation generally obtains with the other cities, provinces and the municipalities. Also, it might be pointed out in this connection, that the President may suspend the mayor from office, pending his investigation or trial, for causes specifically provided for in the law.

93. One major restraint upon the prerogatives of the city executive lies in the realm of discipline. A statute of general application to local governments<sup>1/</sup> places the main responsibility over the discipline of erring policemen upon the City Council. This law requires that all administrative cases which involve the members of the police force shall be heard and tried by a majority of all members of the city Municipal Board or City Council. This measure is purportedly designed to protect the individual rights of policemen. Of some 300 administrative cases accumulated over the years, the Municipal Board of Manila so far has been able to take action on only one case. The Municipal Council of Quezon City had not been able as yet to dispose of a single case. In the meantime, by provision of the law<sup>2/</sup> failure to decide a case within 60 days requires the reinstatement of the policeman under investigation. The almost impossible task of complementing this law has only served to defeat the law itself.

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<sup>1/</sup> Republic Act 557, approved June 17, 1950.

<sup>2/</sup> Ibid, Sec. 3.

94. The year 1951 is an important landmark in the history of the City of Manila and local governments in general. In that year, the city mayorship for the first time became an elective office. Previously, all city mayors were appointed by the President of the Philippines to "hold office at the pleasure of the President". The newly elected mayor of Manila launched a reform program in a major effort to rid the executive departments and offices of graft. Managerial procedures whenever possible were adopted to achieve efficiency. Functions and activities were reassessed and changes were made in the internal structures and operations of the departments. A personnel program was adopted and higher standards of performance were prescribed. With the cooperation of the Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of Public Schools, general examinations were given to the hundreds not possessing the required civil service eligibilities, in order to weed out the unqualified, particularly in the ranks of the political proteges. Within the Office of the Mayor was created a management staff to perform planning, budgeting and personnel work. A city-wide program of in-service training on a continuing basis was installed. The transformation of the administrative climate and performance at City Hall and the city services became evident within a few months.

95. The measure of success achieved by the city government of Manila may be attributed largely to a courageous and determined mayor who has placed the weight of his full support behind his technical staff. It is generally agreed that the mayor won his reelection for three consecutive terms on the basis of the success of his program of reform and on his record as an effective administrator. Again in this instance, the city gained by the continuity of policy in its programs of development.

96. In January 1956, on recommendation of his management staff, the city executive laid down a program of government on the following principles:

a) long range fiscal policy based on a determination of total revenues from all available sources short of taxation, including the manner of effectively securing such revenues; b) program of public improvements and developmental projects geared to the availability of resources; c) improvement of city management through charter revisions and administrative reform measures to improve efficiency and insure implementation of projects under the program of government. "This plan is designed to push through the city's economic and social development at an accelerated pace, and it embodies three major features: 1) city economic development and ~~exp~~ansion of welfare services to help relieve unemployment, as well as to lower the cost of living in Manila; 2) housing development program and the acquisition by the City of Manila of all available land areas, including land through reclamation projects to relieve congestion and to provide low income groups with decent housing and facilities, and 3) the establishment and maintenance in the city of Manila of an institution of learning designed to make this city a true center of culture and education in the country as well as in Asia". 1/

97. Development projects under immediate implementation under the program include the Manila Zoological and Botanical Gardens (now accomplished), City General Hospital (in the process of construction), school building program, City Slaughterhouse and Stockyard (nearing completion), Quiapo Underpass (under construction). Projects under long range plans include

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1/ Program of Government, City of Manila. Speech before the Municipal Board by Mayor Arsenio H. Lacson, Inaugural Ceremonies marking the opening, second term of administration, January 1, 1956.

the City University of Manila, foreshore reclamation projects, housing development projects on reclaimed land, laying power and communications lines underground, bigger parks and playgrounds, and farmers markets and bus terminals. The projects now implemented under the short range program are being financed totally from surplus revenues of the city. It is proposed that the long range projects be financed with the assistance of the national government and through the floating bonds. It is realized however, that the program of low cost housing to relieve congestion, particularly among the squatters and those dealing with drainage and sewerage will be difficult of accomplishment, without the cooperation of the governments of suburban towns and the assistance of national authorities.

98. Quezon City. - The organizational framework and operations of the city government of this suburban city follow closely the basic pattern of Manila. The same is true of Pasay City, the suburban city south of Manila. As a matter of fact, the charter provisions of these two suburban cities, with minor exceptions, are faithful reproductions of the city charter of Manila.

99. It is to be recalled that what is now known as Quezon City was before the last war, originally an estate of some 1,572 hectares of rolling country north-east of Manila. The government acquired the estate in order to provide low cost housing projects for the workers living in slum dwellings in Manila. This was in line with the social justice program of the late President Manuel L. Quezon, "father of Quezon City". It was also hoped that such housing program would provide needed relief to the overcrowded conditions of the City of Manila. In 1948, it became the national policy to develop Quezon City as the capital city of the Philippines and the permanent seat of the national government.

100. Early in 1959, a group of young professionals, residents of Quezon City organized themselves into a civic group to work on community problems. Starting as the Citizens League of Quezon City, the following increased to include several neighborhoods in three months time. Six months before the elections of November 1959, they decided to run six of the most distinguished men for the city council. To be elected locally were a city mayor, for the first time and eight members of the city council. The group quite enlarged by this time came to be known as the Citizens League for Good Government. Of more than one hundred candidates for the Council all six candidates of the Citizens won. The six elected were a former ambassador, a former president of the University of the Philippines, a senior official of the Philippine Congress, another president of a university and renowned scholar and a former ranking member of the Navy.

101. It is here important to note down the words spoken by the newly elected mayor who was the appointive incumbent before the election: "It is a good feeling to be able to stand on one's own feet, and be free at last of the many restraints and the limitations that inhibit people who are supposed to run local governments, who are political appointees and whose tenures depend upon the political discretion of the appointing authority representing whichever political party that happens at the time to be in power in the national scene". 1/

102. The City Council within the first month of its term of office created three committees in a move to improve the city's administrative

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1/ Statement of the Mayor of Quezon City before the City Council and panel of experts on 9 February 1960 outlining his program for reorganization of the Quezon City government.

system, namely, committee on organization and administration, committee on finance and committee on development planning. Members of the council were assigned to head each of these committees. Their composition was drawn from residents who were in the managerial staffs, primarily of the private industries. The Institute of Public Administration of the University of the Philippines, the Management Staff of the city of Manila and the Management Service of the Budget Commission were requested to assist as resource persons. Panels from the membership of the three council committees were then formed to conduct surveys of the problems and needs of Quezon city. All members of the survey panels are voluntary workers and work on part time.

103. The survey panel on organization and administration were composed of **two** teams. One team proceeded to conduct an administrative survey of the city government machinery and the other, with the assistance of the wage and position Classification Office of the Budget Commission proceeded to undertake the reclassification of some 3,000 positions in the city government.

104. Inasmuch as the actual members of the panels were busy men and could only engage in parttime work, the "Task forces" were drawn from carefully selected personnel from the services of the city government itself. The employees all had university degrees and civil service eligibility. They were brought to the Institute of Public Administration for a special two-months training course on organisation and methods and city management. Others joined a management analyst course also conducted at the institute by the Management Service of the Budget Commission. A special summer course on City Administration at the Institute of Public Administration was offered to select and senior officials of Quezon City who were granted scholarships by the city to undertake the course. The facilities of the Philippine Armed Forces and national agencies were used to train 100 new police recruits and the further reorganization of the Quezon City Police Department.

105. The survey work of the city is progressing satisfactorily and the reports of the various survey committees are due in January 1961. Changes in the structure, functions and methods of the city administration will be made by the authorities on the basis of the reports. A development plan for the city is also expected.

106. Preliminary findings indicate serious problems of inadequacy of the various services in terms of the city's population explosion and needs; of garbage trucks and facilities barely adequate for one third of the population of the city, of police facilities on a proportion of only 1.2 policemen per 1000 population of the almost complete absence of experienced managerial personnel and effective systems and techniques for records keeping, equipment and supplies maintenance and administration and of control and coordination. Schools were found inadequate for the heavy yearly demands of the fast growing community and temporary relief is administered by the practice of constructing new rooms and extensions on existing schools, without adding toilet facilities and all these without benefit of advice, even the knowledge of the head of the city schools.

107. The resources and structure of the five municipalities of Metropolitan Manila are different from the cities. Municipalities are administrative parts of provinces. They are subject to a measure of supervision by the provinces with whom they share a portion of the revenues. Municipalities are in turn composed of barrios or villages. Due to their status therefore they are much weaker to absorb the stress of population increase and town development than are the cities.

(ii) Local-Central Government Relations:

108. By law and by tradition, the system of government administration in the Philippines is unitary and a highly centralized one. This unitary character is a survival of the Spanish colonial system.

Furthermore, politics pervades the tone of the whole structure and sets the climate under which the national and local government function. The President of the Philippines according to the constitution of the land is the "Chief Executive". He has control over all executive departments and "exercises general supervision over all local governments. "The President, aside from being Chief Executive, is also the head of the political party in power.

109. So centrally predominating are the major parties that during pre-election conventions for local officials, almost all the candidates for the elective positions of local governments are actually selected in Manila. In the election process, local issues are submerged in favour of national politics and issues.

110. This high centralization of authority on the top of the structure has on the whole reduced localities to dependencies, stultifying their administrative growth and making them invariably helpless in the face of many serious local problems that are the outgrowth of economic and social changes.

111. The main policies that govern the local administration are laid down nationally. This has given rise to a measure of standardization, leaving the local governments without the necessary flexibility required to deal with local conditions and needs. Structurally, these policies are administered by the national departments and offices. When implemented on the local level the local personnel and facilities are used often time without the national government sharing in the costs.

112. For example, the city and municipal treasurers are ex officio, deputies of the national Collector of Internal Revenue. As such, they are annually responsible and accountable for the collection and custody of income taxes and other revenues in the locality that are to be turned over to the national government. Under the new Civil Service Law, enacted by the Congress recently,

these treasurers are to also act as the local deputies of the Civil Service Commissioner, for the purpose of certifying to all appointments made locally.

113. Under the unitary system in the Philippines, the initiative and main resources for local development are centered on the national government. Programs for housing, community development, rural health services, credit facilities to farmers, and other social and welfare services, are the exclusive domain of the national departments and offices. Services that might be the functions of local governments, such as the registration and control of vehicles, water and ~~sewerage~~ and the administration of the main city and local thoroughfares and others, are denied to them. What might be regarded purely local services are police, fire, refuse collection and disposal, the administration of certain local roads and the local markets. The important areas of finance is of course of the national domain, inasmuch as local taxing powers, determination of the proportion of local allocations from national revenues, are determined nationally.

114. Most of the local services are virtually field extensions of the functions of the national departments. The heads and assistant heads of these local services owe their appointments to office, as well as their tenure from the President of the Philippines. Administrative difficulties frequently arise therefore, where the local officials, appointed centrally, are in disagreement with the decisions of the locally elected executive.

(iii) Budget Questions:

115. In Manila, Quezon and Pasay cities, the city treasurers are the chief finance officers. In the five municipalities of Metropolitan Manila, as in other municipalities in the Philippines, the municipal treasurers are the chief local finance officers.

They advise the local executives on the current status of local finances and the expected revenues in the ensuing fiscal year which runs for a period of 12 months from 1st July to 31st June. On the basis of this information, the executive formulates the budget for action by the legislative body.

116. Briefly, the procedure for the adoption of the annual city budget is as follows: On or before the first day of April each year, the City Treasurer submits to the Mayor by departments, a certified statement of all receipts and expenditures for the preceding fiscal year. He also submits a similar statement to cover the current fiscal year, together with an estimate of the receipts and expenditures for the remainder of the current fiscal year. In addition, he certifies to a detailed estimate of the revenues and receipts of the city from all sources for the ensuing year. Meanwhile, all the heads of departments and offices, including the Mayor's office and the Municipal Board, prepare estimates of their respective requirements for the ensuing year. These documents are forwarded to the Mayor. All departmental estimates are then evaluated in the light of the revenue estimate that had been certified to by the City Treasurer. The budget document is transmitted to the Municipal Board, accompanied by his budget message of the Mayor. The budget message explains his plan of administration and justified the program of expenditure that he recommends.

117. A finance committee <sup>1/</sup> of the Board examines the executive budget and summons officials of the executive department to a public hearing at which these officials are asked to defend or clarify requested appropriations. It is the practice to include among the membership of this committee representatives from the opposing political party. The finance committee then submits the budget to the Municipal Board for collective action.

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<sup>1/</sup> The councilors of the Municipal Board are divided into seven committees corresponding to functions and departments, such as the committees on health police, education and so forth.

118, The Board may alter, or eliminate items, increase or decrease the amounts provided existing laws are not violated. The Board then returns the budget to the mayor for his approval or disapproval. The mayor either approves or disapproves the entire budget or vetoes any item to which he objects. Within 30 days, the mayor returns the budget to the Board with his approval or disapproval. If he returns it with a veto, the Municipal Board, by the affirmative vote of two thirds of all members of the Board can override that veto. If the mayor vetoes the budget a second time then the budget is transmitted to the President of the Philippines for his final approval or disapproval. The new local autonomy statute <sup>2/</sup> states that if the city shall fail to enact a budget before the beginning of the ensuing fiscal year, the budget for the preceding fiscal year shall be deemed enacted. This law gives the Secretary of Finance of the national government the power to review all budgets emanating from cities, provinces and municipalities.

119. However, the power of review of the Secretary of Finance is limited to seeing to it that the salary law, other national policies and directives of the President are not violated.

120. The main source of revenues of the city is the tax on real property. The city of Manila imposes one and a half percent tax upon the assessed value of real property in the city, while quezon city imposes one and half percent of assessed value. Municipal licenses, taxes or fees on persons engaged in business or professions, the wholesale and retail taxes, the gasoline tax and fees charged for services rendered by the city are the other sources of city revenues to finance its services. In 1959, the city of Manila collected a net total of ₱ 47,669,004.3//

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<sup>2/</sup> R.A. 2264, Sec. 1, Approved 19 June 1959,

<sup>3/</sup> One U.S. Dollar (US \$1.00) equals three pesos (₱ 3.00). This new devalued rate of exchan

121. Quezon City and Pasay City would have the same taxing powers as the city of Manila. The five municipalities in the metropolitan areas, however, derive much less revenues because of their limited taxing powers. They share with the province the revenues from taxes on real estate on a proportion of 50-50. Therefore, within the metropolitan area, the municipalities of Caloocan, Mandaluyong, Makati, San Juan and Paranaque, are financially dependent on the resources of the province as a whole, which in turn is almost wholly dependent upon national government resources. Provinces are not allowed by law any real power to tax. Designed to boost the financial capacities of local governments is a recent amendment to the Internal Revenue code allowing 30 percent of internal revenue collections over and above the 1958 collection to be retained for local expenditures. Manila under this amendment increased its revenues by five and a half million pesos in the last fiscal year, while Quezon City increased theirs by some three and a half million.

122. It is also to be pointed out that barrios or villages form a part of the municipalities in Metropolitan Manila. The barrio law recently enacted by congress 2/ gives to these barrios certain taxing powers. Aside from the grant of limited powers of taxation, they are allowed 10 percent of the tax revenues ~~xxx~~ collected by the Municipalities on real property.

123. An important source of revenues received by local governments for local expenditures comes from their share in the annual allocation of national internal revenues collected mainly from the income tax. Twenty percent of the total revenues accruing to the national treasury are distributed in allotments proportionately to local governments.

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2/ R.A. 2370, approved 20 June 1959.

Five percentum goes to the provinces, another five percentum for the roads and bridges funds of the local governments and ten percentum is allocated to municipal governments. Chartered cities under the Internal Revenues Code share as municipalities. The apportionment of the national internal revenue is based on the population of the local area as shown by the last official census.

124. On the basis of this formula, Manila's proportionate share for every peso of revenue collected in fiscal year 1957-58, was ₱ .015 for Quezon City ₱ .11 and for Pasay City ₱ .22. There had been many criticisms against this manner of allocating shares from the general collections due to the national government.

125. The average cost of the local services of the growing towns in Metropolitan Manila for education, health, police, and fire protection and the maintenance and repair of streets and structures, have arisen to more than double in the last ten years. The per capita expenditure of the City of Manila in the year 1959 was ₱ 41.49, with a budget of ₱ 47,669,004. Its revenue resources allow it to spend as much as three times the average per capita expenditures of the seven suburban towns.

126. The revenue capacity for local services of suburban towns on the other hand, lags far behind the rapid rate of population increase and industrial development. Quezon city and the municipalities of Mandaluyong and San Juan in their 1959 budgets show an actual decrease in per capita expenditures in the ten-year period from 1949 to 1959. This is reflected in the high proportion of their population increases, as compared with the others, In order to illustrate this point more clearly the following table is presented.

	Percentage increase in population 1948-1960	Percentage increase in expenditure 1950-1960	Per capita expenditure 1949* 1960	Percentage Increase in. per capita expenditure 1950-1960
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Manila	17	83	26.48 41.49	57
Pasay City	49	172	15.84 29.55	87
Makati	179	400	6.44 12.43	93
Paranaque	114	193	4.69 6.02	37
Caloocan	152	225	7.31 9.41	29
Mandaluyong	201	192	7.40 7.18	-5
Quezon City	267	240	18.37 17.09	-7
San Juan	81	54	14.69 12.56	-14

\* The 1950 per capita expenditures are over-estimated because the 1948 population census was used in computation. Censuses are taken every 10 years.

	Average Percentage Increase in Population 1948-1960	Average Percentage Increase in Expenditure 1950-1960	Average per Capita expenditure 1950* 1960	Average Percentage Increase in per capita expenditure 1950-1960
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Total for Metropoli- tan Manila.	56%	103%	22.62 29.36	30%
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Source: City Treasurer's offices of Manila, Quezon and Pasay cities and the Provincial Treasurer's Office of Rizal Province.

127. Certainly, a more equitable and realistic improvement of the present tax structure of Manila and suburbs is called for. To do nothing or little and starve the industries of the public service would hardly seem to be proper solution to industrial dispersion.

128. Serious efforts are now underway for a reform of the financial administration in the Philippines. Recently, a nine-man joint legislative-executive tax commission was created by Law 1/ in order to recommend necessary

reforms towards improving revenue resources from taxes and to formulate "a sound tax policy as well as a more efficient tax structure". This commission is undertaking a comprehensive study of probable sources of additional revenues and is conducting researches on taxation to improve the tax system and tax policies. The commission is composed of three senators and three Representatives each from the majority and minority parties of the House of Congress. An additional three members were appointed by the President. The law creating the commission is guided by principles in making their studies; namely, "a) avoid increasing the tax burden of the average taxpayers; b) assess sections of the economy not bearing their share of the cost of government; c) place emphasis on progressive rather than regressive factors in the tax system, with ability to pay as the principal criterion; d) avoid impairing appropriate business incentives; and e) use the tax structure as a legitimate instrument for achieving social and economic justice in the distribution of the fruits of the national economy.

(iv) Public Services

129. Manila does not maintain and operate a city transport system. Neither do any of the other suburban towns in Metropolitan Manila. An exception might be the Manila Railroad system, which is operated as a special corporation by the national government. The railway system however does not handle the transport of residents from one place to another within the metropolitan area. In the city of Manila and the suburbs, all transportation enterprises are operated by the private sector.

The city department of health in Manila is headed by the City Health Officer who is in direct charge of the sanitation situation within the city. Each of the other cities and municipalities within Metropolitan Manila have their corresponding units that handle their sanitation problems. The national department of health has created Manila as one of the regional centres, in the Philippines for the administration of health and sanitation.

The regional office for the present at least has not as yet established its nor performed its functions in accordance with existing plans.

130. Recreational facilities and activities for the city of Manila is under the charge of the unit within the city department of engineering and public works in the city of Manila. Quezon City followed Manila in establishing a similar unit in its Department of Engineering and Public Works. To date this unit does not seem to function as such. The activities of local governments in the metropolitan area in respect of recreation are limited. Very little funds has been made available for recreational activities. There is a social welfare unit within the city department of health, but the personnel of this unit devote their activities mainly as helpers in the city jail, boys 'Town, and the city schools. Social welfare work as yet is not being carried out in the city on an institutional or professional basis.

131. The supervision and control over the division of City schools is directly exercised by the Department of Education of the national govt. However, the maintenance of all school buildings and the salaries of teachers and other school personnel, with the exception of primary school teachers, are paid from city revenues. In fact, the Division of City Schools gets the biggest share of the city's annual budget.

132. In Manila's current budgetary outlay, the appropriation for City schools amounts to more than 14 million pesos which is almost twice the appropriation for the city's second biggest spending agency, the Manila Police Department and which is more than one fourth of the city's total budgetary appropriation to maintain 34 intermediate schools and 15 highschools in Manila (including the Rodriguez Vocational and the Boys' Highschools) with a total population of more than 88 thousand students.

133. It is evident that city finances alone cannot cope with the educational needs of Manila's populace. In spite of the sizeable portion of its annual budget allocated to city schools, there is still an utter lack of school buildings to house the growing schools population in Metropolitan Manila.

(v) Personnel Problems:

134. Availability of educated and basically qualified personnel for a career in local governments is not wanting in the metropolitan area of Manila. Within the city are concentrated the nation's universities and other institutions of higher learning. As a matter of fact, there is evidence of a high rate of employment among college graduates. Also the civil service examinations periodically offered for the required eligibility for the public service are more readily available to the applicants in Manila than elsewhere in the Philippines. Much concern however has been expressed about the need to upgrade the standards of education and to establish closer relations between the institutions of higher learning and the government service for a better system in the preparation of people for the public service.

135. In this connection the equality of public administrators needs much improvement. The problem is being looked into in terms of the role of academic institutions in preparing men and women for government service and also in terms of in-service training for executive and staff improvement. The Institute of Public Administration five years ago helped in the formulation and installation of a Government-wide in service training program to cover the national governments as well as the local government. The main feature of this program involves a special course for the development of training officers in the Government service. More than three hundred training officers completed the course and training programs are now in progress on both national and local levels. Executive development

courses are now being offered for administrators in the city of Manila. A residential academy for the training of senior officials in government is being planned for the near future. A special training course will be offered for the development of city administrators in this academy.

136. A major project to reclassify positions was instituted for government positions some years ago. The local government offices, however, were not included in the project. As mentioned previously, Quezon City has started its own move to reclassify all positions. A "pay plan" will form a part of the results of this project.

vi). Town and Country Planning:

137. Reference to the individual master plans of Manila and Quezon city have been made in this paper. The National Planning Commission has also devised an outline of the plan for the municipalities of Metropolitan Manila. These plans however, are skeletal in form to be utilized for the guidance of the municipality. The National Planning Commission has organized an office of regional planning to cover some ten different regions in the Philippines, Metropolitan Manila being one of the regions. To date, however, no finished plan has yet been made.

138. Coordination to a limited degree is being practiced among the towns in the metropolitan area. The health officers of these towns meet periodically to exchange views on common problems of health and sanitation. The chiefs of police in the area also have an existing scheme of consulting each other on common problems of security in the metropolitan area. Coordination to a very limited extent is also made at the initiative of national authorities. However, these schemes might be characterized more as loose relationships rather than serious attempts at coordination.

139. In the metropolitan areas there are problems about which individual towns seem helpless in attempting to resolve. Periodic floods, many of serious nature, are obviously one that could be solved by no less than by unified action. This problem also demands assistance from the national government, which should also be the level for coordination. Low cost housing for squatters and slums system are other problems that need attention and action in a collective manner.

(vii) Delinquency:

140. The problems arising from attempts at adaptation to urban living conditions in the metropolitan area are the subject of much concern to the authorities. The rate of crime and prostitution has increased manifold since the early years after the last war. Incomplete statistics preclude the presentation of accurate involved in crimes against property come from the low income groups that occupy the slums and squatter areas of Manila. Tondo, the densest in Manila registers the highest crime rate on the records of the police department. The evidence also indicates that many of the offenders have migrated into the city within the last five years.

141. Records also show generally, a rise in the incident of mental cases in the metropolitan area. The national government maintains a mental hospital in Quezon city and a large psychopathic institution in Mandaluyong one of the municipalities in the metropolitan Manila.

142. The social welfare administration of the national government is engaged in efforts to give assistance to problems of this kind affecting the residents of Manila. However, its professional workers in the field are few. Full recognition of the proper role and valuable assistance that an effective social welfare agency could give is still to come

### C. Conclusions and Suggestions:

143. It might be said generally that Manila, because of its resources maintains an adequate administrative system for the performance of the general operations of government. There are serious problems that arise out of the economic and social impact of urbanization and industrial development. But what might be said to be remarkable about Manila is not so much what it is not able to do in regard to these problems, but that the city through its local government is still able to thrive reasonably despite its problems and inspite of its failure to follow any preordained town plan. It is perhaps fortunate in this regard that some of its surplus population could still find opportunities in the new developing industries and the raw lands in the suburbs, as well as in the promised land of Mindanao far to the South.

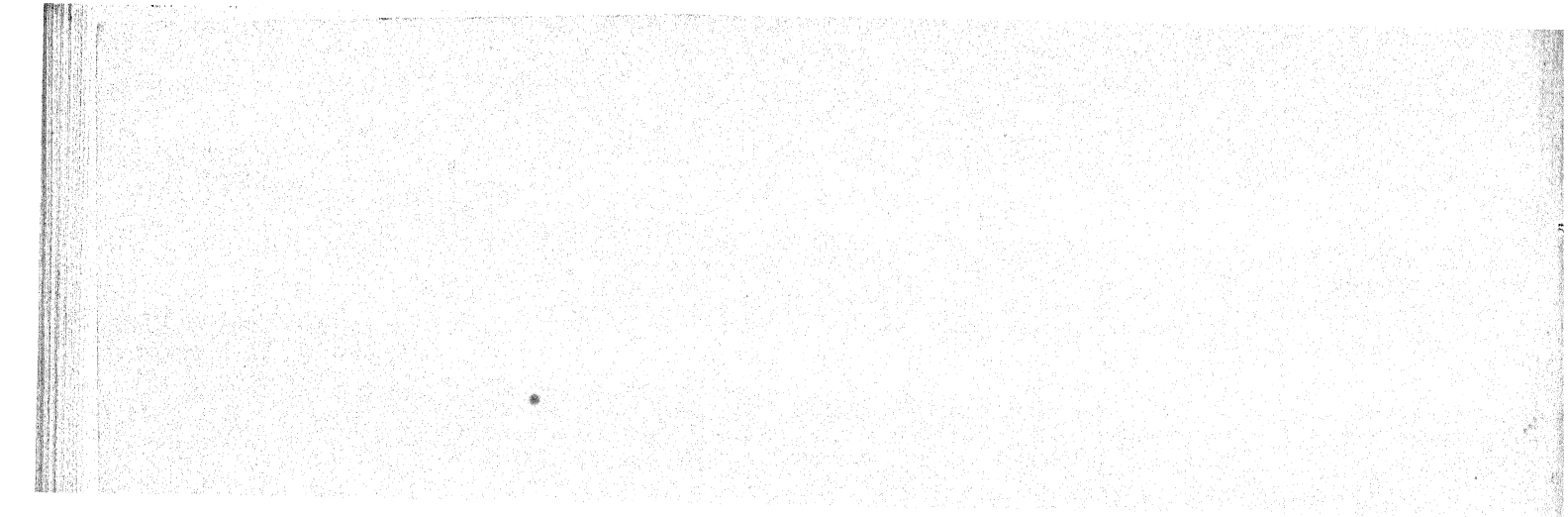
144. Nevertheless, this paper attempts to show that the problems of Manila are now becoming the problems of the surrounding towns.

145. While there has been apparently a successful attempt at rapid industrialization and development in the suburbs, no counter measures in the way of looking ahead has yet been done to absorb the resulting problems of development in the suburbs. The population increase in Metropolitan Manila is in the nature of an explosion. More serious problems are arising that require some unified action that could perhaps be dealt with through a metropolitan authority.

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MANILA, October 1960.

PHILIPPINES.



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWN OF NOWA HUTA (POLAND)  
ILLUSTRATING THE PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTERING  
NEW TOWNS

BY

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NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

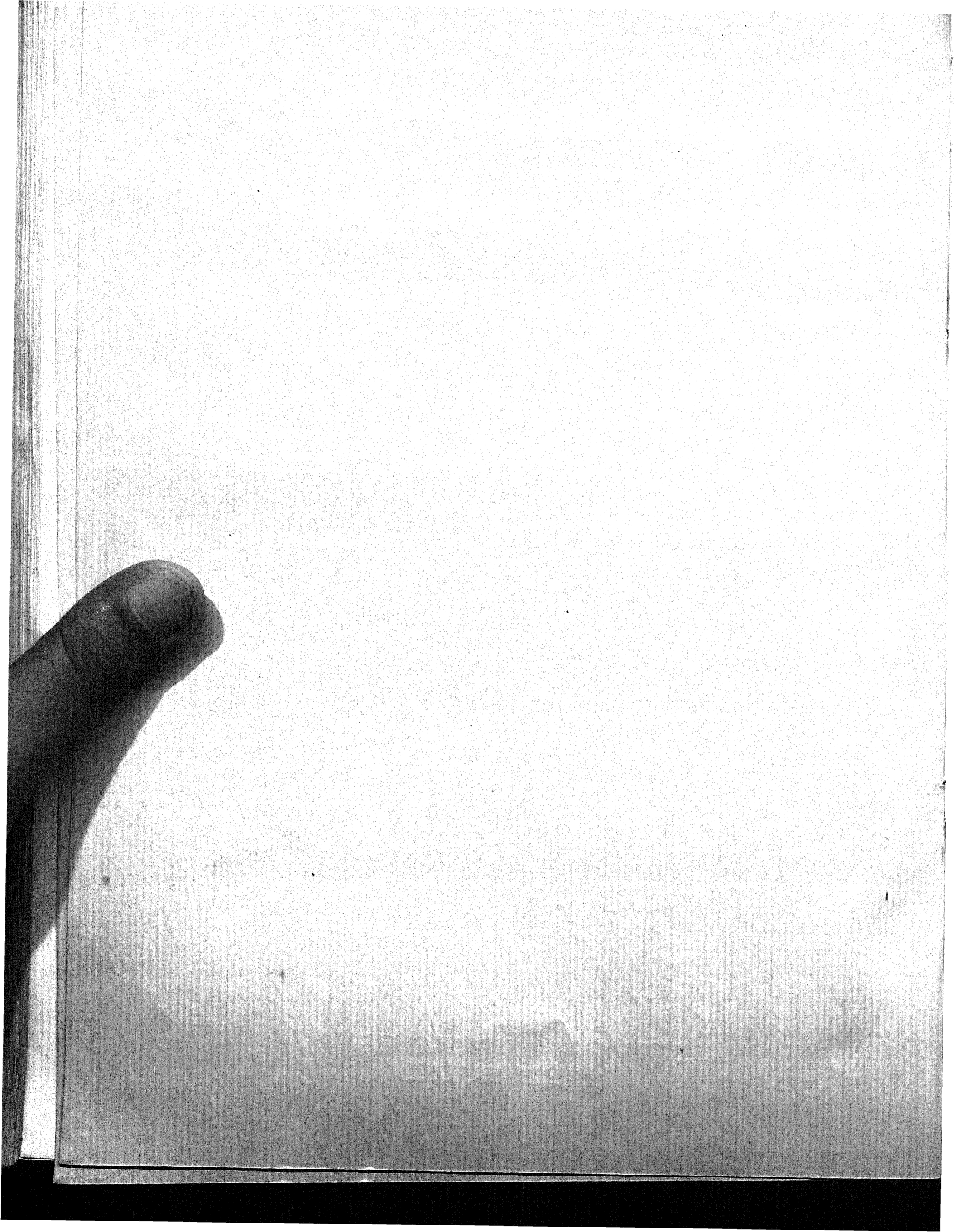
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DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWN OF NOWA HUTA (POLAND)

ILLUSTRATING THE PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTERING NEW TOWNS

By

Juliusz Gorynski

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This paper has been prepared for the Regional Seminar on Public Administration Problems of New and Rapidly Growing Towns to be held in New Delhi from December 14 to 21, 1960. The Seminar is being co-sponsored by the United Nations (Department of Economic and Social Affairs) and UNESCO (Department of Social Sciences and the Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia) with the cooperation of the Indian Institute of Public Administration. The United Nations arranged for the preparation of this paper. The opinions expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of the United Nations.

November 1960.

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Development of the Town of Nowa Huta (Poland)

Illustrating the problems of Administering New Towns

By

Juliusz Gorynski

Introduction

1. In writing this report I have endeavored to maintain, in the analysis of the various problems involved, an order similar to that adopted by Mrs. Elizabeth Layton in her report on the administration of the new towns. Nevertheless, it seems to me essential to preface the text proper with some observations of a general nature concerning both the specific character of the Polish economic system and the period in which the construction of the town of Nowa Huta was begun, since otherwise certain questions would not be comprehensible to the foreign reader. It should be emphasized, in the first place, that until the Second World War Poland was one of the European countries which were backward in point of economic structure. This is most clearly demonstrated by the fact that almost 70 per cent of the population lived by agriculture and only 30 per cent by working in industry or non-agricultural occupations. This backwardness was also evidenced in the structure of industry itself which began to develop in the interval between the two wars. It was chiefly a raw-materials industry which took advantage of the highly-unskilled cheap labor available and was thus able to compete on the European market. For many finished products, Poland was wholly dependent on imports.

2. The basic economic task of post-war Poland has been radically to transform the national economic structure by means of industrialization, by concentrating on the development of the manufacturing industry centered on the national raw-materials and energy base.

To put it concisely, the aim is to reverse the pre-war demographi structure and ultimately achieve the following proportions: 30 per cent of the population engaged in agriculture and 70 per cent employed in non-agricultural occupations.

3. At the present time, after 16 years spent in reconstructing and developing the Polish economy, our country is half-way towards this goal, since persons living by agriculture today comprise only one-half of the population and per caput industrial production has increased almost fivefold by comparison with the pre-war period.

4. It is quite apparent that this general trend of the country's economic policy is paralleled by a very rapid process of urbanization. The influx of the rural population into the towns is continuing and the natural rate of population growth in the towns now equals and even exceeds that in rural areas. This is a phenomenon which was unknown in the period between the two wars, for the death rate exceeded the birth rate in certain towns. Because of the influx into the towns and urban-type settlements, existing districts have constantly to be enlarged and new districts built. New housing developments are going up and in some cases whole new towns.

5. Nowa Huta is typical of the new towns that have been built to meet the housing needs of the workers in the new enterprises. The town Tychy in the Industrial Centre of Upper Silesia was built for other reasons: it is intended to furnish housing for the workers in the coal and steel basin, but out on the basin's periphery, away from the foul air and the dangerous structural conditions caused by the underground workings.

The town of Nowe Tychy is consequently the satellite of the highly urbanized region of Upper Silesia; its construction is intended to limit the expansion of existing towns in this extremely congested and unhealthy area.

6. The Polish People's Republic is a country whose national economy is based on the principles of socialist planned economy. The basic means of production accordingly constitute the social property, i.e. the property of the state and the cooperatives. The private ownership of the means of production is limited to the small-scale handicrafts industry. In the field of housing construction the State supports the construction of cooperative apartment buildings and private one-family houses. On the other hand, the construction of apartment buildings by private individuals for profit does not exist. It cannot qualify for the loans granted by the state; moreover, the construction of rental housing would not be profitable for the owner, since rents are controlled and kept at the pre-war level, which does not cover the costs of operation and repairs. It should be added that as a result of the housing shortage caused by rapid urbanization the allotment of housing is regulated in most towns. The offices organized in the municipalities to issue occupancy permits decide how housing is to be allotted and have the right to control the density of occupation of the habitable surface. Hence, the building of a new town can only come about as the result of State activity, especially bearing in mind the very high initial costs of such a project resulting from the acquisition and preparation of the construction site. It is only in the later stages of Urban expansion that it becomes possible for the cooperatives and private individuals to build housing units.

7. Poland is a country whose economy suffered enormous losses as the result of military operations and Nazi occupation. Urban real estate diminished by 40 per cent as compared with the 1939 figure. Rural housing, industry and transport suffered on the same scale. In these circumstances, we were compelled to undertake reconstruction in all fields. Immense tasks confronted the local authorities newly organized after the war. They had to carry out these tasks without having workers trained for the job available to them and with no opportunity to organize themselves properly. In these conditions many activities which under a normally functioning system of administration are performed by the local authorities had to be centralized and shouldered by the State. In certain fields the system of intensive centralization had to be maintained for several years and it was not until 1955 that a first start was made on the process of gradual decentralization of many administrative and economic functions.

8. It must be borne in mind, however, that under the administrative system applied in Poland the local authorities - including those at the lowest level - represent the State Authority. The local budgets accordingly form part of the State budget, the fact which is important for understanding the section of this report which deals with the financing of the construction of the new towns.

Early History of the Construction of the Town of Nowa Huta:

9. In 1947 the decision was taken to build a new foundry with an annual steel output of 1.5 million tons, that is to say, as much as all the Polish steel plants together produced before the war.

After lengthy study a site for this plant was laid out in the vicinity of Krakow, the governing factor in the choice of site on the banks of the Vistula having been the large quantities of water needed for production.

10. Preliminary calculations of the labour force necessary showed that, taking into consideration the families of the workers employed at Nowa Huta, together with the persons employed in the various services - after the plant had been brought into full production - the population attached to Nowa Huta would number some 100,000 persons. It is quite apparent that none of the existing towns could provide such a reserve of manpower or housing and that parallel with the construction of the foundry and preferably before construction began - housing had to be built for the future workers. At the same time an answer had to be found to the problem of housing the workers employed in building the iron and steel combine, with due allowance for the fact that a proportion of the construction workers would be gradually transferred to the various production services of the steel plant, as they were successively brought into operation.

11. In order to avoid having to build temporary premises, e.g. huts, needed during the construction phase, it was decided to begin building the town in advance, so that the future dwelling units might serve temporarily as collective housing for the construction workers. As their number became stabilized and a proportion of them were transferred to work in the foundry, the collective housing units were gradually converted into family dwellings. At the present time this process has already been practically completed and, because of this directive, it has been possible to avoid the construction of the huge collections of huts which usually accompany the execution of large-scale building projects - and which, as experience shows, are not removed in time and become shantytowns.

12. This objective was attainable only on one condition: that construction of town was begun in good time; this was started in June 1949. Work on the construction of the industrial plant was only begun one year later, when it was possible to house a large proportion of the construction workers in the already completed portion of the town. However, this fact affected the construction of the town and the division of the work into stages, as the master plan had to be prepared urgently and the building operations begun without preliminary preparation of the site.

13. The center of the town of Nowa Huta is approximately 8 km. from the Historic center of Karakow. Nevertheless, it had not at first been proposed to treat Nowa Huta as a satellite of Krakow, although the numerous public and social facilities existing in Krakow - schools, hospitals, etc. - were expected to make it possible during the period of transition not to have to construct them in the new town. Experience has shown, however, that in addition to its essential function with respect to the Foundry, Nowa Huta is beginning to function increasingly as a satellite with respect to Krakow, and that in the future - because of its proximity - it could undoubtedly join up organically with Krakow as its eastern district. Since 1955 it has constituted, administratively, a district of Krakow (Although enjoying a somewhat greater degree of autonomy).

#### The System of Financing the Construction of the Town:

14. The reasons indicated in the preliminary remarks explain why it is that the funds allocated for the construction of the town of Nowa Huta are appropriated under the state budget.

All investments in infrastructure and superstructure projects become the property of the local authority on completion, which in accordance with the principles of the Polish administrative system represents State ownership.

The repayment of the loans accordingly becomes unnecessary. In any case, as the rent is uneconomic at the present time, it would not be possible to include in it a sum for capital repayment.

15. In the future, when economic conditions permit an upwards adjustment of the rent, it can be expected to cover entirely the costs of operation and current maintenance and expenditures on major repairs. A question that is still open to discussion, however, is whether in the future the rent will include sums to constitute the necessary capital for the reproduction of the amortized buildings.

16. When the first rough estimate was made of the cost of building the town - planned for a population of approximately 100,000 - the urban capital construction programme had already been taken into account. That Programme included all investments for infrastructure and superstructure as well as the equipment installed and forming an integral part of the buildings, e.g. the running water intakes with their installations, the heating furnaces, etc. On the other hand, it did not include the movable equipment - the vehicles used in urban transport and by communal services (road maintenance and garbage collection), school and restaurant equipment, etc., in accordance with the principle that the cost of acquiring these components of urban property would be borne by the enterprises and institutions that would be responsible for operating them.

17. The programme of capital construction for culture, education, public health and trade was formulated in consultation with the respective central authorities (the Ministries of Education, Health, Trade, etc). The list of desiderata put forward by these authorities revealed an excess of "Patriotism" on their part; if all their proposals had been taken into account, the volume of non-housing construction would have exceeded that of housing construction. The respective proportions of the programme had accordingly to be modified by means of rational norms and indices based on studies and experience, and this programme (with the revised estimate of costs) was presented to the Government for adoption.

18. The programme for the complete expansion of the town, as approved by the Government, was used as the basis for establishing the various stages of execution. (The principles which determined the sequence of stages will be analyzed in section V). According to the scope of the annual construction programmes successive estimates were made of the funds needed for each year, which appear as subsidies in the annual state capital construction plans.

19. The preliminary programme and the financing plan had, of course, to be determined more accurately after the plan for the lay-out of the whole town

was drawn up, and they have to be brought up-to-date continually as the detailed plans for the various districts and construction units are prepared.

20. The uniform system of financing adopted for the construction of the town of Nowa Huta, whereby the entire investment capital is provided in the form of a subsidy, makes it possible to solve problems relating to the costs of equipping the site, which are very high and have to be defrayed chiefly

during the first few years of construction, and the higher costs of building the town center. This system ensures, in the first place, that the housing units and the premises to be occupied by the various services (Stores, infant and day nurseries, schools, etc.) are erected simultaneously. The costs of purchasing the land, of indemnifying the owners of expropriated land and of constructing substitute buildings are covered in the same way. Almost the entire Nowa Huta construction site had previously been used for agriculture and grazing. A great part of it was acquired by expropriation; the owners of the farms who lived by agriculture were offered other lands in exchange and were compensated in cash for buildings and crops.

21. The expropriated land becomes State property; during the period of construction it is administered by the organization building the town; subsequently, along with the buildings, it is handed over to the local authority for administration.

22. The construction of housing units by cooperatives and the private construction of one family houses are gradually beginning to develop in Nowa Huta. For this purpose cooperatives and private individuals can obtain land from the local authorities on an 80 year lease, that can be extended if the town plan is not modified during that period. Those who use the land in accordance with these principles pay an annual rent amounting to between 0.1 and 0.2 per cent of the value of the property erected on the land.

23. Cooperatives and private individuals can obtain a loan from the State Bank covering 75 to 85 per cent of the cost of construction, repayable over 25 - 40 years with interest at 0.1 - 1 per cent per annum. By fulfilling certain conditions (regularity of payments, construction of small dwellings, and satisfactory maintenance of the property) cooperatives can obtain 33 per cent of the loan without security.

The Organization Responsible for the Development of the Town:

24. Because of the conditions of Poland's political and economic system described at the beginning of this report, non-nationalized organizations had inevitably to be excluded from the construction of the town. Consequently, a choice had to be made between three forms of State Organization that could appropriately be considered:

1. Responsibility for making the preliminary arrangements for the work and constructing the town of Nowa Huta could be given to the local authorities, either at the municipal level (e.g. to the town of Krakow situated close by) or at a higher level (the district authorities or the Krakow provincial authorities);
2. Responsibility for these tasks could be given to the management of the iron and steel combine under construction, treating the construction of the industrial plant and that of the town that was to serve it as a single whole.
3. A special organization could be set up to formulate the programme, prepare the building plans, supervise the construction work and perform the necessary preparatory work for the construction of local authorities.

25. In the circumstances obtaining at the time, the first of these forms had to be rejected immediately. The state of organization of the local authority, reorganized after the war and engaged in overcoming the administrative and economic difficulties created by the destruction of the war years, was such that it could not be burdened with additional and entirely different tasks. Furthermore, there was the danger that, because of the chronic shortage of funds materials and labour, the local authority might be driven by pressure of need to divert to other purposes the means afforded for the construction of the new town, to palliate the difficulties it faced in its normal activity.

26. The Choice accordingly had to be made between the second and the third alternatives.

27. The management of the industrial enterprise under construction advanced a number of arguments in its favor, which were intended to prove that the construction of the town should be entrusted to it. The first was that the fact that a large organization in charge of capital construction projects already existed militated against setting up another and to some extent competitive organization. The second was the direct interest of the Plant management in rapidly completing the construction of the town, which was necessary to meet its own needs. The third, the possibility of treating the two construction projects as mutually complementary parts of a single whole, which would permit the most rational use possible of the gangs of construction workers, machinery, pre-fabrication centers, stores, etc.

28. Those who were opposed to this type of organization advanced the same arguments in reverse. It was feared that under pressure of the great industrial problems, the management of the plant and the workers in charge of building operations might treat the construction of the town as a task of secondary importance, that the desire to complete the housing programme quickly might result

in buildings that had not been carefully planned, with possible adverse effects on the functional and esthetic aspects of the town. Those who advocated the setting up of a special organization to build the town affirmed, as their principal argument, that if construction were placed in the hands of the plant management in accordance with patronat principles, responsibility for the town's development would be given to an organization that would regard the town solely - or chiefly - as a place to house its workers and would fail to concentrate sufficiently on developing uniformly the construction of the social and cultural facilities essential for the inhabitants of the town and their families. Even assuming that the heads of the organization were fully aware of the importance of these questions, it was to be feared that, driven by the urgent needs of production, they might concentrate exclusively, at the outset, on housing construction and postpone proceeding with the ancillary capital construction until later. Experience shows, however, that very often such delays cannot be made good for decades.

29. Pursuant to the Government's decision, the construction of the town of Nowa Huta was entrusted to the Central Administration of Workers' city construction (ZOR) that is, a central governmental agency for housing construction. In order to carry out this task, ZOR established a Nowa Huta Town Construction Board, with its headquarters at Krakow. Soon after the completion of the first buildings, the Board was transferred to Nowa Huta.

30. Independently of certain organizational changes made since 1949, this Board has been acting up to the present time as general overseer of the whole urban construction programme on the town site. The Board adheres to the annual estimate of expenditure, which is almost entirely covered by appropriations under the State budget.

31. The Board is responsible, inter alia, for:

1. Drawing up the capital construction programmes and preparing subjects for the planners;
2. Preparing and defending the annual and long-term capital construction plans;
3. placing contracts for town-design, architectural and other plans with the competent planning offices and accepting the finished plans and designs submitted by the latter;
4. Acquiring the sites and preparing them for construction.
5. Placing contracts for the construction work with the competent enterprises;
6. Exercising technical supervision of and financing the construction operations, working out the charges and taking delivery of the finished buildings;
7. Delivering the finished buildings to the occupants through organizations established for the purpose.

32. It is clear from this list of functions that the Town Construction Board was given no tasks of administration or operation to perform. Nevertheless during the first few years of construction, the Board carried out a large number of administrative functions, replacing the newly created municipal authority, which had to face a long struggle against budgetary and above all personnel difficulties. After setting up the Municipal Council and its executive organ, the Director of the Town Construction Board became a member of the Presidium, a practice that has been maintained to the present time. In addition, some officials of the Board are generally elected to the Municipal Council.

33. The experience gained during the construction of the town of Nowa Huta would seem to confirm fully the soundness of the choice of organizational form just described. It is for this reason that when the question of building the town of Nowe Tychy in Silesia became ripe some years after the construction of Nowa Huta was begun, ZOR set up a similar Board for the construction of that new town.

34. In 1956 supervision of the Nowa Huta Town Construction Board was entrusted to the provincial authority. This was made possible by the complete stabilization of the local authorities, which were able to assume an increasingly large number of administrative functions previously performed by the Central authorities. Since then there has been a constant decentralization in all fields of administration and the economy. The transfer of the rights of the central authorities to the provincial authorities was the first stage in this process. At the present time these rights are being transferred to the district and municipal authority level.

35. The Nowa Huta Town Construction Board will not, however, be subordinate to the local authority of that town (which today is essentially a district of Krakow) for since 1958, that is to say, after the principal portions of Nowa Huta were completed, the Board was given the additional task of building housing on a site in the old town of Krakow.

Preparation of the Master Plan and Supervision of Its Execution:

36. The first rough idea of the Nowa Huta master plan emerged from a limited competition in which five town-planning offices took part. The author of the plan chosen was given the task of organizing a special office to prepare the plans for the town of Nowa Huta. It was decided at the outset that this office should draw up all the plans, which meant the master plan, the plans for the lay-out of the various districts of the town and groups of buildings, the architectural plans for the individual buildings and their interior plans. Pursuant to these directives, separate offices were organized to deal with town-planning, architecture, construction, installations, estimation of quantities, Civil engineering, etc.

37. Certain projects only, of a high degree of specialization (gas system, railway network) were entrusted to other planning and construction offices.

38. The Director of the Board was appointed Chief Architect and during the first few years of construction was the representative in the town of both the architectural and building-supervision authorities. However, because of the very great importance of these projects, the town master plan and the more important architectural plans were approved by the Government.

39. After the basic lay-out and building plans were completed, the Board's tasks were reduced to the successive elaboration of plans for groups of buildings to be constructed each year. In order to keep this vast organization in being, the Government gave it further tasks to perform and transformed it into a Regional Planning Board for the Province of Krakow. No changes were made in the direction of the Board or the more important offices connected with the construction of Nowa Huta, and the Chief Architect continued to exert his influence on the town's construction. Architectural and building supervision by the State was exercised through the local authority.

40. There is no doubt today that the decisions to associate the Chief architect closely with the town and to set up a unified organization to prepare the plans were sound and had a favourable effect on the execution of the works. On the other hand, the danger of excessive uniformity or even of monotony in town lay-out or architecture due to the dominant influence of a single individual was something to be feared from the very outset.

41. Efforts were made to avoid this danger by staffing the planning offices with architects representing different schools and trends. In the case of some important buildings (Cinemas, schools, etc) other architects, outside the office were commissioned to prepare the plans, and competitions were held - most recently a competition for the construction plan for a whole new district of Nowa Huta.

42. It was not always possible, however, in practice to avoid a certain uniformity which resulted from the master plan itself; this is perhaps a feature that is common to all towns that have not grown up organically but have built in a short space of time in accordance with a uniform basic design.

43. A further danger inherent in the rapid construction of a new town based on an artificially formulated master plan is the insufficient flexibility of the plan to meet needs that are unknown or too little known at the time of construction.

44. These needs may arise as the result of subjective and objective causes. Changes that occur, in relation to utilization of facilities, in the habits and requirements of the town's inhabitants may be subjective causes, while objective needs may result principally from technical and economic advances.

45. Economic reasons and reasons connected with the organization of building operations argue in favor of having the various housing districts built up as completely as possible. The desire for flexibility and the need to be able to meet future requirements militate in favor of retaining reserves of land not built upon.

46. Another possible solution is to erect light, easily adaptable or removable buildings in places where changes can be anticipated.

47. This problem was not sufficiently studied during the construction of Nowa Huta partly accounted for perhaps by the hurry to get the work started.

48. There is another related problem, the importance of which was perhaps under estimated. In a town built up over a period of 10 to 20 years, all the buildings and capital constructions are of approximately the same age. Because of this, there will in certain periods be a heavy concentration of tasks that have to be done (Major repairs and replacement of obsolete and amortized buildings).

49. In an old town, even if completely built up, the differences in age of the various buildings ensures to some extent that changes will not all occur at the same time. The most dilapidated and antiquated buildings constitute a potential reserve of land. They can, without economic loss, be replaced with the equipment and buildings necessary to meet modern needs. In a town in which all the buildings are of the same age, this is not the case.

50. The economic and technical consequences of these factors deserve to be given special attention and made the subject of precise and through study.

The Role of the Local Authority and Its Attitude Towards the Organization Constructing the Town:

51. The town of Nowa Huta is built on a site which belonged to certain villages in the Krakow region. These villages, the various buildings of which were scattered over a large area, had a primitive communal organization. Their local authorities could obviously not undertake to participate in organizing the administration of the newly built town. An entirely new local authority had accordingly to be constituted and treated as temporary organ elected by a commission until such time as the population of Nowa Huta had grown sufficiently for it to be possible for a municipal council to be established by means of normal elections.

52. It was in this way that the municipality of Nowa Huta was created, situated on the perimeter of the administrative boundaries laid down in the master plan as the future frontiers of a town of more than 100,000 inhabitants. A mayor was appointed, along with his deputies and the heads of certain municipal administrative departments; expenditures under the budget estimates were covered by appropriations under the state budget. The municipal council was in the nature of an advisory committee, whose members included the director of the Foundry, the Director of the Town Construction Board, the Chief architect of the town and the director of the general undertaking that was carrying out the building operations.

53. Because of its lack of personnel and shortage of funds, the new Municipality was dominated by the institutions enumerated above. They furnished technical and financial assistance without which the Municipality would have been unable to perform the tasks that lay ahead. It should be noted, however, that no programme or plan existed for the organization of the municipal administration; while it is true that the preliminary work carried out by the town Construction Board and the Chief architect included a detailed programme of capital construction, it did not deal with operational matters. Moreover, as already reported, the capital construction programme did not include the vehicles for the urban transportation system and communal services (garbage collection and road maintenance) or school equipment, etc.

54. As these needs had not been planned for, serious difficulties arose, especially as the young municipal authority had but little experience in this field. This accounted for the instances of negligence which occurred during the early years of the municipal administration in Nowa Huta.

Many buildings remained unused for fairly long periods after completion because the municipal authority did not have the necessary personnel, equipment and funds to make use of them. The inhabitants suffered greatly from shortages and poor service, especially with respect to central heating, lighting, garbage collection, etc.

55. A radical solution was found for these difficulties.

56. In 1955, the town of Nowa Huta was integrated administratively with the old town of Krakow as its eastern district. The Communal equipment of Nowa Huta was taken over by the old-established communal authorities of Krakow, which had very many years of experience and had highly qualified personnel, a system of building repair yards, stores, etc. at their disposal.

57. The Municipal Council of Nowa Huta was transformed into a District Council and its executive organs placed under the municipality of Krakow.

58. At the present time, the Municipal Council of Krakow is wholly responsible for the development of the entire construction project and for handling problems of administration and management in Nowa Huta. The Town Construction Board on the one hand, and the administrative organ and all services on the other hand, are subordinate to the Krakow Municipal Council. This arrangement is proper in the present circumstances, and the reasons why it was not introduced at the outset were described at the beginning of this report.

#### Basic Problems Faced during the Development of the Town:

59. One of the essential construction problems was the rational division into stages of all the capital investment and construction plans and the judicious choice of the portions of the town to be successively completed.

60. The point of departure was determined by the need of the manual and other workers for housing: these workers had to be housed in order to ensure the satisfactory progress of construction and, later on, the bringing into operation of the foundry's production facilities.

61. The building enterprises erecting the industrial plant and the town and even more the plant itself, could not rely on being able to recruit sufficient workers among the population of Krakow and the surrounding district. The reservoir of manpower was to be found in the rural areas, especially the subcarpathian region, where the marginal farming operations cannot support the inhabitants who consequently make their way to the towns in search of work. Engineers, technicians and other specialists were hired in all parts of the country. A housing base, guaranteed in advance, would be of decisive importance for the plans that were to be carried out later on.

62. With a clear realization of the risk involved, the construction of the first group of apartment buildings was begun in 1949. The site chosen for this purpose was peripheral in relation to the future center of the town of Nowa Huta. Another object was to gain time the better to prepare the plans for the central districts and to make apartment buildings available for occupancy on sites still not fully equipped with communal facilities.

63. In the first stage, the main arteries of communication between Krakow and Nowa Huta were also constructed, along with connecting roads, and materials were stockpiled for the construction enterprises.

64. The living conditions of the first group of inhabitants to settle in Nowa Huta were certainly not easy. The access roads to the houses, for pedestrians and vehicles were not ready and the water supply, electricity and central heating did not function properly.

In addition, the stores and handicrafts workshops had not been organized in time and the cinemas and clubs, to be located close to the center of the town, were still only at the planning stage.

65. Attempts were made to ease the situation by means of temporary expedients. The Stores and handicrafts workshops were set up temporarily in ground-floor apartments. As the first cinema had not been completed, films were shown in the primary-school gymnasium.

66. It should not be forgotten that many completed housing units were occupied "collectively". They were used to house unmarried workers and others who had come without their families, thus creating additional needs for such services as canteens, laundries, etc.

67. In the following stage, the construction of communal facilities gained momentum: water intakes, water supply lines, main direct-to-sewer drainage system and streets, furnaces and the central heating system were all installed. Nevertheless, it was only barely in the third and fourth years of construction that it was possible to erect buildings on a site fully equipped in these respects.

68. The construction of these facilities had to be preceded by extensive surveys and design studies, whereas a great part of the volume of housing could be constructed on the basis of standard and often-repeated plans.

69. It was for these reasons, too, that the construction of the peripheral districts was pushed ahead during the first few years. Because of the semi-circular plan of the town, construction advanced in the form of a crescent which gradually increased in depth to take the shape of a half-moon and, later on, of an open fan. Delaying the construction of the town center made it possible to draw up the plans more carefully and to prepare for the more difficult technical tasks, for the construction of tall buildings requiring elevators, garbage disposal chutes, greater water pressure, etc.

70. On the other hand, the delay in building the town center continued to hamper the organization of cultural and social life and to some extent retarded the process of formation of the new urban society.

71. This situation was caused by the proximity of the old town of Krakow, with its rich cultural institutions, its educational establishments and its stores, especially when a tramway service joined the two urban organizations.

72. The oldest inhabitants of Nowa Huta, that is, those who settled there ten years ago, somewhat proudly call themselves the town's "Pioneers". Many of them had lived in a workmen's hotel for a fairly long time before founding families in Nowa Huta, or before bringing their families to occupy the dwellings obtained in the new town.

73. Today, construction operations are once again proceeding in the peripheral districts of Nowa Huta, for a start has been made on an outer ring of districts to surround the town. The land between Nowa Huta and Krakow has also begun to be built up and in a few years the two towns will form a single whole from the spatial point of view also.

74. The stage-by-stage construction has been having an interesting effect on the changes taking place in the town's demographic structure.

75. Nowa Huta is a town of workers and it was decided in advance that it would be a one-class town. The population, however, is clearly differentiated occupationally and demographically, in spite of the predominant role of the steelworks.

76. As already mentioned, most of the inhabitants come from rural areas and, during the temporary residence phase, lived alone, as seasonal workers. Later the new construction workers and their families arrived together, generally, however, they were young households without children.

standpoint of the age structure of its inhabitants, and it has an extremely high birth rate. That is why the number of nurseries and schools, though wholly adequate in a normal demographic situation, is insufficient to meet the town's present needs.

78. It had been supposed that for a long time the population of Nowa Huta would be occupationally active in two principal fields - industry and construction - and that the group of construction workers would gradually diminish, while the industrial group increased. In reality, however, this process is not proceeding altogether smoothly. Moreover, among the members of the families of the persons installed in Nowa Huta by the industrial plant or the construction enterprise, there are persons who work. It had been expected that they would be employed in various services, but very often their occupational skills were not in great demand locally. Because of all these factors, the theoretical balance-sheet of Nowa Huta's self-sufficiency with respect to employment and the economically active population is not in equilibrium. Part of the population of Nowa Huta goes to work in Krakow each day and, conversely, many workers from Krakow come to Nowa Huta. In these circumstances, it is clear that the population of Nowa Huta will not stop at the theoretical figure of 100,000 (to which it is now close) but will reach that of 130,000 and perhaps even 150,000 inhabitants.

79. The employment structure in Nowa Huta is much more highly differentiated than had been anticipated, but this fact should not be evaluated negatively. It should rather be regarded as a warning that demographic and employment forecasting should not be based on excessively theoretical hypotheses.

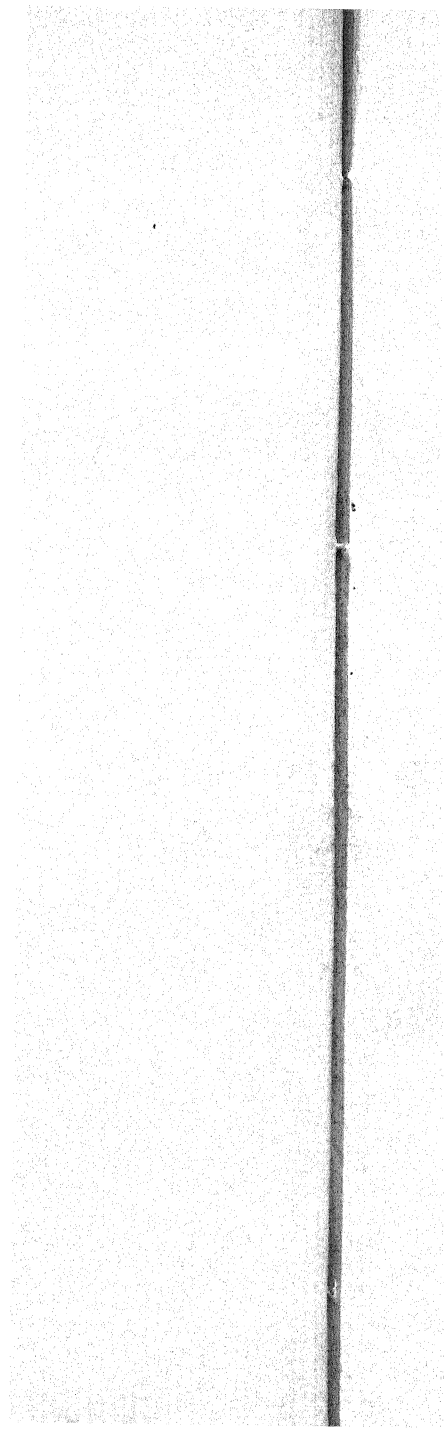
Conclusions:

80. Although Nowa Huta is still today in the stage of considerable growth the town's administration and economy can now be said to be well-ordered. This development has been accelerated by coexistence with Krakow. Moreover, the annual population increment (up to 10,000 inhabitants) today represents an increase of only 10 per cent, whereas previously it would have signified a violent increase in needs and have required preventive action. It would seem that after the town's planning and technical problems have dominated the scene, more attention should be drawn to the sociological, social and cultural aspects of the young urban population. These questions have been dealt with only superficially in the foregoing observations. But they deserve to be studied in detail, so that conclusions may be drawn which will be of benefit in the future.

81. The lessons learned from Nowa Huta may be of value for the East from a number of points of view. Firstly, because the objective there was not - as in the case of most Western European towns - to reduce the density of population of which came direct from the country and had to learn the urban way of life. This process, incidentally, appears to be taking place much more rapidly than was anticipated.

82. Secondly, the town of Nowa Huta forms part of the great economic plan for the industrialization of the country - a country in which, twenty years ago, agriculture was predominant and which has had to restore its economy after the destruction of the war years, the extent of which is perhaps unparalleled in history.





INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## ROURKELA TOWNSHIP

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INDIA

REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

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1. Introduction:

1.1 The new township of Rourkela in the State of Orissa, India, has been growing since 1956 when the Rourkela Steel Project started. The township in its completed stage will have 20,000 houses for an ultimate population of 1,00,000. In the first stage of construction the plan was build 7,500 houses. These have already been built. Rourkela was the name of a village which along with its adjacent areas was acquired for the present site of the new township. The old name has been retained.

1.2 After Independence in 1947 India found that her steel production was far short of the minimum requirement for realizing her objective of rapid industrialization. The three old steel plants at Jamshedpur, Burnpur and Bhadravati were then producing only 1.5 million tons of steel (as against 100 millions in U.S.A.). The need for increasing steel production was imperative and urgent. It was estimated that by the end of the Second Five Year Plan period, India's need would be at least six million tons. By expanding the existing plants three million tons could be obtained. The deficit, then, would be in the region of three million tons. In accordance with the accepted principle that new undertakings in basic industries would be the responsibility of the State as far as possible, the Government of India decided to have three new steel plants, each capable of producing one million tons.

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\* This paper has been prepared by the Unesco Research Centre. It is based on published material and information obtained from staff members of Rourkela Project, to whom indebtedness is acknowledged. The unpublished revised chapter on Rourkela of the Centre's Report on the growth of steel towns in India prepared by the Consultant, Mr. Vithal Babu, has been of some help.

1.3 On 15 August, 1953, an agreement was signed with a German combine of Krupp of Essen and Demag of Duisburg for establishing the first steel plant in the Public Sector. The Hindustan Steel Limited was formed in January, 1954, which has now under its supervision three new steel plants established at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur respectively. The details of the Rourkela Project, as it is called, were finalised toward the end of 1955 and construction work was started in the first half of 1956. Some furnaces and mills have been commissioned already and it is expected that all the units of the plant will be ready by 1962, when the plant will be fully commissioned to fulfil its target production.

1.4 The plant and the township have grown on an area of about 30 sq. miles acquired by the Hindustan Steel Ltd. A new feature of the Rourkela Project is that the township is separated from the plant by a wide margin and a moderately high ridge which is cleft by a road joining the two. The residential and industrial areas are not segregated in the old steel towns of Jamshedpur, Burnpur and Bhadravati. Another notable feature is that Rourkela has a sizeable German population. In July 1960, there were 708 men, 216 women and 164 children. The average duration of stay of a German technician is 18 months to 2 years.

## 2. Location:

2.1 The search for a suitable site for India's first new steel plant led to the discovery of the Rourkela area. Rourkela is 257 miles from Calcutta on the main railway line between Calcutta and Bombay. With abundant water supply from

the rivers, Sankh and Koel, which merge to become the river Brahmani, Rourkela near the confluence is only 45 miles from the iron-ore area of Bursua, 15 miles from the limestone quarries in Birmitrapur and Hathibari and not very far from the coal ranges of Bokaro-Kargali-Jharia in Bihar.

2.2 The original village of Rourkela had a small commercial population. The area surrounding it was a stretch of undulating land with high and low ridges, covered with forests. But there were a number of villages surrounded by arable land. When Hindustan Steel Ltd. acquired the area of about 30 sq. miles (more accurately speaking, 20,488 acres) as many as 32 villages were affected. The villagers have been displaced by stages with progress of the construction work. The Government of Orissa took the responsibility for the resettlement of the displaced persons who were given compensations for their land and houses by the Hindustan Steel Ltd. By November 1958, the total compensation of Rs.8,091,974 was paid to 2,400 families. Since then some more families have been displaced. The Orissa Government granted lands free of cost to those who applied for it in the resettlement colonies and reclamation areas. The displaced villagers being unskilled and uneducated, only a very limited number of them could be employed by the Rourkela Project authorities.

### 3. Cost of the township:

Apart from the cost of the plant, for which there has been provision for 1,700 million, the estimated total cost of the township is Rs.137.4 millions. The break-up, as

given in a statement, is as follows:

Development works	Rs. 40,577,000
Non-development works	82,115,000
Tools and plants	3,833,000
Maintenance during construction	2,200,000
Establishment	8,707,900
Total	<u>Rs. 137,432,900</u>

Expenditure on development works consists of cost of land, survey work, domestic and public water supply, sewerage, electricity, roads and bridges. Non-development works expenditure relates to that of residential quarters, non-residential buildings and temporary installations, etc.

#### 4. General lay-out:

4.1 Rourkela is in Orissa, only 20 miles from the border of Bihar. Bounded on the entire north and west by the rivers Koel and Brahmani, and with hills in the background, the Rourkela of today presents a picturesque and neat appearance. An evergreen ridge of moderate height screens the steel plant and the railways from the new township of 20 sectors. A ring road passes through the double rows of sectors and pierces the hill range to reach the plant works and comes back through a second pass into the township. This road is for one-way traffic.

4.2 Out of the 20 sectors designed, 11 have been built so far. In the present township 6,300 houses have been occupied already. There are four distinct categories of house: one roomed, two roomed, three roomed and four roomed. The respective built-up areas of these houses are 375, 500, 1100 and 1750 sq.ft. In keeping with the present-day trend in India in the construction of new industrial towns, houses of different

categories are built in every sector so that employees of different income groups live as neighbours. The Germans also do not live separately from others in any particular area but are to be found in all the sectors.

4.3 All roads to the sectors branch off from the ring road. There are minor roads and lanes within the sectors to reach every house. The sectors are separated by green inter-sector space and green belts are also provided on either side and middle of the main thoroughfare, i.e., the ring road, which has got two avenues 228 wide flanked by footpaths. This road is further designed to have two cycle tracks separate from the main carriage-ways.

4.4 The sectors are designed to have an average intensity of 7 houses per acre. Every sector will have at least one school, one marketing place, one children's park and two restaurants. There will be one health clinic and one community centre for every three sectors and one information-cum-police booth for every two sectors. Some of the sectors have already got these. There is one cinema hall in the township. Besides the Rourkela house for the distinguished guests there are seven other guest or rest houses out of which five are equipped with catering arrangements for the visitors.

4.5 The township has been provided with an air-strip capable of receiving air crafts of medium sizes. The railway station is outside the new township. Near the railway station the old civic township formerly comprising a few houses and shops have grown considerably in recent years.

## 5. Population:

5.1 Rourkela of today is an expanding cosmopolitan township, the workers and the supervisory staff being recruited from different parts of the country. The original inhabitants, i.e. the Adibasis, have practically all left the place. Only a few of them are to be found among the workers. A few more are working as domestic servants. Regular census of this area has not been taken, but on an approximate computation preparatory to the ensuing 1961 census, it is estimated that both the plant site and the township have a population of about 47,000. The workers of the lower category mostly belong to the State of Orissa, but those of the higher category come from almost all the States of India.

5.2 As construction of this township is still proceeding many thousands of sub-contractors' labourers are working here. One record shows that in May, 1959 there were as many as 43,606 of them. They live at the outskirts of the township in colonies of their own erecting temporary shelters. Thus slums are to be found adjacent to the new township. It is expected that when the construction will be over the contractors' labourers will go away. The possibility is, however, there that some of them may continue to live in the slums in search of employment. The area near the Railway Station, over which H.S.L. has no control, is becoming highly congested as more and more shops are opened daily. Thus to keep the area around the township clean will be a problem to the authorities.

## 6. Town Administration:

6.1 The administration is entirely in the hands of the

authorities of the Rourkela Project of H.S.L. There are separate offices in charge of different officers for the administration of sanitation, supply of water and electricity, horticulture, transport, construction of the plants and the township, and so on.

6.2 All the acquired lands of H.S.L. and the constructed buildings are now under the administration of the Estate Office. The Estate Officer is assisted by a Junior Estate officer and an Assistant Development Officer. The Estate Officer is responsible for allotment of residential buildings to the employees and contractors, collection of rent of these buildings and service charges for water, electricity, conservancy, etc. He also handles allotment of lands for company and non-company purposes and for collection of rents of such allotted lands. The purchase and distribution of furniture are also his responsibility. The furniture is given on hire to the employees. To do all these work his office is divided into four groups:

- Group 1. Looks after the allotment of residential buildings, land, shops, canteens; issues furnitures.
- Group 2. Deals with the general office affair and establishment of Estate Office.
- Group 3. Collects rents of residential buildings, shops, furnitures, etc.
- Group 4. Deals with acquisition of land, taking over of acquired land, and evacuation of encroachment on H.S.L. lands.

6.3 The Estate Officer is advised by a House Allotment Committee and a Shop Allotment Committee composed of officers. He is immediately under the Deputy General Manager (G)\*. Orders on matters of importance are obtained by the Estate

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\* There are two Deputy General Managers, D.G.M. (General) and D.G.M. (Personnel)

Officer from the D.G.M. (G) and through him that of Resident Director.

6.4 The only contact which the Estate Office has with the Orissa Government is with respect to (a) acquiring of land and taking possession of the same, and (b) making payment of the compensation. There is a Special Officer, Rourkela Land Organization, who deals with these.

6.5 Health, Education, Welfare and Community services are all administered by top management through officers in charge of respective departments. The employees have no voice in the matter. One may think that when the construction of the township will be over, some form of representation of the employees will be introduced in the civic administration.

#### 7. Medical facilities and public health:

7.1 The Chief Medical Officer is the administrative head of the medical department. There is one 250-bedded General Hospital and 5 Health Centres inside the township, and an emergency hospital in the plant side. The Senior Health Officer and his Health Inspectors keep a close watch on sanitation arrangements. They also look after general aspects of public health by controlling quality of food stuff, vaccinating for small pox the incoming labour groups and fighting against malaria. The incidence of malaria cases was very high in the pre-township stage /is now almost non-existent. in this area but

7.2 All the residential houses of the township and public buildings are served with underground drainage system. The sewage from the township is led to an upto date sewage treatment plant, treating sewage by modern scientific processes before discharging the same into the river Koel.

7.3 Water supply from the river for the plant and the township is adequate. Pumps of a total capacity of 12 million gallons have been installed. The purification work has a capacity of 9 million gallons per day at present with provision for increasing it to 12 million gallons. Storage tanks are provided on the roofs of all the buildings to ensure water supply for 24 hours.

## 8. Transport

By arrangement with the Orissa Government Transport organization there is regular bus service on all the main thoroughfares. H.S.L. has no transport service of its own in the township for the residents. Many workers have to walk long distance to reach the plant.

## 9. Educational facilities:

9.1 There is a scheme for establishing 15 Lower Secondary Schools with classes from I to VII and two Higher Secondary Schools in the final set up of Rourkela township. At present there are only 4 L.S. Schools and one High School with classes from VII to XI. The media of instruction in the L. S. Schools are Oriya and Hindi, and in the High School English and Oriya. One Primary School with classes I to V has been started this year in which the medium of instruction is Bengali. These schools are managed by H.S.L.

9.2 The L.S.Schools are situated in sectors 4, 18, 17 and 20. The High School and the Primary School are situated in sector 18. Each double media L.S. School is meant to cater education to 420 students, and the High School and the Bengali medium Primary School to 360 and 150 students respectively.

9.3 The schools are recognised by the Board of Secondary Education of the Orissa Government and follow the curricula prescribed by the Orissa Education Code. Education is free from class I to class V. Girl students get free education up to class VI. There are special arrangements for teaching music and craft. N.C.C\* has been introduced this year in the High School. Free mid-day meal and supply of uniforms to the students have been introduced since 1959. The present number of students is 2,000.

9.4 A German school for the children of the German technicians and engineers is being run by the German Social Centre. There are about 60 students in it. At Hamirpur near the northern boundary of sector 19 there are a Missionary High School and a Convent.

9.5 There are a large number of non-Oriya employees in the upper category of services. Their children have difficulty to continue studies beyond the lower secondary stage. They have to be sent outside for education, unless their parents decide to send them to an Oriya-medium school.

#### 10. Other amenities:

10.1 Every sector has been provided with a shopping centre and accommodation for the shopkeepers. In addition, there is a general vegetable market at the crossing of the Hamirpur Road and Ring Road in the centre of the township. Co-operative societies have opened stores for the benefit of the employees in several sectors where various kinds of consumer's

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\* National Cadet Corps.

goods are available. In the markets inside the township prices of commodities are high. The articles have to be brought mostly from Calcutta. In the markets of the sectors the buyers belong mostly to the higher income group. The lower income group will go to the old Rourkela market outside the town whenever possible where things can be had at a relatively cheaper rate. The management has opened several cheap shops for this group but that has not wholly solved the problem. The nearness of the old market stands in the way of the growth of the sector markets, but it is a factor in keeping down the prices in those markets within a limit.

10.2 Community Centres, one for every three sectors, with facilities for indoor and outdoor games, reading of newspapers and popular periodicals, and listening to radio programmes have been opened to meet the recreational needs of the residents. At present there are 5 community centres, and two are under construction. All sectors have Children's Parks fairly well equipped for the exercise and amusement of the children. There is an Officers' Club and another Club for the Germans. A number of libraries exist scattered in different areas. A Central Library has now been started, and recently Rs,10,000 have been sanctioned to buy more books for it.

10.3 Welfare Centres have been opened in the labour colonies. Each Welfare Centre is put in charge of a Social Worker who is constantly in touch with the workers and brings their points of view or grievances to the notice of the management. Cultural functions are held in the labour colonies under the auspices of the Labour Welfare Department. Free

distribution of milk to the children of the workers is also carried in the colonies. A trained woman goes round checking the conditions of the expectant mothers and rendering all possible help to them in times of need. Mahila Mandali, an association of the ladies, runs a dance and music as also a sewing class.

#### 11. Trade Union Activities:

The following are the Trade Unions working in the Rourkela Project. None of these has been officially recognised by the management but they are allowed to carry on peaceful activities.

<u>Names</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>
1. Hindustan Steel Workers Union ...	I.N.T.U.C.
2. Rourkela Mazdoor Sabha ...	Hind Mazdoor Sabha
3. Rourkela Workers Union ...	U.T.U.C.
4. Steel and Mining Mazdoor Congress ...	A.I.T.U.C.
5. North Orissa Workers Union ...	Not known.

Hindustan Steel Workers Union has confined its sphere of activity to the regular employees, while the Mazdoor Sabha deals with the cases of departmental work-charged and muster roll employees. The other three unions take up the cause of the Contractors' Labour.

#### 12. Occupational structure and economic condition:

12.1 In a township which is still growing the occupational structure of Rourkela is in a transitional state today. From a statement it was noted that in May 1959 the staff position was as follows (the figures may not be strictly accurate):

Officers (including Graduate Apprentices) ...	646
Staff (exclusive of class IV staff) ...	3,363
Semi-skilled, unskilled and class IV staff ...	1,065
Departmental labour (including work-charged and muster roll personnel) ...	8,753
Contractors' labour ...	43,606

Besides these there were about one thousand German personnel.

The wage structure has not been available at the time of writing this paper. The labourers of the contractors get about Rs.1.50 per day.

12.2 A large number of washermen, cobblers, barbers, small traders and others earning living by providing service to the townsmen have settled down outside the township, but some are to be found inside also.

### 13. Finance:

The budget-estimates prepared by the Estate Officer do not show the expenditures under different heads for civic administration of the township. These figures are available in the head office of the Hindustan Steel Limited at Ranchi and have not been obtained yet.

### A few General Remarks:

1. The purpose of building different types of houses in the same sector is to promote healthier social relations amongst persons belonging to various economic groups and minimise class consciousness. Physical proximity alone, however, may not bring about the desired effort. On the contrary, it may increase tension as some will observe that others are being provided with facilities which are denied to them. A good deal would depend upon the attitude and behaviour of persons concerned who have to live as neighbours. Then, in any township planning, the larger houses will be nearer to the main and broad roads which have better lighting and transport facilities than the narrow lanes along which smaller houses are likely to be built. All will not have the same

advantage.

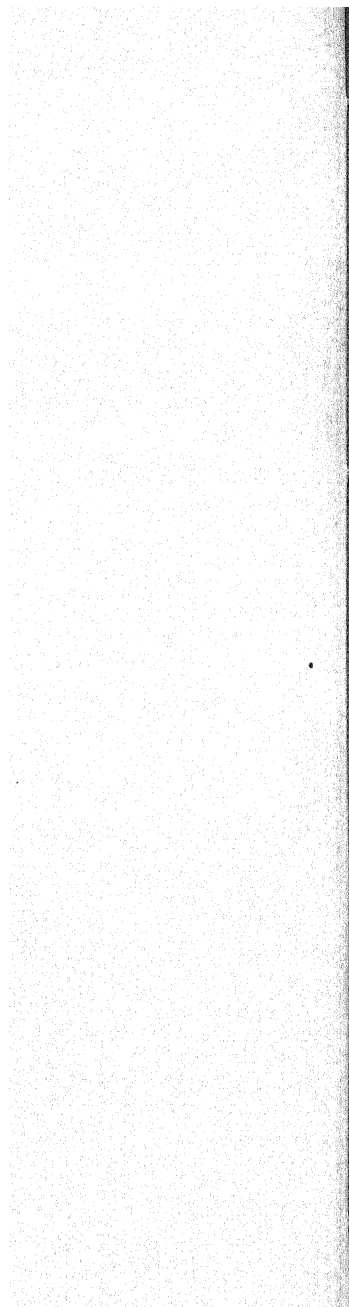
2. Though not officially recognised several Trade Unions are being allowed to function. An employee can directly submit his grievances to the management. He can also do so through the Union of which he is a member. Thus the Unions enjoy some degree of 'de facto' recognition. The different Unions now confine their activities to their respective fields of operation. So long there is peace, all may go well. In times of troubles or in case the Unions enter into rivalry, existence of several non-recognised Unions may not be to the interest of the workers and the management. It will be difficult to negotiate with one or all, and sudden banning of them will cause resentment among the employees.

3. However great the amenities of living may be in new Rourkela, as provided by H.S.L., civic administration entirely by the management without some form of representation of the residents in some matters at least, cannot be a satisfactory situation. The construction phase is not over yet, but even at this stage it is not impossible to bring the people somewhat in the picture.

4. It was said that as houses of different categories are constructed they are allotted to the employees of different salary grades. Apart from the consideration of seniority of service and emergency, one would like to know what other practices, if any, are followed by the Estate Office in the allotment of houses. Though not markedly noticeable, there seems to have been some concentration of one community or the

other in particular sectors. This may be a mere coincidence as more of the people of any one community may have been recruited at any given time and allotted quarters in a sector which was then just built. It will be of interest to know if the members of a community prefer to live together and the authorities acquiesce to their preference.

5. As is understood, the Resident Director is, for all practical purpose, the final authority in all matters relating to township construction and administration. The Deputy General Manager exercises executive control. The officers in charge of different departments are responsible to the latter. The Hindustan Steel Limited, however is the supreme body, and the local authorities of Rourkela Project are responsible to that body. But it is not clearly understood what is the nature of the line of responsibility of H.S.L. to the Ministry concerned of the Indian Government with respect to planning, financing and administration of the township.



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE SAIGON MUNICIPALITY

BY

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ADMINISTRATION

SAIGON

REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF  
NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

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1960



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## Chapter I

### Introduction

SAIGON, the capital city of the Republic of VIETNAM, is nowadays a most important city of the country regarding its position and population as well. SAIGON is located at the cross roads of the international lines of communications and has an ever increasing area. It is in addition the centre of most important organizations of government (administration, Army, foreign affairs), of the foreign diplomatic corps and of important economic and financial organizations. Within Viet-Nam, SAIGON is the most important and the first metropolis constituting the political, economic and cultural center of the Republic.

Like other metropolitan communities, SAIGON is confronted with mounting needs for governmental services and improved facilities. The burdens of local government are steadily increased by the increasing of its population. Since World War II the city's population has climbed sharply and is expected to reach two million in a few years. The city is also developing broadly. Vigorous expansion is evident in construction and improvement. Thus SAIGON's municipal administration must face several problems in order to meet the needs of public health, electricity, water, traffic order and security and food supply. These problems grow more and more complex and difficult with the growth and importance of the City. It is necessary that the Prefecture management should be done in such a way as to meet the above mentioned problems.

This paper deals with SAIGON's governmental resources for discharging these responsibilities. It is the result of an investigation of and research on the legal status and organization of the prefectural government, and the management of its services. Based on observation, this report aims at depicting the real activities of all agencies and investigating the areas of difficulty relative to organization, personnel management, fiscal management, and other problems. The research has been conducted primarily by interviews with numerous prefectural officials. Government reports and documents have also provided useful data.

In general the contents of this report reflect the conditions as they existed in 1959. It has not been feasible to have the text reflect conditions as of 1960.

Despite this, the text portrays the basic organization and relationships through which nearly 8,000 public employees discharge their obligations to the citizens of SAIGON and through which 688 million piasters of local public expenditures, are being administered in 1959.

The text is divided into two parts:

Part I portrays the elements which picture the character of

the City (physical layout, population structure, economic conditions...)

Part II describes the Municipal Administration and its problems.

A concluding chapter will present a brief general evaluation of the Prefectures organization and management.

X

X

X

## Chapter 2

### Character of the city.

Saigon, one of the oldest city of Viet nam, is located on the southern part of the country, in 10°46'40" north latitude and 106°38' east longitude, at the right bank of the confluent of the Dong Nai river, 120 kilometers from the sea. The city is a low flat expanse of 51,400 square kilometers, stretching north-east and south-west. A vigorous walker can traverse it in about 3 hours or less.

### Population factors

#### Population growth

The metropolitan area of Saigon with 51,400 square kilometers of land, comprises the two cities of Saigon and Cholon. Within this metropolitan area, over a 50-year period from 1907 to 1957 the population has increased 991,029 persons, from 228,471 to 1,219,500.

This represents an over-all percentage increase of approximately 200o/o. This increase is due to the rapid growth of the city; and this growth is not essentially the result of industrial development but the main reasons are: the political partition of the country after the Geneva Conference of July 20th 1954 and consequently the arrival of nearly one million refugees, the majority of which fled to Saigon the capital city. All these reasons contribute to rapid increases in the urban population of Saigon.

#### Population characteristics<sup>1</sup>

1- Institut National de la Statistique. Enquête Demographique 1958 à Saigon. Interpretation des Résultats.

### Sex composition and age

Sex distribution within the city exhibits a slight predominance of females, 51o/o4. The explanation for this is probably found in the fact the male deaths run greater than that of the female. The influence of ten years of war is another reason of this condition (See Table I)

Table Ia shows the population by sex and age. As this chart reveals the combined pyramid indicates a growing population with the characteristic broad base for the younger age group.

### Marital Status (Table II)

According to marital status, the population can be divided into four groups:

- Bachelors
- Married (legal or not legal)
- widows and widowers
- Divorced

The bachelors represent 62,3o/o of the male population and 55,7o/o of the female population.

The proportion of bachelors of both sexes decreases quickly with age and the decrease of the feminine sex is even more quickly than that of the masculine sex. This is due to the fact that young girls get married younger than young men.

Married people are 36o/o of the male population and 35,3o/o of the feminine population. The number of married women surpass 3,5o/o of man. This may be due to different reasons:

- The number of men fulfilling their military service out of Saigon
- The number of men abroad for further studies
- The polygamy
- The declaration of unmarried women, having children.

The proportion of married people increase rapidly with age within the maximum of age from 30 to 39, it is 40 to 49 for women. Married men under 40 represent 55,7o/o of the total married people while married women under 40 represent almost 70o/o. This proves that women married earlier than men and their mates are older than themselves.

Widows are 8,5o/o and widowers: 1,6o/o. The number of widows is more important than that of widowers because women live longer than men. At the age of 60 and above, among 100 men, 24 are widowers and among 100 women, 76 are widows.

The divorced represent only a small percentage of the whole population: 0,50/o for women and 0,20/o for men. This is due to the fact that divorce man get married more frequently than women.

#### Birth place(Table III)

Only 46,90/o of the whole population of Saigon are born in the City. The number of people coming from other Northern provinces make up a percentage of 200/o, while the percentage of people from the Center is 50/o and that from the North is 170/o. The proportion of those from Saigon which is 89,50/o for children under 5, decreases quickly with age and among 100 persons over 80, there are only 15 who are born in Saigon.

#### Residence before 1954(Table IV)

This matter is taken up in order to find out the number of refugees from the North of Vietnam, fled from the communist regime after the Geneva Conference and who are now domiciling in Saigon. This does not count the number of children born during the year of 1954 and the years afterwards. We take into account only of children over 5.

Concerning 1,004,700 persons over 5, residing in Saigon at the moment the census is being made 743,220(740/o) have had their permanent residence at Saigon before 1954. 60,780(6,10/o) came from the Southern Region 27,720(2,70/o) from the Center and from the North 157,440(0,80/o) 8,100 lived abroad. Those who did not answer to this questionnaire are in number of 7,440 which represents only 0,70/o of the total.

#### Nationality(Table V)

The inhabitants of Saigon is divided into three groups: Vietnamese, Chinese and other foreigners.

The Vietnamese include those who are born Vietnamese and those who are naturalized. They constitute the majority of the total population. (87,40/o) Among foreigners, the Chinese are far much numerous than the rest they attain a percentage of 11,30/o while other nationalities represent only 1,30/o of the total.

It is noteworthy to mention that after the census of 1948, in Manilla, 92,70/o of the population are Philippinenses, 7,30/o are foreigners, out of which 6,70/o are Chinese.

#### Mother tongue(Table VI)

Because of the application of the ordinance No.10 of 12-7-1955 about Vietnamese nationality, it is difficult to measure adequately and precisely the different ethnic group of the population

of Saigon. The use of Mother tongue in this classification would be very helpful. Among 1,066,560 persons having the Vietnamese nationality, only 911,820 speak Vietnamese in the home. Among 295,020 persons who speak Chinese in the home, only 137,400 who are Chinese by nationality. (24,20/o). Other languages (1,00/o) are divided among 15,540 of different nationality.

### Religion (Table VII)

The population which has a religion in Saigon comes up to 774,240 persons (or 63,50/o) of the total) out of which there are 371,700 males and 402,540 females. The number of men for 100 women as far as religion is concerned is 92,3 against 94,7 for the whole population. Among these people, buddhists are predominant: 605,160 persons or 49,60/o of the whole population, catholics come after with a number of 148,800 or 12,20/o. The percentage of people having other belief is 1,7% or 20,280 persons.

People having no religion represent 36.50/o of the total population. This is divided almost equally between man and woman: 49,70/o for man and 50,30/o for woman.

### Ability to read and write Vietnamese (Table VIII)

The proportion is 70,80/o of literates and 29,20/o illiterates.

The proportion of literates decreases with age while the contrary occurs to the illiterates. Among 100 young people from 15 to 19 years of age, 84 know how to read and to write. Only 16 of them do not know to read and to write but among 100 old aged persons, only 23 are literates, the rest are illiterates.

### Economic factors

SAIGON is a commercial-industrial city, and one of the nation's largest seaports.

According to the 1958 census<sup>data<sup>2</sup></sup>, there are three major sources of employment: governmental and professional services accounting for 37,70/o of all employees; next come service industries such as finance, insurance, bank, trade - with 26,20/o; manufacturing with 230/o; transportation with 7,70/o; all others 5,40/o.

Manufacturing is very diversified. In 1957, the City had 31,400 manufacturing establishments, public and private employing 225,000 persons.

Service industries play an important role in the city's

economy. Also as headquarter of the National Bank of Vietnam, Saigon is a leading financial center.

Retail and whole sale trade. In 1957 the City had 11,350 retail and wholesale trade establishments employing 50,900 persons.

### New Construction

In recent decades, the bulk of new housing construction in the City has taken place in the suburbs. 587 building licenses were delivered in 1957 for Saigon compared with 100 licenses delivered for the two cities of Dalat and Danang, and covering 123,816 square meters. Residential construction has been concentrated in a few areas outside the City.

### Port commerce

The Port of Saigon; on the river of the same name, built 45 miles inland from the sea, is the largest port in the nation based both in value of imports and exports and on tonnage handled. In 1957, vessels entered and cleared in the port amounted to 1,122 units with 1,850,500 tons of goods<sup>3</sup> (93,80/o of the total).

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3- Statistical yearbook of Vietnam. Vol.7, 1959.

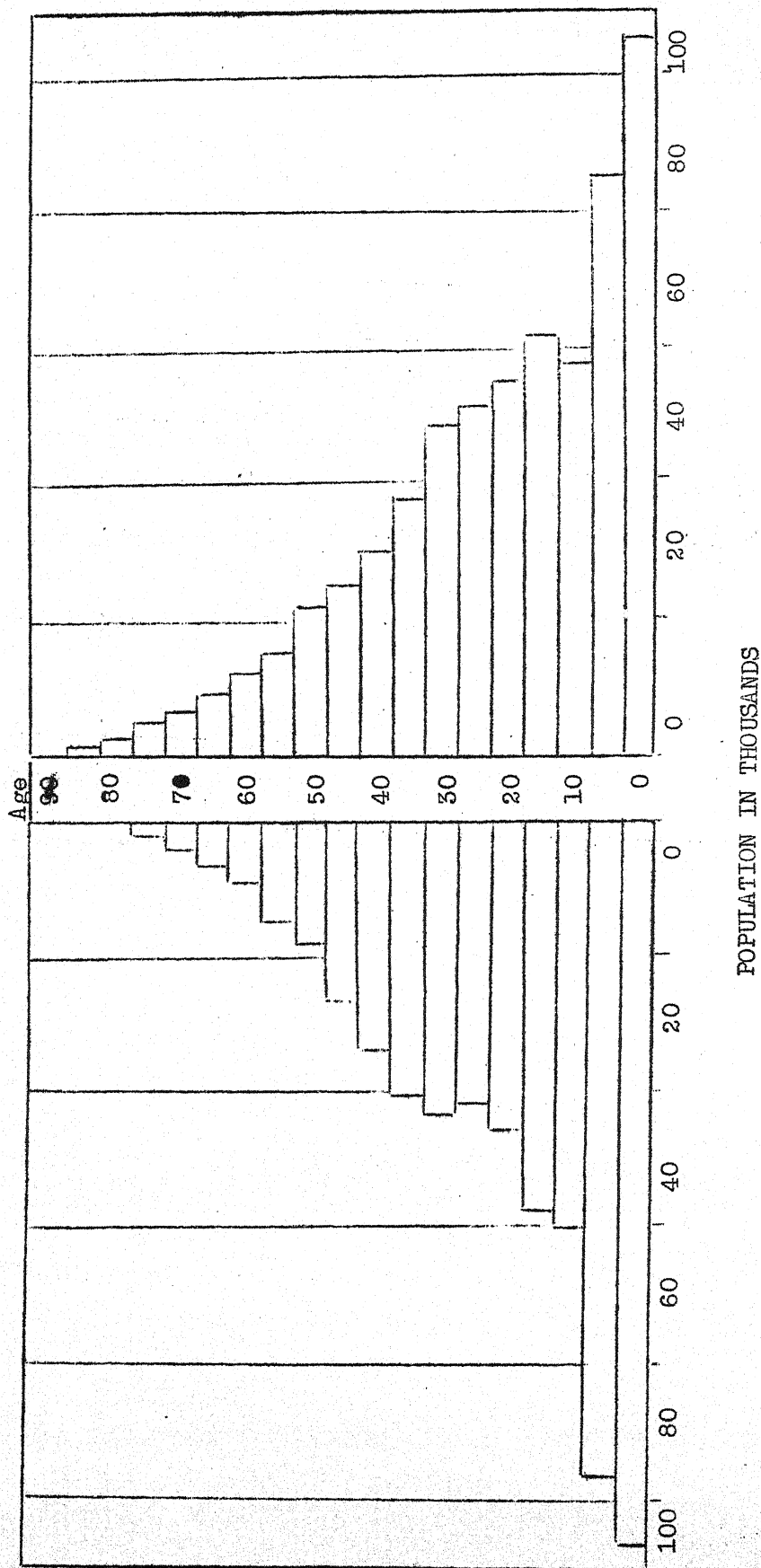
TABLE I

Distribution of the population  
by sex and age

Age	S E X			
	Male		Female	
	No	o/o	No.	o/o
19 or less	321,360	55.9	314,460	50.2
20 - 59	256,860	43.3	285,180	45.5
60 and over	14,880	2.5	26,760	4.2
Total	593,100		626,400	

Source: Enquête démographique à Saigon - Juin-Juillet 1958  
(Résultats provisoire) Institut National de la  
statistique 1958.

TABLE Ia  
POPULATION OF SAIGON BY SEX AND AGE  
 (July 1958)



Ts/-

TABLE II

Distribution of Adult population  
of Saigon by Marital Status

Marital Status	Male o/o	Final o/o	Total population o/o
Married	64.8	62.0	63.3
Single	33.2	27.6	30.3
Divorced	.3	1.0	0.7
Widowed	1.8	9.4	5.8
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0

Compiled from data contained in Enquête Démographique à Saigon Juin-Juillet 1958. (Résultats provisoires) Institut National de la Statistique Census data for adult population, age 15-59 years.

Source: Enquête démographique à Saigon - Juin -Juillet 1958  
Résultats provisoires) Institut National de la  
Statistique 1958.

TABLE III  
Distribution of the population  
by place of birth

10.

Place of birth	Number	Percent
Saigon and suburbs	572,340	46.9
South Vietnam	243,960	20.0
Central Vietnam	58,320	5.0
North Vietnam	207,780	17.0
Foreign	135,060	11.0
Unknown	2,040	0.2
Total	1,219,500	100.1

Source: Enquête démographique à Saigon - Juin-Juillet 1958  
(Résultats provisoires) Institut National de la  
Statistique 1958.

TABLE IV

Distribution of population  
by residence before 1954

Data for the population age 5 and over

Residence	Number	o/o
Saigon and suburbs	743,220	74.0
South Vietnam	60,780	6.1
Central Vietnam	27,720	2.7
North Vietnam	157,440	15.7
Foreign	8,100	0.8
Undeclared	7,440	0.7
Total	1,004,700	100.0

Source: Enquête démographique à Saigon - Juin-Juillet 1958  
(Résultats provisoires) Institut National de la  
Statistique 1958.

TABLE V  
Distribution of the population  
by nationality

Nationality	Number	o/o
Vietnamese	1,066,560	85.3
Chinese	137,400	13.4.
Other foreign	15,540	1.3
Total	1,219,500	100.0

Source: Enquête démographique à Saigon - Juin-Juillet 1958  
(Résultats provisoires) Institut National de la  
Statistique 1958.

Distribution of the population  
by mother tongue

Mother tongue	Number	o/o
Vietnamese	911,820	74.8
Chinese	295,020	24.2
Others	12,660	1.0
Total	1,219,500	100.0

Source: Enquête démographique à Saigon - Juin-Juillet 1958  
(Résultats provisoires) Institut National de la  
Statistique 1958.

TABLE VII  
Distribution of population  
by Religion

Religion	Number	o/o
Buddhism	605,160	49.6
Catholicism	148,800	12.2
Others	20,280	1.7
No religion	445,260	36.5
Total	1,219,500	100.0

Source: Enquête démographique à Saigon - Juin-Juillet 1958  
(Résultats provisoires) Institut National de la  
Statistique 1958.

TABLE VIII

Distribution of population by knowledge  
of reading and writing Vietnamese  
(Data for the adult population age 10 and over)

Literacy attainment	Number	o/o
Illiterate	204,420	29.2
Reading and writing	496,320	70.8
Total	700,740	100.0

Source: Enquête démographique à Saigon - Juin-Juillet 1958  
(Résultats provisoires) Institut National de la  
Statistique 1958.

Chapter 2

Structure of local and municipal government in Vietnam

As distinguished from Central Government, Local Government in Vietnam involves different territorial divisions: municipalities, provinces, districts, cantons and villages. (Until recently, a group of several provinces constituted an administrative region, but regions were abolished in 1955.)

In the strict sense, local self-government implies the fulfilment of the following conditions:

- a) selection of the local executive and/or the local governing body by local people;
- b) legal and economic qualifications such as being a legal entity, having an individual budget, and possessing public property;
- c) decision-making power in certain matters.

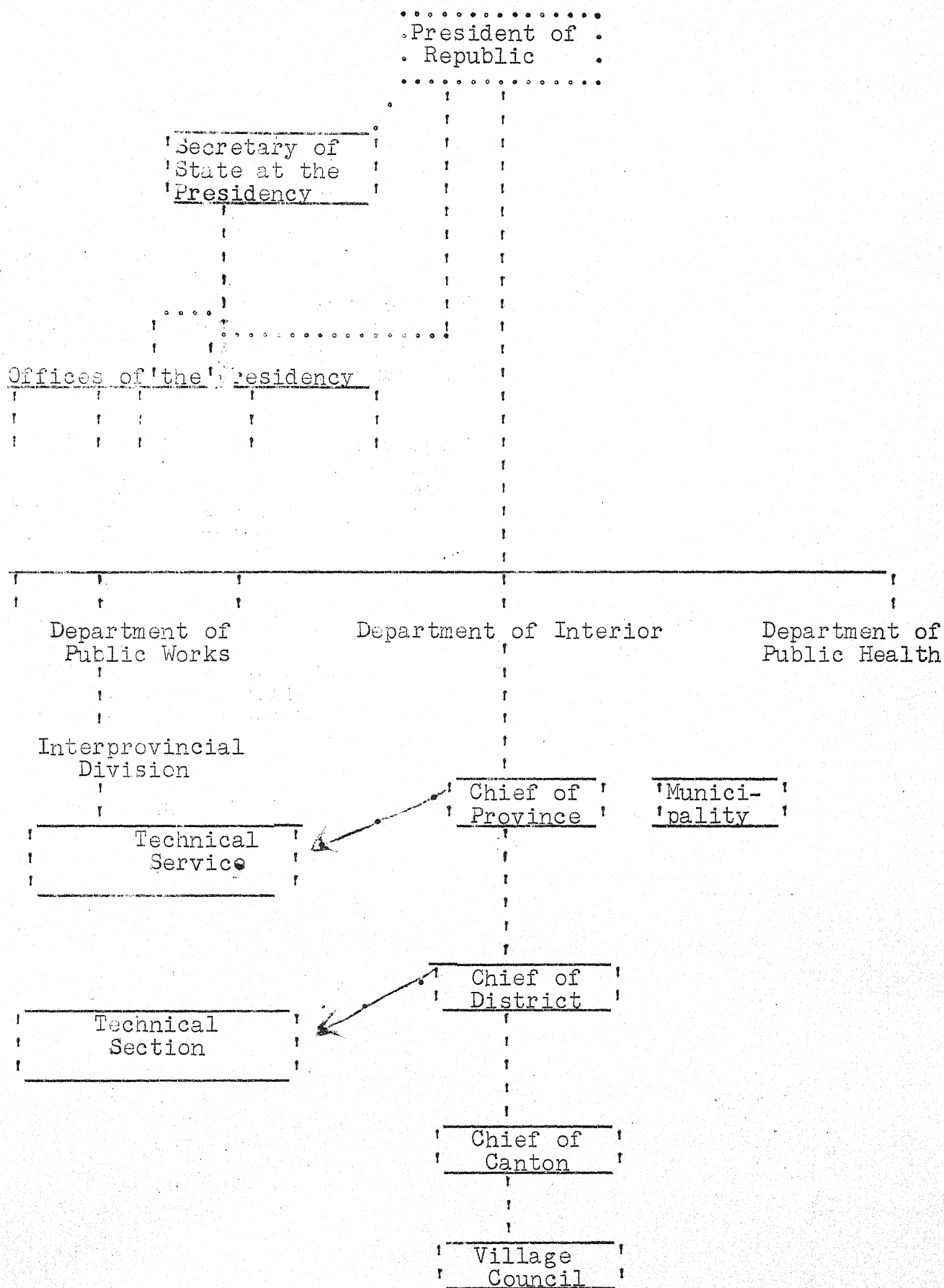
Therefore, strictly speaking, local self-government does not exist in Vietnam. However, understood in a broad sense, local self-government does exist, although it does not meet all the above three conditions. From the broad point of view, villages and to a lesser extent municipalities and provinces in Vietnam can be regarded as having self-government.

With this in mind we can describe the municipality as an incorporated unit limited self-government provided for urbanized areas. It is given general administrative and financial powers, with responsibility for providing certain mandatory and optional services.

Municipalities are one of the several kinds of local government units in VIETNAM. The governmental framework is a highly centralized unitary system. The primary territorial subdivisions of the country are the provinces (Tỉnh) which are further subdivided into districts (Quận). These units are staffed by national government officials, under the Ministry of Interior. Within each district rural areas are organized as cantons (Tổng) and villages (Xã). These are controlled by the district governments. Since VIETNAM is an agricultural country, with the majority of its population residing in rural areas, the vast majority of the people are governed by the district, canton and village officials.

The chart on page 17 indicates the position of the municipality in the total pattern of local government.

# Chart of the Administrative system of Viet-Nam



## Chapter 3

## Legal Status of Saigon Prefecture

Decree No. 74-TTP of March 23, 1959 setting forth the structure and function of Saigon prefecture, defines a legal system for the prefectural government. In principle, the legal system provided by this Decree is somewhat different from that provided by Ordinance No. 11. Saigon prefecture is still an administrative unit, a legal entity endowed with an autonomous budget and public properties. The policy applied here is still one of decentralization. The decentralized agency is the Prefectural Council, which is elected by the people and acts only as consultant. The executive agency does not fall within the competency of the elected councilors.

The representative of the central government is directly responsible for the prefectural management: he is the Prefect appointed by presidential Decree and reports directly to the President. This high ranking official has as collaborators: two Deputy-Prefects, the Director of Prefectural Police and the Prefectural District Chiefs<sup>1</sup>.

The functional organization as well as the characteristics of the prefectural council will be described later in Chapter III: the duties and position of, as well as the relationship between, the Director of prefectural police and the Prefect will be examined in the organization of the Directorate of prefectural police (Chapter II).

In this Chapter, we shall only deal with the following fundamental question:

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<sup>1</sup>According to the new system (Decree No. 74-TTP of March 23, 1959) the Prefect also has as collaborators those mentioned above. But there is a difference: The word "Trưởng quận" (chief of district) is replaced by "Quản Trưởng" (district chief) as in provinces, and district chiefs will be civil servants nominated by the President.

Moreover the function of Secretary General of the prefecture is abolished and replaced by a Chief of Secretariat (Art. 5 new Decree). The function of Deputy Prefect is conferred on two high ranking officials nominated by presidential Arrêté, based on a number of assigned duties (Art. 4 - 3<sup>o</sup> and 4<sup>o</sup> of the above mentioned Decree) but not on the division of Saigon into two areas: Saigon and Cholon, as in the regime provided by Ordinance No. 11. The word Deputy Prefect of Saigon and Deputy Prefect of Cholon has become obsolete.

## The Prefect and his collaborators.

Considering the competency of these officials we shall realize that the present prefectural government tends toward strict centralization. The regime of decentralization represented by the elected prefectural Council (consultative character of the Council) is still maintained because the prefecture still keeps its legal entity as well as public properties and autonomous budget, but the competency of decentralized agencies is by far limited.

### I. THE PREFECT

**Nomination.** The word *Đô Trưởng* (Prefect) indicating the head of Saigon government came into being by arrete of September 26, 1947. This word replaced the position title "*quận Trưởng địa phương Saigon Cholon*" (District Chief of Saigon Cholon area).

Though the history of Saigon prefecture, the head of prefectural administration was sometimes elected by the people and sometimes nominated by the Government. Indeed, we may distinguish the following main periods: From 1877 to 1931, before the reorganization of the prefecture into Saigon Cholon area, a single and autonomous administrative unit:

Article 31 of Decree of January 8, 1877 defines the functions of Mayor and Deputy Mayor and provided for their appointment the Government for a three-year term. Eligibility to these positions is defined in article 33 of the Decree, according to which these positions are reserved to the circles of commerce, industry and liberal professions (lawyer, physician, etc..). Magistrates, priests, military men, and civil servants paid by local budget were not eligible for the above mentioned positions. Decree of April 20, 1881 reorganizing the election of the municipal council did not modify the eligibility to the positions of Mayor and Deputy Mayor.

According to the law of March 23, 1882 the offices of Mayor and Deputy Mayor were considered as popularly elected positions. But Article 19 of Decree of April 27, 1931 provides a modification and stipulates that the District Chief of the Saigon-Cholon area would be a civil servant nominated by the government who has similar qualifications to those of a Mayor. This official was in charge of municipal police and responsible for public security and order. The police power is a special power, among others, belonging to the Mayor. Moreover, Article 10 of the above-cited Decree also mentions other competencies concerning public properties and budget.

Decree of April 27, 1941 reorganizing the Saigon Mayor's office still stipulated that the mayor would be appointed by the Governor General and chosen among the hors-chasse administrators, and the deputy mayor was chosen among the regular members of the municipal council (Article 8).

Finally, according to Decree and Arrete of December 28, 1941 incorporating the three budgets of Saigon-Cholon, and making the Saigon Cholon area into a single political division, the mayor and deputy mayor still were nominated by the government. In short, up to the present the Mayor of Saigon has always been nominated by the government.

Ordinance No. 11 of May 30, 1954 as well as Decree No. 74-TTP of March 23, 1959 do not bring about any modification to the above-mentioned points. At present the Prefect is nominated by the President, and directly reports to the President.

The new system does not specify qualifications for the Prefect as did Article 2 of Ordinance 11, which stipulated that "the Prefect is chosen among distinguished persons or high ranking officials in Viet-Nam..." According to the old regime the Prefect was, however, an official of central government but did not play an entirely administrative part, and therefore he could be selected from among distinguished persons.

But due to the fact that in the new regime the mayor's powers are greater than before, the nomination is likely to be made from among qualified and experienced high ranking officials.

Authority. The Prefect's authority can be compared to those of a chief of province. However the Prefect is vested with much more important responsibilities owing to the importance of the position and the greater population of the prefecture.

The Prefect represents the central government in the prefectural area. In this case, the Prefect is an official of the central government under the President's direct supervision (Article 2 S 2 Decree mentioned above).

In addition, the Prefect is the legal representative of the prefecture and as such he is controlled by both the prefectural council and central government.

A. As Representative of the Central Government in the Prefecture.

The Prefect is in charge of enforcing law in the prefecture, and of public security and order. These powers are usually called "power of police", which aims at preventing legal transgressions. This power differs from the judiciary police power, which only provides penalties for legal transgressions. Of the administrative police powers, the general police power is the most important because it includes all measures for the maintenance of public security and order in its broadest meaning.

This power is vested in the Prefect and is exercised through the municipal police under his direct supervision. The police forces is very strong due to the number of its personnel and supplies. It is at the same time placed under the technical supervision of the Directorate General of national police.

Here there is no distinct division of power between the Prefect and the Police<sup>2</sup> and therefore many conflicts have arisen in the exercise of this power. The decree does not define clearly the powers of administrative police. However according the present law and regulations, we may say that the administrative police power aims at three purposes: maintenance of order, security, and public health, which are three factors of public order.

#### 1. Order

- Physically the Police is in charge of: 1) preventing noise and public disturbances deafening noises during night time, defining the practice of some noise maker professions. 2) Maintaining free traffic for the public by forbidding unauthorized gatherings on the roads and obstructions to traffic. 3) Protecting and preserving public morals.

2. Public security. Maintaining public security is to prevent all occurrences that may cause damage to the life and property. For example: fixing fire prevention measures, controlling the speed of vehicles.

3. Public hygiene: The prevention of diseases e.g. control of food supply at markets and hygienic control of slaughterhouses.

In the discharge of police duties and "in emergency cases, the Prefect is entitled to call out the armed forces

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<sup>2</sup>See Organization of the Directorate of Municipal Police below.

but he should notify immediately the Departments of National Defense and Interior."

B. Responsibility of the Prefect as the legal representative of the prefecture.

The Prefect takes charge of prefectural public properties put to public and private uses, represents the prefecture before justice, and takes care of the execution of various projects and contracts (Article 3 § 6 Decree mentioned above). The Prefect takes care of the management of municipal properties, the collection of revenue, signing lease contracts, bidding contracts for the carrying out of works<sup>3</sup> and represents the municipality at law courts whenever there is lawsuit. The Prefect prepares the budget to be submitted to the President for approval after consulting the prefectural council. Finally, the Prefect is in charge of the budget execution in conformity with the procedures of obligation<sup>4</sup> (the Prefect is the chief-ordonnateur of the municipal budget).

C. As head of the municipal government "The Prefect directs all the municipal public offices" (Article 3 of Decree mentioned above). The most important responsibility of the Prefect is the general functioning of all municipal public agencies.

1. The Prefect directs the public offices in order to make them work efficiently.

2. As regards various Departments or central agencies, the Prefect usually should get instructions or ideas or approval from Departments concerning technical matters. As regard the relationship with various Departments, there is usually a lack of general instructions and therefore the municipality will have to settle technical problems by itself. Therefore every case should be approved by the Department concerned. Accordingly there is much delay owing to the exchange of correspondence for example, the case of records dealing with reconstruction.

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<sup>3</sup>According to Ordinance No. 11 all purchases and sales of properties, or repairing and maintenance works, and new works costing over 100,000 piasters should be voted by the prefectural council - and approved by the administrative supervisory agency (Art. 37 - 38).

<sup>4</sup>According to Ordinance No. 11 every year the Prefect should submit the accounting records to the municipal council for consideration before submitting them for approval to the competent agency (Presidency).

However as regards some agencies (such as the Service of Techniques whose head is a Public Works engineer appointed by the Department and transferred to the municipality) there are practically no difficulties as those mentioned above. Owing to personal trustworthiness, the Department usually lets services have initiative and make suggestions on work to be done without any need for approval beforehand. But this is only a matter of individual relations.

3. The Prefect is the head of all civil servants in the municipality and is entitled to nominate by arrêté all civil servants pertaining to the municipality<sup>5</sup> unless there be a clause defining otherwise (Article 3 in fine print of Decree mentioned above).

To carry out the attributions described above, the Prefect is "vested with legislative power within domain prescribed by law." The Prefect signs and promulgates arrêtés having been approved by the Interior Department.

## II. THE PREFECT'S COLLABORATORS.

A. First of all they are personnel subordinated to Central Government. Among them are the Director of Municipal Police, the Secretary General, the two Deputy Prefects.

The Director of Municipal Police is nominated by presidential arrêté and supervised by the Prefect; but technically he can contact directly the Directorate General of national police (see details in Chapter II).

The Secretary General is nominated by the Interior Department upon the Prefect's proposal (Government delegate in South Viet-Nam). The Secretary General as a financial and administrative specialist acts in behalf of the Prefect; and carry out his directives. He may receive special delegation from the Prefect in technical matters of finance and administration.

At present, this function is abolished and replaced by the Chief of Secretariat who reports to the Prefect and acts as direct assistant of the Prefect (Article 5 Decree mentioned above).

According to the present regime provided by Decree No. 74-TTP mentioned above, the two Deputy Prefects are

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<sup>5</sup>See general list of personnel of various offices in the municipality.

nominated by presidential arrete. The competency of each one is defined in the Decree. They represent the Prefect, who is their direct supervisor and carries out his directives.

At present the division of competency between these two Deputy Prefects is not based on the former jurisdiction but on the national assignment of work.

In this respect, one can see that the municipality's viewpoint on the reorganization of municipal government has got the consideration and approval of central government.

Indeed this question has just been brought out and two re-organizational projects have been put forth.

One project prepared in accordance with the basic principles was discussed on October 16, 1957 at the office of the Secretary of State to the Presidency: The Prefect will have two Deputy Prefects to assist him in the two fields of administration and internal security.

The other was prepared in accordance with the Prefect's own concept according to which there will be two Deputy Prefects assisting the Prefect, but the competency of these two assistants is not divided into two domains of administration and internal security as in the above-mentioned project.

However, it is worth mentioning that both projects had this in common; the abolition of assignment to the Deputy Prefects based on the division of Saigon into 2 areas Saigon and Cholon, that is to say both projects aimed at the abolition of Saigon Deputy and Cholon Deputy Prefect.

#### First Amendment Project:

The main point of this project is the creation of two functions of Deputy Prefect, assistant of the Prefect; one assists him in administration and another in internal security.

The Deputy Prefect for administration is in charge of supervising all administrative agencies of the municipality (activities of the Districts' offices) and coordinating the activities of all staff levels of Services.

The Deputy Prefect for internal security supervises all municipal agencies dealing with internal security (coordinating the activities of all police and security agencies of the municipality; fire department; control relative to politics and internal security such as foreign residents, firearms and ammunitions political and religious groups.

It is worth mentioning that the Prefect's office disagrees, with the reorganization principles of this project because of the following reasons: practically it is very difficult to demarcate the administrative and internal security aspects of a question and thus authority overlapping would be unavoidable. Moreover the work-load of the Deputy Prefect for administration would become very heavy.

### Second amendment Project

This project also creates two functions of Deputy Prefect to assist the Prefect but the division of competency between these two officials is different.

The first Deputy Prefect's attributions: supervision of all Services and Bureaus subordinate to the Central Office of the Municipality (Services of Administration, techniques, hygiene...)

The Second Deputy Prefect is in charge of supervising the activities of all Districts' offices "the competency of which will be extended" and at the same time following up the Police Directorate's activities and the political situation and internal security in the capital. This second project of reorganization was approved.

The division of competency between two Deputy Prefects as defined in the new Decree is exactly like that provided in the above-mentioned project (Article 4 § 3 - 4).

B. The Prefect's collaborators in the municipal districts<sup>6</sup> are the municipal District Chiefs. The districts are not legal entities.

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<sup>6</sup>The number of municipal districts increases to 8 (instead of 7 districts) and their boundaries are defined in Arrêté No. 110-NV of March 27, 1959. Formerly, the boundaries of many districts were not clearly limited (such as those of districts 3 and 4).

Moreover, the demarcation of boundaries was not rational and resulted in many districts being overcrowded, and created a lot of administrative slowdown, while the other districts did not have enough work to do. There were also very large districts (such as district 4); and it was inconvenient for the people who had to deal with the district office to move from their homes to the office, as it meant expense.

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The District Chiefs will be civil servants nominated by Presidential arrêté. They are placed under the authority of the Prefect and Deputy Prefects, and are in charge of general administrative affairs committed by the Prefect.

According to the new regime the district chief's attributions and competency are enlarged in the 3 following points as compared with those formerly vested in him:

- The district chief is vested with judiciary police power
- The district chief is entitled to issue authorizations for gatherings to private persons on the occasion of family ceremonies (funeral, wedding) and also to religious groups for celebrating ceremonies.

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6 cont'd

#### First District:

Thị Nghè canal, Saigon river, Bến Nghé canal, De Lattre de Tassigny, Hồng Thập Tự, Hai Bà Trưng streets to Thị Nghè canal.

#### Second District:

De Lattre de Tassigny street, Hong Thap Tu street, Cong Hoa avenue and Chuong Duong Quay.

#### Third District:

Hai Bà Trưng street, Hồng Thập Tự street, Lý Thái To avenue, military red-macadamized road from Trần Quốc Toản avenue to military road along Bao Ngan canal, limit of Gia Dinh province and Thị Nghè canal.

#### Fourth District:

Ben Nghe canal, Te canal, Trinh Minh The street (from Tan Thuan Dong bridge to the swing bridge).

#### Fifth District:

Cong Hoa avenue, Ly Thai To avenue, military red-macadamized road, military road along Bao Ngan canal, Trang Tu street, Ngo Nhan Tinh street, Tau Hu canal, Ben Nghe canal.

#### Sixth District:

Prolonged Le Dai Hanh street, Bao Ngan canal, Trang Tu street, Ngo Nhan Dinh street, Tau Hu canal, Ruot Ngua canal,

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6 cont'd

Sixth District:(cont'd)

Red Ruot Ngua canal to My Thuan bridge and municipal limit bound to prolonged Le Dai Hanh road.

Seventh District:

Lao canal, Doi canal, canal No. 1, Tau Hu canal, Ruot Ngua canal, road leading from Ruot Ngua canal to My Thuan bridge, provincial road No. 17, An Lac village boundary, Dinh canal, Cho Dem canal, Cung canal, An Phu Tay village boundary, Phong Duoc and Binh Dong villages boundary to Lao canal.

Eight District:

Lao canal, municipal boundary, Ong Lon canal, Te canal Ben Nghe canal, Tau Hu canal, canal No. 1 and Doi canal.

According to this arrêté, the boundaries of the municipal police precincts are henceforth modified in accordance with the above-mentioned boundaries.

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Chapter 4

The Prefecture Council

§ 1. REGIME OF EDICT 11

A. Organization of the Prefecture Council

The Prefecture Council is composed of 35 representatives elected by a direct universal suffrage. The vote unit is the quarter. The number of representatives, not definite, will be fixed by a Presidential decree. The suffrage procedure is as follows: the elector will elect in his vote-card a list of candidates corresponding to the number of seats already fixed; at the vote control, those who poll the greatest number of votes will be chosen as representative (paragraph 13 and paragraph 21 of Decree 11). Practically the above-mentioned regime has never been applied.

The present councillors of the Prefecture are all representatives of the quarters, and were elected on 1-25-1954 according to the regime of decree No. 802/Cab/MI of 12-27-1952.<sup>1</sup> This decree has also resulted in cases of failure to run for election and necessitated the assumption by councillors of several concurrent responsibilities. The election procedure of the above decree is the one-man-one-vote suffrage procedure. At each quarter, 5 representatives who poll the greater number of votes are elected.

The Prefecture councillor's term is 3 years. The present councillors are kept in their offices and their term has been prolonged by Edict No. 9NV of 1-17-1956.

At the 1954 Election, the Prefecture Council was composed of 35 representatives (Each quarter elected 5 representatives, notwithstanding its population; there were seven quarters.

Since then, after many changes, the total number of Prefecture representatives has undergone numerous changes.

The present total of representatives is only 21.

Those dropped are as follows:

1. Some who have been elected to the National Assembly and have resigned their function as Prefecture representatives.<sup>2</sup>
2. Some who have resigned permanently.
3. Some former civil servants, who have asked to be reinstated and consequently, are considered to have resigned; nevertheless, there has been in practice no request asking for resignation; and no decision has been made by the Prefecture proclaiming their evident resignation according to the provisions of Edict 11.
4. Some who have refused to participate in Prefectural meetings in spite of several convocations.

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<sup>1</sup>Official Gazette of Vietnam 1952 page 1977

<sup>2</sup>According to Paragraph 53 of the Constitution "The N.A. delegate cannot concurrently perform any other function performed by any other representative elected by the people.

5. Some who "have quitted" because they were involved in the affairs of the rebels in 1954.

Besides there are some prefectural councillors who participate in the Administration, under the direct management of the Prefect and are made the quarter chiefs.<sup>3</sup> The quarter Chiefs are elected by the Prefecture Councillors by secret vote with an absolute majority at the two first rounds; and seniority is the decisive factor in cases of equal votes. A prefectural councillor may still keep his function when elected Quarter Chief; and later on, if by some reason, he resigns he may still keep the function of councillor. But if he no longer holds the office of councillor, he will not be entitled to keep the function of Quarter Chief.

Quarter Chiefs are not civil servants but they are entitled to monthly allowances<sup>4</sup> and are responsible for the administrative affairs of the quarter as assigned to him by the Prefect, and are assisted by an administrative personnel.

It is noticeable here that the Quarter Chief concurrently performs the function of a civil status officer under the supervision of the public prosecutor. The participation of a number of an elected Council in public administration raises the problem of influences affecting the efficiency of administrative activities. According to career administrative authorities (the Prefecture) the participation of a prefectural councillor in public administration as a Quarter Chief is not a good solution because he lacks administrative competency; it would be better to replace him by a civil servant.<sup>5</sup> On the

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<sup>3</sup>The majority of Prefecture quarter Chiefs are prefectural councillors. Ex.: The Chairman of the present Prefecture Council performs also the function of Chief of the First Quarter. Only the Second Quarter has no chief, and a civil servant of the Prefecture temporarily takes the place of the Prefecture councillor and Quarter Chief.

<sup>4</sup>The monthly entertainment allowance of a Councillor-Quarter Chief is 6,000 \$00 plus the allowance for Prefecture Council meetings which are VN\$200 per session. But the total of the latter allowances should not exceed VN\$5,000.00 a month.

<sup>5</sup>This problem has been solved accordingly to the Prefecture's proposal. Paragraph 25 S.L. number 74.TTP of 3-23-1959 about the organization of the Prefecture management stipulates that "a Quarter Chief is a civil servant appointed upon the President's proposal." At the same time, the authority of a Quarter Chief has been enlarged more than before (paragraph 27 paragraph 28 S.L. above cited).

contrary the Council's opinion<sup>6</sup> is that people in the quarters approve the appointment of councillors, whom they have elected to the post of quarter Chiefs; in their daily contact with the administration (such as requests for civil status certificates, census cards, family census cards, etc...) they like to be in touch with councillors rather than civil servants appointed quarter Chiefs.

The emoluments of Chairman of the Prefectural Council is VN\$ 10,000.00 a month but unlike his colleagues he is not entitled to the meetings allowances.

All Prefectural councillors who have been elected enjoy individual prestige. There are no political representatives in the Prefectural Council.

At present as their term has come to an end all the councillors have made a request for their resignation so that another election can be organized. But the Government has not yet made any decision about this.

#### Constitution of the Prefectural Council:

Government employees and Private employees		11 persons
Landowners		2 "
Liberal professions	) Pharmaceutist	1 "
	( Lawyer	1 "
Traders, industrialists		6 "
Total		21 persons

The average age of the Councillors is 50 years.

6 persons over 40 years old

3 persons over 60 years old

1 person over 30 years old

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<sup>6</sup>Ref.: The following opinion of Representative Tran van Ngan: "... I agree that a prefectural councillor may be a Quarter Chief. As he is elected by the people, so the people will be encouraged to come to him for administrative business when he is Quarter Chief. I think that this is a thing commonly accepted by the people for these many years..." (Report of the new people newspaper No. 170 of December 6 and 7 of 1959).

The rest are all over 50 years old.

## B. The Management of the Prefectural Council

The Prefectural Council is composed of the following organisms:

I. The Great Council which holds its regular sessions through the convocation of the Prefect fixed at the last month of every quarter.

The time limit of these regular sessions depends upon the agenda and the decision of the Council with the Prefect's agreement. Generally these sessions do not last more than 15 days.

Besides, there are extraordinary sessions, if requested by 2/3 of the councillors and upon convocation of the chairman. The Agenda of these sessions should also be approved before-hand by the Prefect.

In short, the regular sessions are always important and the most common ones.

The sufficient condition for a regular session to be valid is the attendance of 2/3 of the total number of councillors. The first session should group at least 2/3 of the total councillors who are present or their proxies. When the number of attendants is under 2/3 of the total number of councillors, a second session will be convened 3 days later. If after 2 consecutive convocations the number of attendants does not reach 2/3, a further session will be considered legal regardless of the number of attendants. (Paragraph 2 of the Internal Regulations).

The Council sessions include the following:

1. Official sessions;
2. Private sessions and
3. Special sessions to examine the accounting books of the Prefect.

1. Generally the sessions are official sessions. Representatives of the Press, and of various classes of the people may attend those sessions. The internal regulations of the Council (paragraph 3) have, purposely or unintentionally

limited if necessary the number of people, who may attend the Council sessions, when they use the phrase "representatives of various classes of the people." For, actually it doesn't mean that any citizen in the Prefecture may attend the Council's official sessions, but only a certain number of representatives of the people. But so far the people have always been allowed to attend those sessions.

2. On the contrary in case the majority of councillors present decided to call a private session to examine a special problem, the session will be held in private, and no representatives of the Press or the People are allowed to attend.

3. It is noticeable that to be valid and legal every session, official or private, should be held in the presence of the Prefect and his assistants.

Nevertheless, in special sessions held to examine the accounting books of the Prefect, the latter's presence of his assistants' is not a sufficient condition for the sessions to be legal.

## II. The Executive Board

(Paragraph 30, Edict No. 11, Paragraph 13 Internal Regulations).

In its session of the first quarter of the year, the Council will make an elective appointment of an executive board which comprises: a chairman, two deputy-chairmen and two secretaries.

In this opening session, the oldest councillor who is not a candidate to the Board, will preside over the session.

Every councillor has the right to elect, or to stand for a seat in the Board, including the absentees provided they should be represented by proxies (each councillor may represent only one absent). The candidate should state clearly what function he wants to perform in the Executive Board.

To be eligible, a candidate should poll the absolute majority of votes (based on the number of councillors present and those represented by proxies). If nobody gets the majority of votes in 2 consecutive rounds, then at a 3rd round, only a relative majority will be required. In case of equal votes, the oldest will be elected.

The function of the Executive Board is to maintain official relations with quarters Chiefs and Councillors on problems relating to the common welfare and interests in various quarters and the people in the Prefecture. In some cases it appeals to the Prefect to get him to consider various requests and to have them carried out quickly.

### III. Technical sub-committees

(Paragraph 29, Edict 29, number 11, Paragraphs 15-18 of Internal Regulations).

The Prefectural Council can, if need be, organize technical sub-committees responsible for the summary study of problems which will be submitted to the Council. (Paragraph 29 Edict No. 11).

The Prefecture Council has organized the 8 following technical sub-committees (in the Internal Regulations the word "committees" is used.)

1. The Administrative Committee
2. The Technical Committees
- 2.3. The Hygiene and Public Health Committee
- 2.4. The Social and Educational Committee
- 2.5. The Financial and Budgeting Committee
- 2.6. The Ceremonies and Relations Committee
- 2.7. The Material and Work Bidding Committee
- 2.8. The Claim and Denunciation Committee.

The 16th Paragraph of the Internal Regulations states clearly the responsibilities and authorities of the Technical Committees.

1. The Administrative Committee has the function to examine administrative problems, to report to the Standing Committee and the Secretariat of the Prefecture about the administration situation of various Services and Offices in the Prefecture, to suggest modifications or adjustments if need be.

## 2. The Technical Committees

2.3. The Public Health and Hygiene Committee is responsible for examining and reporting on the situation of Public Health and Hygiene in the Prefecture; it suggests modifications adjustments if need be.

2.4. The Social and Educational Committee has the function to examine the present social and educational situation in the Prefecture, seeking relative solutions, drafting suitable plans in view of improving the living conditions of, and bringing comfort to the people in the Prefecture, especially that of the working class; to make reports and to suggest modifications adjustments if necessary.

2.5. The Financial and Budgeting Committee is responsible for examining the financial situation of the Prefecture and making relative reports; it studies projects for the consolidation of the financial and budget situation of the Prefecture, and at the time it proposes the cancellation or a abatement of those taxes that are not logical or are unsuitable to the present situation, and will not affect seriously the Prefecture treasury. Besides this Committee still has the mission to look over the saving fund of the treasury.

2.6. The ceremonies and relations Committee is in charge of ceremonies, the reception of both home and foreign guests, who visit the Prefecture; maintaining the relations between the councillors themselves, and getting in touch with councillors of other cities to exchange experiences and to promote friendship.

2.7. The Material and Work Bidding Committee and its counterparts in various departments are responsible for biddings, supplying materials to the Prefecture; reception of assignments which have completed, pre-examination of bidding files to make relative suggestions and reports.

2.8. The Claim and Denunciation Committee, directly or indirectly, receive claims and denunciations made by people in the Prefecture; it studies, investigates those cases, then make relative reports, and proposes suitable solutions.

Each committee includes a chairman and two commissioners, who are all councillors assigned by the Prefecture Council. The Committees can also ask the Prefect to assign more technical personnel from the Prefecture to act as advisors to the various committees.

The term of these committees is identical to that of the Executive Board.

In the discharge of their duties, the commissioners can, while examining activities of the Prefecture, ask the Prefect and his assistants to afford them every facility for examining various activities of the services and offices of the Prefecture.

However, in view of defining the authority of the committees, the Representative of the Government has, when approving the Internal Regulations, made the following notice: "The technical committees can only study various problems chosen, get necessary information about them, but they are not empowered to control the work of the Services and Offices of the Prefecture."

Though the above definition does curtail the authority of the committees, it has nevertheless been able to define clearly the responsibilities of various administrative and technical Services and Offices of the Prefecture; and as far as organization and management are concerned, the Committees are responsible only for the study of, and decisions on, the activities and policy of those organizations. To empower the Committees to control the activities of the Services and Offices is to dismember the above-mentioned responsibilities, which will lead easily to irresponsibility and will affect the coordination of activities of the Prefecture agencies. On any level (central or local) the system of vesting a sub-committee with both management and control always constitutes a heavy task for it and often involves time lags, both in decisions and execution.

#### IV. The Standing Committee

(Paragraph 28, Edict No. 11, Paragraphs 19-25 internal regulations).

Between the regular sessions the work is continually done by the Standing Committee, which is assigned by the Prefectural Council.

The term of this Committee is 3 months (from the end of a regular session to the following regular session). Members of this Committee can always be re-elected.

The standing committee includes:

- A chairman, 8 members and a secretary.

- a) The Standing Committee Chairman is chosen among the chairmen or Deputy Chairmen of the Council;
- b) The members are chosen among the chiefs or representatives of the technical committees;
- c) The Standing Committee Secretary is chosen among the secretaries of the Executive Board.

Attributions. The Executive Board is appointed to:

a) Decide on activities of the Prefecture provided by paragraph 37, Edict 11 - that is projects that may be passed by the Council (but under the condition that those projects should not cost more than VN\$500,000.00 each) such as the purchase and sale of real estates, receptions; donations; reception and granting of legacies; budget, taxation, loans, signing contracts of works, etc...

b) Care for the execution of the Prefecture decisions. The part played by the Executive Board being one of administrative guardianship, the decisions of the Prefecture Council are classified as follows:

- 1) Decisions that are carried into effect only after being approved by a Presidential Decree based on the favorable opinion of the Departments concerned.
- 2) Decisions that are carried out only after the Governor's approval (the Secretary of State for the Interior).
- 3) Decisions that are automatically carried into effect and automatically approved (1 month after being submitted to the Presidency).

The control of the Supervisory agency aims at cancelling:

1. Decisions taken outside legal sessions, which run against the regulations;
2. Decisions running against present laws or good customs and habits.
3. Decisions on problems out falling within the competency of the Council.

c) The Standing Committee still has the responsibility of studying beforehand problems that will be discussed in the next session of the Council.

d) To report on the activities of the Committee to the Council at the beginning of each session.

The Standing Committee meets once every week.

The agenda as well as the time limit will be fixed by the chairman and approved by the Prefect.

#### V. The work procedure of the Council

The Prefecture Council chairman assumes the maintenance of order for every session (Paragraph 35 Edict 11).

The chairman leads the discussion as referee. If he wants to participate in the discussion, he should give up the chairmanship to a vice-chairman during that time.

Those of the councillors who want to give their opinion on any matter, should enlist their names before taking the floor and afterwards the speakers will raise their voice one after another (paragraph 9 internal regulations).

All the discussions as well as the time and date of the discussions are orderly recorded in a book paged and signed, in which councillors must sign. If they don't, they will have to mention the reason of the abstention.

Besides, along with the book recording all the discussions of the Council as well as those of the Standing Committee, the Secretary of the Executive Board has to draw up a minute of all the decisions taken during the sessions. These decisions will be valid only after they have been re-read and approved. Within 8 days after, it should be submitted to the Prefect and councillors. The minutes should bear the signatures of the Chairman and the Secretary of the Executive Board.

When the Prefecture wants to submit to the Government or to communicate to the people any proposals, or the decisions, or communiques it should have to do it through the intermediary of the Prefect.

The Executive Board will have the responsibility to follow up this work to the end then to report its result.

Those decisions which are not approved will be discussed again. As for other discussions, the Executive Board will have the responsibility to follow them up as stated above.

## VI. Fixing the agenda of the Prefecture sessions

Practically and generally a month before the session, the Prefecture Chairman will request the councillors to let him know problems to be discussed in the regular sessions. Relying on the councillors' proposals, the Chairman will draft an agenda after having talked with the Prefect and got his approval<sup>7</sup>.

Here it is to be stressed that once a councillor wishes to have any problems inscribed in the agenda, he should study thoroughly the problems before, should have full documents and attach to his proposal all the files concerned.

### § 2. REGIME OF EDICT No. 74-TTP on 3-23-1959

A. As regards the Prefecture Organization, the new regime is different from the regime of the Edict 11 in the following points:

1. The term member of the Prefecture Council is used to replace representative.

2. The members are elected through the Direct Universal suffrage, and the quarter is the vote unit. Each quarter regardless of its population can elect three members.

So, the number of members has been fixed and reduced, compared with the old regime which allowed five members for each quarter.

3. The Council election procedure will be fixed by a separate decree.

At present that procedure is still unknown. In brief, there are no important fundamental changes. However, the most important change is the one on the attributions and the management of the Council.

B. Attributions. We notice that the Council is now only an advisory agency. Paragraph 17 of the above Decree states: "The Council may act as consultant on certain

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<sup>7</sup>Theoretically it is just the other way round "The Prefecture Council holds its session... according to the Prefect's convocation, as is fixed in the agenda approved by the Chairman of the Prefecture Council." (Paragraph 27 Edict 11 on 5-30-1954.)

problems.<sup>8</sup> The power of the Council has been much reduced, at the same time the field of activities of the executive committee has been enlarged; this committee is composed of government nominated civil servants, and is headed by the Prefect who belongs to the Central administrative machinery and is nominated by the President.

Consequently, according to the New System the participation of the people in the management of the Prefecture is limited to the minimum.

Formerly, though the Council had not much power, it had nevertheless the right to vote - naturally limited by the supervision and careful control of the Administrative authorities (Prefect, the Department of Interior, the Presidency).

Besides the new Decree does not state clearly the value of opinions raised by the Council, and moreover, it obliges the Council to give its opinion within a limited date. Article 18 of the Decree provides that "on the close of the session, all problems that have not been discussed by the Council, will be considered as approved by the Council."

Finally other authorities of the Council such as raising and proclaiming or submitting to an authority other than the Prefect aspirations and proposals which possess no political character<sup>9</sup> remain unchanged.

C. It is the very limitation of authority of the Council as said above that has brought some changes in the management of the Council.

1. First of all, the sessions of the Council are reduced; at the present time the regular session is turned into semestrial, instead of trimestrial session.

2. Extraordinary sessions will be called at the Prefect's request.

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<sup>8</sup>Principal budget and complementary budget  
Various taxes and allowances  
Bonds  
Purchase and sale of properties of the Prefecture  
Boundary changes of the Prefecture and different quarters  
Other problems which according to the Prefect, need the Council's opinion.

<sup>9</sup>Decree 74-TTP uses the words "aspirations for, or proposals on, various problems bearing on the interests of the Prefecture."

3. The agenda of the session and the convocation of the Council will be taken care of by the Chairman of the Council and approved by the Prefect. In practice this point remains unchanged.

4. The presence of the Prefect or his representative is always a necessary condition for a session to be legal.

5. As compared with the regime of Edict 11, the agencies of the Council have been reduced. The Council retains only the right to organize the Executive Board and the Great Session. The Standing Committee and the technical subcommittees no longer exist.

Details on this new management procedure of the Council will be fixed by the internal regulations which will be approved by the Secretary of State for Interior. In general, the new internal regulations on meeting procedures and activities of the Council would not be much different from the present Internal Regulations.

## CHAPTER 5

### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREFECTURAL GOVERNMENT

#### AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

(The administrative trusteeship of regional

administrative units)

To control and guide the activities of regional administrative units is one of the main attributions of the Administration. The principles of controlling and supervising the regional units are closely related to the Constitution. For the common interests the state should have an effective administration. When certain powers of the state are handed to local authorities, there is what is called deconcentration of powers. Those civil servants are always under the direct supervision of their superiors, and their decisions may often be rejected by their superiors, who have larger powers.

On the contrary, trusteeship is completely different.

When the state reserves the power of decision to an independent individual who is not under any system of control and when the decisions of the individual are carried out on behalf of an organization called the state, then it opens the way to state trusteeship.

Regional administrative units are not wholly independent ones. They receive powers from the state and operate within the limits prescribed by higher authorities. In other cases another principle is applied, which is decentralization of powers. Decentralization and trusteeship always walk side by side with each other.

So trusteeship may be defined as follows:

"Trusteeship covers all the limited power reserved by the law to a superior authority in regard to decentralized agencies and also their behavior, with the purpose of protecting public interests." (Maspétiol and Laroque, La tutelle administrative. Sirey Vol. 1, p. 10, Brian Chapman excerpted from "L'Administration locale en France, Armand Colin 1955, page 133.)

There are many kinds of trusteeships: political trusteeship and financial trusteeship.

#### Administrative and political trusteeship

Here are the two aspects of trusteeship: trusteeship of the personnel of decentralized units and trusteeship of their decisions.

##### A. Trusteeship of personnel.

The Administrative Trusteeship of Prefecture councillors is subject to the Regime of the New Decree No. 74-TTP of 3-23-1959, which is the basic document on the problem. The authorities may complain if there are cases of violation of the election law. Moreover there are clauses of administrative trusteeship bearing directly on Prefecture councillors.

a) As regards individual Prefecture councillors, the President can, upon the Prefect's proposal and in any of the three following cases, sign an arrêté to put an end to their mandates:

1. A councillor may be disqualified even after being elected, if there are evidences of his having violated election laws, or of his concurrently performing various functions;

2. Absence during three consecutive sessions, plenary or extraordinary sessions, and for which no good excuse can be given;

3. Refusal to carry out assignments.

- b) As regards the whole Council Body, the dissolution of the Council is determined by Ordinance No. II - in case all or the majority of Councillors commit serious mistakes or cause great disorder inside the Council or voluntarily hinder the management of Prefecture affairs, the President will sign an arrêté to dissolve the Council and at the same time assign an administrative committee to assist the Prefect in the prefecture management, as well as emergencies. The Council will be re-elected within two months after the dissolution. The New Regime does not fix the dissolution of the Council. The Administrative trusteeship is only applied separately to each councillor. The reason is that the authority of the Council is now greatly limited and the Council remains only an advisory body.

B. Trusteeship of decisions and votes of the Council.

(Regime of Ordinance No. 11)

All the decisions of the Council took some time to be submitted to the Prefect in spite of their importance or their urgent execution. This time limit was necessary for the Administration to study the mistakes and to control the legality of the decisions. (There are attributions which fall without the competency of the Council, there are others which run against the laws being in force, etc.)

All decisions similar to those above are illegal. This is only a very brief summary of the form of the second trusteeship, which is no longer applied now because the Prefecture Council has lost its character of an elected Council possessing the right of vote and decision.

Due to the Council being an advisory Council, the administrative budgetary trusteeship no more exists.

In brief, the present regime is a strong concentration system. All decisions are controlled by the Central Administration. Decentralization is only weakly represented by an elected Prefecture Council vested with very little authority.





The relationship between the Prefecture Administration and the Central Administration is not different from that of between the Province Administration and the Central Administration. It may be said that on the whole, the Prefecture is like a big province within the National Government.

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## CHAPTER 6

### ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

The administrative structure of Saigon City's government is prescribed by regulations of the Prefect under the provisions of Decree No. 74-TTP dated March 23, 1959 setting forth the structure and function of Saigon Prefecture, which said "the Prefect directs all the municipal public offices." The most important responsibility of the Prefect is in fact the general functioning of all municipal agencies.

The administrative establishment is organized hierarchically. It is equivalent organizationally to a department in the central government. The primary subdivisions are designated as directorate, service which consists of bureau and sections. These units are prescribed by the Prefect's arrêté defining the organization of the prefectural offices. The Saigon Prefecture has one Directorate of Police, four services designated as follows: Personnel and Administrative Service, Service of Finance, Technical Service, and Public Sanitation Service. Different offices provide secretariat services for the Prefect: the two Deputy Prefects and the Municipal Council. In addition, we have two special agencies: the Low-cost Housing office and the Savings Banks.

The bulk of municipal administration is carried on by the Services Administration of city-wide municipal functions which is facilitated by some decentralization of operations. Separate systems of area branch offices are maintained by the Technical Service and Sanitation Service for the performance of their respective functions. (Technical Bureau at Cholon.) The municipality's chief executive is of course the Prefect. This legal structure is shown in the organization chart on page 43A. He exercises immediate control over the city government's administration. This leadership embraces both policy direction and administrative supervision. (For more details see chapter III on the legal status of the Prefecture.)

## CHAPTER 7

## PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

In Saigon, as in other cities, the effectiveness of municipal administration is dependent in large part on the quality of its officials.

The Municipality has its own personnel, numbering 7,591 officials and employees. The personnel systems resembling that of the national government is based on status system.

Personnel controls are highly centralized. These are administered through a hierarchy of Personnel Service at different levels: the Personnel and Administrative Service of the City, and the Directorate General of Fonction Publique of the Central Government.

Within the City government, the Bureau of Personnel administers internal personnel functions, under the supervision of the Prefect. The scope of its authority, however, is variously limited. It is subordinate to the Directorate of Fonction Publique. The latter Directorate controls recruitment, promotions and other personnel actions for the regular municipal personnel bureaus.

The municipal service is composed of several categories of administrative officials:

1. Personnel of national cadre working at the Prefecture;
2. Personnel of special cadre of the municipality (fire department and auxiliary cadre);
3. Personnel of policy (regular and non-cadre personnel);
4. Non-cadre personnel. This large group of employees consists mainly of personnel hired on the basis of a working contract, daily and temporary personnel.

At present the Saigon Municipality has 5,760 police personnel, 586 teachers, 192 personnel of fire department, and 1,053 administrative and special personnel.

The chart on page 43A shows the distribution of municipality personnel by division. The Municipality's authority over personnel administration varies for each of these categories. Recruitment, promotion and other matters involving the personnel are largely controlled by the central government (Directorate General of Fonction Publique). Besides daily personnel recruited by the municipality there is regular personnel paid by the municipal and national budgets.

All recruitment and nomination of personnel should be in conformity with prescribed procedures, and depend on the decision of the General Directorate of Fonction Publique (as the number of personnel to be recruited). Despite the fact that the municipal budget has funds to pay its personnel, the recruitment of personnel should wait for the Fonction Publique's approval. Only in case the Fonction Publique does not have available personnel, is the municipality entitled to recruit its personnel by itself (daily personnel) but it should also undergo several other controls.

A most concrete example can be found right in the recruitment of schoolmasters for grade 5 of the school year 1958-59, when the number of applicants to that grade reached 21,500.

The recruitment had to depend on the decisions of the Department and Fonction Publique and that has created much delay. In the session of January 5, 1959 (regular meeting for the fourth quarter of 1958) for the vote of municipal budget for the Service of elementary education, the Chief of Service made the following remark, "Last year's budget planned to provide us with a number of personnel to fill vacant places, but the Directorate has not met our need of personnel although their salary was planned to be paid by the municipality...."

The Prefect also recognized the above-mentioned difficulty: "We needed 20 teachers, but owing to several administrative procedures there was delay and again we had to wait for the Department's nomination although their salary was planned to be paid by the municipality." (Minutes of Saigon Municipal Council's regular session of December 22, 1958, page 99.)

Specific problems on personnel of different municipal services will be discussed more extensively in other chapters. In this chapter only a brief general aspect of the personnel administration is presented.

TABLE \_\_\_\_\_

## LIST OF PERSONNEL OF

## SAIGON PREFECTURE SERVICES IN 1959

Services	Number of Personnel			Total	Notice
	Regular	Daily	Contractual and assimilated		
The Prefect's office	14	9	-	23	
Administrative Service of the municipality	108	102	-	210	
Service of information	-	-	-	-	
Service of finance Accounting Bureau	25	17	-	42	
Service of finance Bureau of receipts and regies	70	108	-	178	
Service of plantation	6	13	-	19	
Veterinary Service	16	6	-	22	
Service of elementary education	441	145	-	586	
Sports, Gymnastics and Youth	-	-	-	-	
Municipal Police	2,089	3,671	-	5,760	
Fire Department	185	7	-	192	
Service of techniques	58	94	3	155	
Municipal workshop	11	150	-	161	
Sanitary service	40	49	3	92	
Hospital	67	75	9	151	
Total	3,130	4,446	15	7,591	

Source: Municipal budget 1959 Fiscal Year.

## CHAPTER 8

## Organization and Operations of

## Public Services

I. Protective Services.

Protection of life and property is one of the principle functions of local government. In Saigon, two agencies are primarily concerned with providing the essential protective services for the city's residents. The Police Department and the Finance Department are responsible for the traditional functions of law improvement and fire fighting.

Police Department

The Police Department is the City's chief law enforcement agency. As such, it is charged with preserving the public peace, preventing and detecting crime, policing the streets and aiding in the administration and enforcement, within the City, of state laws. In order to carry out these responsibilities, it must train, equip, maintain, supervise and discipline the Saigon City Police. (1)

Organization of the DepartmentDirectorate of Prefectural Police

Brief organizational history.

Organizational documents:

1) Decree No. 60-Arr. Min. SP/Pers of November 29-1951 fixing the organization of the Directorate General of Police and Security and all national police offices dealing with foreign residents.

2) Official order No. II of May 30-1954.

3) Ordinance No. 74-TTP of March 23-1959(Art 6).

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(1) In 1958, the Police Department had 5,335 full-time personnel.

The Municipal police is an organ of the police and Security detached to serve under the Prefect, it is administratively under the authority of the Prefect, and technically supervised by the General Director of the National Police and Security; the Municipal Budget will support all of its expenses and furnish all facilities for its operations.

Formerly the Directorate was considered as the police headquarters including 3 districts in Saigon area and 2 districts in Cholon area (1933)

In 1941 there was established the new district 6.

In 1946 there was established the new district 7.

In 1954 there was established a traffic police office.

Besides, within the area of a district, there have been established at populous sectors locating in suburbs, many police stations (each district often has at least 3 police stations)

The Director General of Police of the municipality appointed by presidential decree repair the proposal of the Department of Interior (article 4 of ordinance No. II) is put under the direct supervision of the Prefect, but technically the Director can contact directly the General Directorate of the national police and security. (1)

This Directorate is organically composed of Central offices and Police Precincts established within administrative districts in the municipality. The Central office where are centralized all bureaus in charge of administrative, accounting affairs, personnel and material etc... is put under the supervision of a General Secretary assistant to the Director General of Police. As the Central office is to control and coordinate the activities of all the districts, so an operational bureau has been established with a view to mobilizing patrol cards mounting guard at the Directorate, running the emergency police force, the shock section for immediate action in emergencies. There is also established at the Central office a "Permanent bureau" which is to maintain a permanent in contact with mobile patrol troops day and night, in all sectors of the municipality.

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(1) Ordinance No. 74-TTP of March 23-59 reorganizing the management of Saigon Municipality bears no modification as to this point (see Article 6 of the ordinance).

As far as Security is concerned, it is established at the central office as an "Intelligence bureau" (to follow up, collect information minor offenses, or political activities affecting public security) which is a center coordinating all activities of the personnel in charge of investigation activities serving at police districts (those people often belong to Judicial bureaus of districts).

#### Organization at Districts:

The Municipality has 7 administrative districts and then is also established at each district a Police Precinct which is in charge of the security, order within the limits of the districts. (1)

At the head of each District there is a Chief of Police who is assisted by 2 Deputies Chief of Police. The organization of Districts is based on a unique standard according to which there are the following bureaus: Administrative, Judicial, Operational bureaus. The functions of each bureau are determined accordingly to its name, the administrative bureau is in charge of all administrative affairs, the Judicial bureau is in charge of maintaining contact with Justice Courts, of establishing relative documents etc... Besides the Judicial bureau gets the service of a number of police constables operating within the limits of the District. In reality, this work is not important and only takes an average of 20% of the amount of work of the whole district; so it is not necessary to set up a particular bureau in charge of it. Finally the district operational bureau is engaged in the same activities as the Operational Bureau.

#### Police Traffic Service:

As regards the traffic in the Municipality, due to the increasing traffic volume, which is the result of the ever increasing number of vehicles, specially cars, motor-bikes, motor-bicycles... in short, all vehicles equipped with motors, there was established in the municipality since 1953 a Police service specializing in traffic matters, which name of "Police Traffic Service".

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- (1) Decree No. 110-NV of March 27-1959 reorganizes the limits of all districts, establishes the new District 8. The limits of police Precincts have also been changed accordingly to the limits fixed for administrative districts.

This service is to centralize, study all traffic matters. In the Police Precinct in the municipality there are also established several traffic teams to take charge of the traffic within the limits of the Districts. The Police traffic service is a central office which coordinates all activities said above.

#### Police Precincts of Gia Dinh and Tan Binh:

As far as security is concerned, the limits of the province of Gia Dinh, like those of the chief town of Tan Binh District are very important to the municipality. So, the Directorate of Police of the Municipality must enlarge its sphere of action over the above-mentioned provinces, by establishing 2 additional police precincts at the 2 sectors said above.

The personnel of these 2 districts are people who have been trained and specially assigned by the Municipality to these 2 districts in order to direct technical activities of the districts. Administratively they are at the disposal of the local authorities and their salaries are also paid by the local budget.

#### Patrol on the River of Saigon:

This operation does not fall within the competency of the Police of the Municipality, but rather with competence of the "Harbour Police", which is under the direct supervision of the Directorate General of Police and Security.

#### Liaison and Communication:

The "Permanent bureau" presently established at the Central office, is to centralize the system of communication between the districts and the Central office.

Each district has its own telephone and radio through which it maintains permanent contact with the Directorate. Besides, there are mobile radio cars which patrolling in the municipality and reporting to the Central office, which follow up the activities of these mobile cars in order to intervene or give emergency help in time. Each day there are 3 cars patrolling in the Saigon area and 2 other cars in Cholon area.

A project is now under study, with the technical aid of MSU, to establish an "operational center" with more modern equipments to replace the present permanent bureau. For, at the present time the system of communication of the Directorate and the Districts are inadequate and specially are not uniform, and the radio sets are of different kind and use different "frequencies".

At the cross-roads, where there are traffic lights, there are also telephones to call directly all districts as well as the Directorate in order to get emergency help in time. Not only the police personnel but also the population may use these telephones.

### The Personnel:

Recruitment of personnel. The present conditions for the recruitment (primary education 1m,58 high, priority for veterans) are not strict; so it is impossible to recruit very able elements, specially those who have a satisfactory educational background. So in practice, while recruitment its personnel, the Directorate has proved to be very careful. However, very often in the case of demobilized soldiers, they must be taken if they can answer the minima conditions required by the Directorate (conditions that the Directorate considers to be too easy).

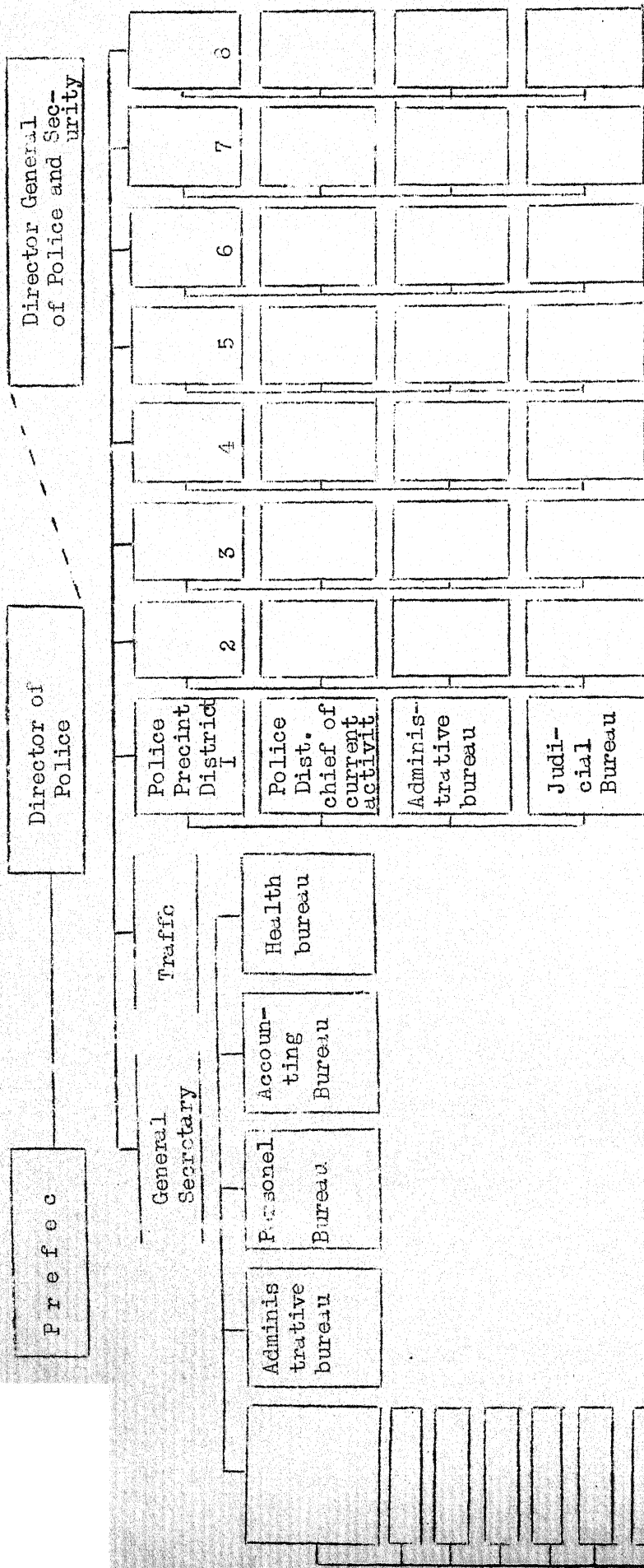
### Situation of the present personnel:

Part of the present personnel was recruited since 1945-50 in an unruly way, that is to say not carefully selected. Now though they are not able men but they have made no blunder for which to dismiss them. So the Directorate of Police is almost in a deadlock with the number of personnel said above. And this has given birth to the urgent problem of in-service training. The Police and Security training center of the Directorate General of Police and Security at Rach Dua (Vung Tau) has given several in-service training courses to a number of Police agents of the Municipality.

As regards the newly recruited personnel, they must now attend a training course before being assigned.

The Directorate of Police of the Municipality has particularly organized a police training school, the objective of which is to formable police agents.

ORGANISATION CHART OF THE DIRECTORATE OF POLICE OF THE MUNICIPALITY



The training program lasts 3 months ( 2 months of theoretical studies, and one month of practical studies). The theoretical part is on the duties of the police agent, and on common traffic regulations, etc... The practical part is composed of physical training, shooting lessons, basic military drill, and the practice of all theoretical studies.

After the training is over, a new police agent must always work together with a veteran police agent for at least 6 months in order to be well acquainted with his job.

#### Training:

Besides the training center, the Directorate of Police of the municipality has also organized a permanent training program for police agents. All police agents must go back to the training school to practice on physical training, and on swimming at least once a week. Besides they must also in turns practice on shooting and using all kind of arms at the shooting ground of the Directorate (at Binh Thoi near Saigon).

To encourage its personnel, the Directorate often organizes shooting matches between different districts in the municipality.

But this only concerns the line personnel. For the executive personnel the technical training and recruitment of personnel are the most important problems of the Directorate at the present time. At the Center of Rach Dua there are only the training, and in service training courses for line personnel. So due attention should be given to the in-service-training as well as training of executive personnel and specially of the middle level personnel.

#### Composition of personnel:

The total number of police agents of the Municipality at the present time (December 1958) is 5,335 persons divided as follows:

1,822 - Police and Security regular personnel

43 - Personnel of other cadres

2,785 - Daily paid personnel

- 85 - Police women
- 33 - Agent
- 576 - Special personnel detached to different police districts outside the municipality (Tan Binh, Gia Dinh) and National Assembly and guards at other offices as well as private houses of government's officers.

The situation of the special envoy personnel is irregular and has particularly reduced an important number of personnel of the Directorate. These men are assigned to positions that do not suit their training. Moreover the building guard belongs to the Civil Guard created for that purpose. This is a problem bearing on the organization, which needs to be solved at once.

#### Cooperation with the Directorate General:

The Prefectural Police is now considered a separate organ of Police and Security at the disposal of the Prefect. Its agents enjoy the same status as that of the Security ones.

Administratively speaking the Prefectural Police is under the authority of the Prefect.

But it is technically affiliated to the Directorate General of National Police and Security.

And in the meantime the Prefecture covers all the expenditures on personnel and provides means of activities.

So if we place ourselves in the place of the Director of the Prefectural Police, we will find that he's caught between two chiefs.

The problem is to divide the influence between the two leading powers so as to avoid overlaps.

This relation brings a great influence upon the coordination of work of the Directorate of Police. Very often the Directorate of Police receives at the same time two similar assignments from both the Prefecture and the Directorate General

requesting a solution; or of the same work, it receives two orders from them.

Though in principle there is a clear separation of activities fields, there are frequently quite in practice clashes of power between the two leading authorities.

One example on the use of personnel: the Directorate General has signed orders of personnel transfer without the Prefecture being consulted on it. At the present time there is a certain number of policemen transferred from the Prefecture to the Directorate General, who continue to be paid by the Prefecture. Here we realize that the Directorate considers itself the Central Agency having absolute power on the police personnel.

In practice, however, the Director of Police as a police officer at the disposal of the Directorate General, could not go against his superior's orders.

In brief, from the relation between the Directorate of Police and its two Administrative and Technical leaders has given rise to the problem of coordinating and determining authorities which is very important to the management of work.

At the same time, an energetic arbitration from superior authorities is necessary. In the daily exercise of authority, there is practically no arbitration, but generally, between the two leading men, the "stronger" one that is the one who wins the confidence of superior authorities will get the upper hand on the other, who will voluntarily yield up.

#### FIRE DEPARTMENT (1)

In 1958 during the dry season (from January to April) there were 260 fires within the city area (24 of them were cottages) and one can say that there were approximately two fires a day that the Fire Department had to put out.<sup>(1)</sup> There are in addition other emergencies (also falling within the fire department's duty) such as rescue to drowned persons, those falling into wells, house collapses,

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(1) Fund for Fire Department in 1958 fiscal year amounts to 14,497,000\$00.

and trees torn down. (1)

All the above mentioned responsibilities fall within the Fire Department's duty, one of the public technical offices.

#### Organization of the Department

The Fire Department is divided into 2 stations: the central station whose headquarters is located on Tran Hung Dao street Saigon, the other is located at Xom Cui (Cholon).

With a personnel of 145 persons the central stations is the most important one while station II has only 46 persons. Station II operates only within the Cholon area that is to say in districts 4 and 7 and also takes care of small fires. In case of conflagrations there will be reinforcement from the Central Station.

Years	Fire extinguishment	Rescue
1954	221 fires ( 29 cottages)	213
1955	346 (47 cottages)	212
1956	323 (34 cottages)	183
1957	282 (39 cottages)	166
1958	260 (24 cottages)	188

(Fire Department's data)

#### Organization of each station:

Except a number of personnel in charge of secretarial work (administration, personnel, accounting) all of the other members are specialized personnel. The latter is organized into groups and squads for quick intervention in emergencies. The personnel is composed of commanding members who are

(1) See following table showing the Fire Department's activities up to December 15, 1968.

officers and subordinates, who include non-commissioned officers, firemen, mechanics and drivers. All the above mentioned personnel constitutes the "fire brigade, " whose status is defined separately by Arrête No. 910-NV of September 10, 1954.

The present total of personnel in these two stations is divided as follows:

Officers	7
Non-commissioned officers	47
Firemen	88
Drivers	40
Mechanics	1
Clerks and telephone operators	8

#### Fire equipment

By now the Fire department has a rather important number of equipments which are enough effective to meet the present needs. However, these appliances as well as most of mechanical or technical ones, all are of various types and of old patterns. And therefore it is difficult to find spare parts when repairing.

Fire appliances include:

- 13 pumping trucks
- 8 tank trucks
- 8 pumps (each pump turns out from 30 to 40 cubic meters per hour)
- 1 car of anti-fire liquid (to extinguish fire caused by gasoline)
- 1 ladder-truck (30m in length)
- 2 first aid cars
- 1 truck for earth removing and clearing of torn down trees and collapsed houses...

- 2 trucks carrying water pipe
- 7 jeeps
- 7 radio sets
- 21,000m of hose of 110,70 and 45mm in calibre.

#### Water for Fire Fighting:

At present the city has 454 hydrants for fire extinction and 30 layne wells. The problem encountered in fire extinction is the lack of water particularly in the thatched-house areas. Usually the Water and Electricity Company locks all hydrants during night-time. Whenever there is fire one should wait for a while to unlock these hydrants. Therefore Fire Department should always have available tank trucks for immediate use while awaiting for water from hydrants. The existing number of tank trucks is inadequate. The present need in appliances is to have at once more tank trucks.

#### Sending a Fire Alarm and Responding to Fire Alarms:

When emergency warning (fire or accident needing rescue) is reserved at headquarters through direct telephone (No. 18) or through Police, the station will be alerted at once. The standing squad No. 1 is dispatched immediately for the rescue. The interval between the reception of warning and the departure of the 1st dispatch lasts only about a half of minute.

The first dispatch includes 14 cars including 4 jeeps, 6 pumping trucks and 4 tank trucks. This unit is always in radio contact with the Central Station.

Meanwhile at the station the second and third dispatches whose composition are similar to the first one are ready to rush to the spot if necessary. In case additional reinforcement is needed the first dispatch's commander is in charge of studying on the arrangement spot then gives direct orders to reinforcement units to rush to the specified places.

The third dispatch is only necessary in case of conflagration.

### Training Firemen

The fire department's personnel always stays at the station. Houses are provided to them and their families. They are to work permanently 4 days and 4 nights a week and one whole day of leave is allowed.

In addition to the daily occupation of each person (drivers care for the cars and trucks; mechanics in charge of repairing worn out vehicles ...) all the personnel should undergo technical training two days a week (watching the running of pump, drilling in hose unwinding, and practicing physical exercises).

### Fire Prevention and Education:

At crowded areas, particularly the laboring and thatched house quarters liable to fire outburst, a movement of positive participation of the people in fire preservation was launched since 1950. Fire preservation groups and watching towers were established at those areas. People over there set to those groups, and day and night watching shifts particularly during the dry season in order to raise alarm and to organize immediate help to fight fires while awaiting for the Fire Department's reinforcement.

The Fire department particularly encourages this self-protection movement and contributes effectively to the propaganda for fire preservation.

This agency provides the fire preservation groups with necessary tools such as ladder, pump, long handled sickles, axes and chemical extinguishers and particularly sends personnel to teach the people methods of fire preservation and extinction.

At present various districts establish fire preservation groups and watching towers which are distributed as follows:

District	No. of fire preservation groups	No. of watching towers
II	7	4
III	8	7
IV	13	4
V	14	4
VI	41	4
VII	8	4

## II. Public Health Services

Municipal health services are carried out by two services of the Municipality : the Public Sanitation Service and the Veterinary Service.

The Public Sanitation Service has two principal functions: First it protects the public health by enforcing regulations pertaining to public health. Second it operates health facilities such as hospitals, health centers, dispensaries, and conducts programs in health education.

The Veterinary Service are responsible for rabies control and especially sanitary inspections of food in the markets of the City.

### Organization of the Public Sanitation Service:

The Public Sanitation Service of the Prefecture established since 1932 and re-organized lately in 1954<sup>(1)</sup> is under the supervision of a doctor and composed of the following related bureaus, services and offices:

- a. Health Bureau (headed by a doctor)
- b. Administrative Bureau (headed by a Tham Su) and Public Hygiene Control Section., Road Sweeping Service, Disinfecting Service, Service of Cemetery, take charge of work the names of which the above-mentioned sections bear.

(1) Decree 5762 of December 26, 1932 and Decree 599-YT of April 28, 1954.

- c. International sanitary police bureau on sea and air.
- d. Bureau of Hygiene of Cholon.
- e. And finally are Health services including 2 hospitals<sup>(1)</sup>  
4 dispensaries, 2 maternity hospitals, 17 dispensaries<sup>(2)</sup>  
and 3 health bureaus for schools.

#### A. Public hygiene activities

These activities include the control of Hygiene and maintenance of public hygiene.

1. The control of Hygiene consists mostly of investigation of applications for construction, and reparation of houses conforming with hygienic regulations, control hygienic conditions of schools, public, trade, industry offices etc... Besides there is another work not less important in this domain which is the clearing of dirty areas ( to remove houses which have been built up illegally on sidewalks, public lands, without observing regulations pertaining to public health).

#### B. Activities of International Health Police

The International air and maritime sanitary police service is in charge of controlling boats and planes on their arrival in order to prevent epidemic and contagious diseases which the visitors may bring to the country.

C. Among activities falling within the domain of public hygiene is the management of more than twenty prefectoral public cemeteries.

#### D. Health Activities

##### Prophylactic measures

1. The principal work in the year is to give preventive injections or inoculations to people to avoid such diseases as: cholera, small-pox, influenza etc.....<sup>(3)</sup>

- 
- (1) Emergency hospital of Saigon and hospital of Bac Ha.
  - (2) Activities of hospitals and dispensaries.
  - (3) The number of people inoculated against small-pox in 1957 amounted to 1.108.753. (documents: annual report of Prefectural Health Service). The number of people inoculated against cholera for the same year was 700.553.

2. Besides, the Health branch is also in charge of health development, the management and functioning of a number of Health services (1) in order to take care of the health of the people (to provide the medical examinations and for distributions of medicines). With the above mentioned health services scattered here and there, we may say that at an average of 2 square kilometers and a half there is a hospital or dispensary in order to satisfy the medical needs of people (2) not including the two strolling ambulance cars for the distribution of medicines, one operating in Saigon and the other in populous sectors of Cholon, and 2 other cars of the Red Cross Association, which are also in operation in suburbs. (3)

3. Prophylaxy and treatment of venereal diseases. In a prosperous and animated city like the capital of the country and with many places for entertainment like Saigon, this work becomes very important and necessary. Presently the Prefecture has 2 services responsible for the work said above, which are the dermatologic venereal disease bureaus located at Saigon hospital and hospital of Bac Ha, Ho Xuan Huong street (4). The Hospital of Bac Ha is in charge of the custody and treatment of diseased prostitutes in order to stop the expansion of diseases to other persons, while the dermatologic venereal disease bureau operating on a smaller scale also prevents and treats diseases.

4. As regards infant health the Service of Hygiene is only in charge of technical controlling (specially private maternity hospitals, but does not directly take an active part in infant-health protection.

5. Finally, the Service of Hygiene is also in charge of disseminating the public hygiene education program. In populous sectors there have been established many committees of Hygiene to cooperate with the Service of Hygiene in such operations as rubbish shooting and ditch sweeping. Like other services,

(1) See table \_\_\_\_\_ on page 63

(2) According to the 1958 figure given by the Prefecture the total number of patients treated at hospitals and dispensaries was 453,448 persons, while the number of medical examinations was 1,472,475.

(3) Each month there is an average of 3,000 needy persons who are given free medical examinations and medicines.

(4) From 1-1-1959 these two hospitals were left to the management of the Department of Public Health.  
.... Document: Report of the Prefecture made to the Prefectural commission during the regular trimestrial meeting of 1958.

the main difficulties of the Service of Hygiene are:  
 (1) a shortage of specialized personnel (lack of physicians, nurses, and quite often the nurses are far from being skilled), and (2) a too strict observation of regulations; a lack of flexible procedures which give rise to too many difficulties encountered in the work. The most concrete example is the shortage of medicines which is due to the ineffective organization of supply of medicines. The Budget has estimated a necessary fund for the purchase of medicines to supply hospitals and dispensaries with, but as the purchase of medicines for the supply is the business of the Central Service of supply of medicines (Department of Health) and as in the last few years this service had only distributed a quantity of medicines which were sufficient for a period of 6 months only, so when the Department fails to meet the shortage of a certain type of medicines, the prefecture is to suffer the consequences. So the Service of Hygiene has proposed to reorganize the system and procedures of medical supplies so as to meet the need of the people, and specially to issue authorizations for the purchase of additional medicines at private drugstores in order to meet the urgent need of the population.

#### The control of Rabies.-

With a total of 20,000 dogs in the Prefecture and with 2 pounds at Saigon and Cholon, the means of activities only include 2 trucks and 2 cycles. Rabies eradication and prevention constitutes the larger part of the workload of this service.

But the most important work of the Service of Veterinary is the Food Control at the Markets of the Prefecture. At the Saigon market, there is a Bureau of Food Control fully equipped with modern machines to control all good suspect of being harmful to the health of the people. Moreover, scattered all over the 16 markets of the Prefecture there are groups of veterinarians who always look over the hygienic conditions of food on sale there.

Last of all, the most important activity of the Service of Veterinary is the management of the Chanh Hung Slaughterhouse. It's the Chief of the Service of Veterinary of the Prefecture who cumulates himself concurrently the direction of the Slaughterhouse.

### The Chanh-Hung Slaughterhouse.

This slaughterhouse is maintained by the Prefecture, which receives substantial income from slaughter fees and taxes.

- All animals are liable to be taxed and to pay the whole tax.

The collection of this tax is assumed by the personnel of the Service of Finance, detached to the Slaughterhouse under the direction of a taxes manager.

HEALTH OFFICES	Number of patients treated		Number of Medical examinations	
	1956	1957	1956	1957
Hospital of Saigon	64,026	85,403	221,850	348,693
" of Tan Dinh	43,558	35,822	90,114	78,776
" of Khanh Hoi	36,859	47,572	90,279	96,001
" of Cholon	37,006	38,470	117,212	227,081
Dispensary of Chi-Hoa	18,730	18,475	77,370	82,706
" of Xom Chieu	11,327	18,854	51,458	63,377
" of Pierre Tap	13,808	11,535	31,283	29,106
" of Vo Tanh	8,387	13,938	83,722	93,776
" of Xom Cui	4,191	11,151	14,011	43,172
" of Su Van Hanh	6,443	17,693	18,469	32,991
" of Ng. tri Phuong	11,739	24,836	16,886	89,312
" of Phu Tho	14,810	14,566	43,408	49,579
" of District 7 (Binh Tay)	15,678	44,227	19,663	64,368
" of District 5 (Binh Dong)	-	16,010	-	36,700
" of Nga Bay	-	9,714	-	27,309
" of Chanh Hung	-	6,572	-	17,770
Maternity hospitals & dispensary				
-Phu Lam	5,172	16,152	26,135	56,265
-Rach Cat	10,640	18,712	20,113	47,998
Children aid office (Hospital of Cholon)	-	7,426	-	26,024
Health Bureau of Prefectural Police Directorate	-	4,830	-	6,340
Alms-house of Chanh-Hung	-	1,236	-	2,662
Total .....	302,374	463,194	982,073	1,520,076

### III. Public Education

#### Educational Activities on Primary Teaching of the Prefecture.

Primary Education is one of the missions of a noticeable importance in the Prefecture. The allotment for primary education is VN\$ 45,813,000 in the 1958 fiscal year. In that same 1958 the total amount of pupils in public primary schools reached the important number of 59,000 as compared with 46,000 in 1957.

And at the beginning of each academic year, the registered number of pupils in the fifth grade (beginner) increased very rapidly. In the past academic year of 1958 applications for the 5th grade amounted to 21,500.

During that time the Prefecture had only very limited means on schools, equipments, furniture and personnel because the allotment was stretched and also because of other difficulties arising either from the old situation or the present one.

The two principal difficulties met by the Prefecture in the primary education field are the lack of money and that of lands to construct more new schools.

However in this field, the Prefecture has made huge efforts to satisfy the educational need of the prefectural children.

Besides of the present classrooms of the 45 primary schools in the Prefecture (and every class seats from 60 to 70 pupils) in the school of 1958, an important allotment of 8,700,000\$ was reserved for the construction of new schools, or new classrooms for the present schools.

In addition to 31 old classrooms, in 1958, the Prefecture built 5 new schools including 42 classrooms, distributed as in the following table.

- The Cholon girls school has more	8 classrooms
- The Vinh Hoi school	5 "
- The Chi Hoa school	4 "
- The Phu Lam school	4 "

- The Cho Duoi school	2 classrooms
- The Nguyen Tri Phuong school	2 "
- The Nga Sau school	2 + 2 added classrooms
- The Binh Dong school	2
<hr/>	
	31 new classrooms
1 school at Binh An with	5 classrooms
1 school at Ham Tu Quai with	6 "
1 school at Khanh Hoi with	5 "
Phan Dinh Phung school	16 "
Tran Quy Cap school	10 "
<hr/>	
	42 classrooms

In order to carry out the above work, the Prefecture has to apply the system of "heightening up the present schools to make them higher by many floors" and at the same time it has to look for new places to build schools. This has resulted in the clash with families who have illegally built their hovels on public lands - and hence the slum clearing problem.

Besides the problem of building more schools and classrooms to meet the need of an increasing number of pupils, the Prefecture has to abandon the day "run-on" classes<sup>(1)</sup>; but it has proposed to the Department of National Education to open night "run-on" classes working with simpler procedure, and at the same time to increase the number of those classes in order to be able to take all the pupils who have failed in the Entrance Competitive Examination to the First Grade of Junior High School<sup>(2)</sup>.

(1) These classes are reserved for the pupils of the Prefecture who have just failed in the competing Examination to the First Grade of Junior High School.

(2) These classes will be open from 18 P.M. to 20 P.M., 5 sessions every week (Monday through Friday). The program includes only subjects concerning the competing Examination to the First Grade of Junior High School: Vietnamese, Mathematics, and General Sciences. The responsible schoolmasters will benefit allowances paid on an hour basis. Expenditures on personnel will be covered by the National Budget.

Prefectural Budget on Primary Education:

The allotment reserved for the Prefectural Primary Education is VN\$ 45,813,000.00.

However, besides this allotment, there is another allotment paid by the National Budget, which amounts to 25 million for covering expenditures on Prefectural Primary teaching personnel.

In fact, among the present teaching personnel, there are some who are paid by the Prefectural Budget (about 500 people) and others, by the National Budget (about 400 people). One part of these includes teachers of North Viet-Nam Refugees' schools, which have been annexed to the Prefecture; the rest, originally paid by the Government Delegation of the South, is now paid by the National Budget, due to the abolition of the Delegation.

This situation has given birth to the following difficulties: Since there are two different budgets (Prefectural and National) the accounting system has met a lot of difficulties, which greatly affects the work. Here there are two liquidators: The Chief of the Service of Primary Teaching, who is the liquidator of the expenditures on personnel covered by the Prefectural Budget, and the Director of Secondary teaching (Department of Education) who is the liquidator of the expenditures on personnel covered by the National Budget. Because of that situation, there are 8 payrolls instead of 4.

The accounting procedures are also different in one part they use IBM machines, in the other they don't. So the work becomes more complicated.

The old organization including the common budget, the regional budget, the provincial budget, has led to the above situation.

To simplify the situation, we suggest either the application of the procedure of fund delegation, or cancelling the Department subvention to primary schools and this sum of money will be transformed into subsidy to the Prefecture.

### Relations with the Department of Education:

In educational matters, the Prefecture is responsible only for providing schools, equipment, and covering expenditures on personnel, while in technical matters, the Department of Education sets the total control upon the Service of Primary Teaching.

The relation with the Department is done according to the following system: Service of Primary Education of the Prefecture Directorate of Primary Education (Department) Directorate General of Education (Department).

In practice the Service is more in direct contact with the Department than with the Prefecture.

### The Problem of Personnel:

The teaching personnel includes regular teachers and school-teachers paid on a daily basis. Particularly the regular teachers include primary schoolteachers (all having been graduated from courses of pedagogy) and elementary schoolteachers (graduated from primary schools)<sup>(1)</sup>.

Here after is the general list of teaching personnel <sup>(2)</sup>.

	IN CADRE		DAILY	
	School Masters	School Mistresses	School Masters	School Mistresses
Primary school teachers	150a	284b	10	13
Elementary school teachers	133c	160d	20	29

Among them:

- a. 29 probationary
- b. 78       "
- c. 3       "
- d. 5       "

(1) Remainder of the ancient cadre

(2) Until November 1958

According to the above general list, we may have the following observation on the situation of personnel:

The ratio of school mistresses, compared with that of schoolmasters, is a little high:

63% are school mistresses

37 % are school masters

It's the same for the elementary teachers; the ratio is: 56% school mistresses and 44% school masters.

Hence a somewhat complicated problem which needs immediate solutions, and especially the lack of personnel; that is the confinement leaves of schoolmistresses.

With the above ratio, there are permanently from 30 to 40 schoolmistresses on confinement leave.

In order to avoid interruption in the children's study, the schoolmistresses should be replaced temporarily during that time. Although there is always at the secretariat a certain number of temporary schoolteachers who assume administrative functions, and who are to replace the absent when the need is felt, but, the problem is to have a sufficient number of temporary schoolteachers to fill the gap. So, very often temporary solutions are sought, which consist in reducing the school hours, or combining the classes together. We believe that there are only hasty solutions; it is necessary to bring radical solutions to the problem by increasing the teaching personnel of the Service of Primary Teaching.

Another aspect of the personnel situation is their capacity and work stimulus.

1. As regards work stimulus, if one is to believe the Service of Primary Education, the primary schoolmasters have very few opportunities for promotion at the present time, except the promotion in steps. In this respect, if promotion was desirable for work stimulus, then it would be advisable to set up the cadre of School Head (with clearly defined material and spiritual interests) reserved to highlyable schoolmasters to give them better opportunities to go up in life; and the widening of the present cadre of inspectors of primary education would be desirable too. At the present

time, there are about 10 men in this cadre - other inspectors are only assigned to hold that function.

2. Since the number of primary teachers graduated from the courses of Pedagogy (that is possessing minimum technical capacity to teach methodically) is still too few to meet the needs, so the problem of technical capacity of the primary teaching personnel is an important one, to which the Service of Primary Teaching pays special attention.

Every year the Service opens training courses for the benefit of probationary, temporary and daily schoolteachers. Each course lasts about 3 weeks. In the school year 1957-58 there were 120 attendants to these courses.

Moreover, the Schoolheads are ordered permanently to initiate new, inexperienced school teachers to pedagogical notions. Another worthwhile initiative is the intention of the Service of Primary Education to form a committee to prepare model lessons to illustrate teaching methods, which will be printed and will serve as documents for schoolteachers' use. Forty five well experienced school-heads will enter the above Committee to bring timely solution to remedy partially the above stated situation.

But a lasting solution will always stress the information of more qualified teachers for the Service of Primary Education.

#### The Problem of Public Health for Primary Education:

It may be said that health organization in Primary Schools has not yet been properly organized so as to answer purpose.

Although the pupils' health has been taken care of by doctors, the work remains in practice unsolved because the number of pupils is too big (more than 50,000) and chiefly because there is a lack of medical personnel, of medicaments and others.

Consequently physical examination records of the pupils cannot be made for the whole Prefecture. There are only three medical centers set up respectively at Ban Co school (Saigon), do Huu Phuong school (Cholon) and Cau Kho school (Saigon). There is also a dentist to give care to the pupils (who come in turns to have their teeth taken care of). The above situation has arisen mostly from the lack of doctors and medical personnel, which is also the common situation of the country.

Here the Service of Primary Education has also a worthwhile idea, which is that instead of doctors for scholar health centers, medical students of the 4th or 5th grade will do; the latter will work part time and will contact themselves with modest fees. In this way it will be helpful for the students, at the same time will cut down expenses and especially will be able to carry out more effectively parts of the program of public health for schools.

#### Popular Education:

Besides his normal function, the Chief of Service of Primary Education in the Prefecture acts also as Secretary General of the Central Prefectural Committee for illiteracy eradication, whose chairman is the Prefect. This Committee is responsible for Popular Education, takes illiterate people more than 13 years old for night courses held at primary schools in the Prefecture. The above work has been assigned in each district to a committee and Primary schoolteachers are responsible for the control of these classes.

#### IV. STREETS, WATER SUPPLY AND WASTE DISPOSAL

The street system which provides both the framework on which a city is built and the arteries for the movement of people and goods, is one of the fundamental elements of an urban community. So, too, water supply and waste disposal systems are indispensable requisites for urban life. Consequently, some of the most important functions of Saigon City Government involve constructing, improving and maintaining the street system; providing potable water for homes and industries, and providing and maintaining facilities for refuse and sewage disposal.

Under arrêté No. 511-HCNV dated October 30, 1954 of the project defining the organization of the prefectural offices, these public works functions are carried out by the Technical Service (Bureau of Water and Electricity and Bureau of Streets) and the Public Sanitation Service (Street Cleaning and Refuse Collection Section).

#### Street Cleaning and Refuse Collection

Streets are cleaned daily by workmen using individual hand carts and brooms. Besides this activity the section must deal with vendors who set up temporary stands on sidewalks and of squatters building up illegally on public lands without observing minimum standards of safety and quality.

But the most difficult and complicated problem now found by the section is that of refuse collection and disposal. With the present population, everyday the sweeping section in the prefecture must clear 1,000 cubic meters (compared with the daily 500 cubic meters before 1953).

The problem that the sweeping section must presently solve is to find places for rubbish shooting and materials to be used in this operation.

As regards the materials, due to limited financial means there is an increasing lack of tip-lorries to be used in the sweeping operations. The average number of cars to be purchased each year is 10 to replace a part of the old material but this service only receives 3 cars. So a great part of the cars are used up and hence, in sorry conditions. The cars which are not in very good conditions, which have to run on bad roads for long trip transportation will become quickly out of use. In fact this is due to the second problem which is to solve the problem of rubbish-shooting.

The prefecture has planned to establish a machine for burning sweepings but it has not enough financial means to carry out this project. Thus at the present time the cars must transport sweepings and dump them in fields, and muddy spots near the suburbs. But in the course of time the lands boggy located near the suburbs of Saigon have been filled up, and people turn these lands into gardens or serve them in building purposes. (areas of Hang Sanh, Cau Son, Cau Kinh, Chanh Hung etc...) Thus with the increasing quantity of sweepings, the problem of finding places for rubbish-shooting has become a more and more difficult one. Presently the Prefecture has 2 night-soil dumps: sector of Chanh Hung belonging to private individuals (around 80ha) and sector of Phu Tho belonging to the Prefecture.

The solution brought now to the problem of rubbish shooting as said above is only a temporary one - for later it is impossible to continue to go far away from Saigon to find out low places needed to be filled with sweepings; indeed the number of cars is limited and the cars may not be used in long trip transportation. And on the other hand this temporary solution is disadvantageous to the people who live around these night soil dumps, because of the strong smell and flies and mosquitoes. Thus it is necessary to build up a plant for the burning and processing of sweepings. Based

on the experience of foreign countries (1) it may be thought that this operation is financially an advantageous and practicable undertaking.

### Saigon Water Problem:

Saigon's water supply system started in 1880, has grown to be now one of the most important systems in the country. It has two kinds of wells as source of supply: ordinary wells and Saigon wells.

This system belonged to the Prefecture and operated by the Water and Electricity Section within the Technical Service. (2) But on November 1959, Decree No. 329-CC/GT removed the control of water service from the Prefecture. A special authority was established to provide water for Saigon and its suburbs - and in addition to study the expansion of the present water supply system.

The establishment of this special authority can be viewed as one of the results of urban growth of Saigon. It also introduces another problem faced by metropolitan governments - the extent to which ad hoc agencies should be employed and the relationship between the central government and the Prefecture. The present water distribution system is composed of:

1) The system of ordinary wells and water towers. They are wells of 15 to 20 meters in depth located at the center of the city (system located at Cong-Ly street and Chien Si place) and in the suburb (Go Vap and Tan Son Nhat). The total of water volume supplied reaches about 40,000 cubic meters (in rainy season) or 30,000 (in dry season).

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- (1) In Thailand (a country whose financial and social situations are almost similar to ours) the Government has established a pilot plant for burning sweepings in 1942 and has transferred it to the City of Bangkok for management. This mill has made large profits by selling chemical manure drawn from dirty sweepings. Financially, this realization has proved to be a success and a project for the establishment of a new modern mill capable of burning and transforming sweepings into fertilizers within 72 hours was planned in 1958 (John Rayan, Edgar Shor - Administration of the Bangkok Municipality. Publication of the Institute of Public administration Bangkok: 1958 page 61.
- (2) The receipts on the transfer of water gauge constitute an important resource of prefectural budget. The 1958 receipts covered about 15.7% of the total receipts of the budget.

2) The Layne wells. There are 37 Layne wells in all. They draw water from deep subterranean sources. Most of them are scattered all over the city and provide 120,000 cubic meters each day. It was planned that the above-mentioned system would supply water to a population of only 300 or 400,000 persons (prefectural population prior to 1945) with a daily average of 150,000 cubic meters. For the time being, with an increasing population the daily shortage of water during the dry season is indeed a serious problem which must be solved in order to raise the volume of water supplied to 500,00 cubic meters per day. That is to say it should be planned in such a way as to obtain 350,000 m<sup>3</sup> more in order to meet the people's need. One should not rely on the digging of more Layne wells because subterranean sources of water are limited. Therefore the Department of public works is entrusted with studying the project of water transport from Bong Nai river. According to this project there will be established a pumping station on the right bank of Dong Nai river, adjacent to Bien Hoa town (about 32 km from Saigon), a filtering system, a disinfection device and pipe line for the transportation of the filtered water to Saigon. This project requires an important contribution of technics and finance as well.

The Government has resorted to American aid. And according to program No. 30-26-144 concluded on June 17, 1957 by both governments, the Department of public works was granted a fund of US\$95,000 for the study of that project. This work is entrusted to Hydrotechnic Corporation. After 4 months, this corps of technicians had completed that study and agreed that the water of Dong Nai river could be drawn and the work would cost about one thousand four hundred million piasters (1,400,000,000\$).

American Aid will grant a loan of 700 million piasters and the prefecture will have to get the other half. This is a difficult financial problem. Moreover in case the project is implemented, there will be considerable modification of the present water distribution system by way of increasing the number of conduit and their diameter. Beside the paid water supply to private persons<sup>(1)</sup> (establishing water meter water conduit) the prefecture also has supplied water free of charge to the slum areas by means of public fountains scattered everywhere and numbering 387. As for remote areas where water conduit cannot reach, the prefecture has supplied water to the people by means of tank trucks.

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(1) In this respect, the supply is not always equal to the demand. Each year there are more than 2,000 persons applying for water meter establishment but only 924 of them were granted (1957's data).

Recently developed areas on the outskirts of the city are not reached by the City Waterworks Distribution System. Residents of these districts normally dig their own wells to obtain water.

Electricity System: Unlike the water system, the present electricity distribution system is owned by the Indochina Water and Electricity Company (CEE). This firm has been given a particular license and its contract will be expired in 1968.

## V. CITY PLANNING

SAIGON is the only cosmopolitan city in a country of small urban centers and villages and serves as the economic, cultural and political capital of VIETNAM. It encloses some 51,400 square kilometers - a significant change from the original area of 10 square kilometers one hundred years ago. The population growth was increasing also from 228,471 in 1907 to 1,219,500 in 1957.

Modern means of transportation such as automobiles, bus, motor-cycles ... have seen the City's expansion to the north-east and south-west following the major roads out of the City.

Saigon to-day is the commercial, political, cultural and social center of the nation and thus draws a certain number of migrants from rural areas. But since GENEVA large numbers of refugees from the North part of the country settled in the City.

These conditions explain the rapid growth and current expansion of the City and this poses a need for modern city planning.

To-day, however, the Municipality has carried on only the most rudimentary planning activities, mainly in connection with street and housing construction. These activities fall under the responsibility of the Bureau of city-planning and the bureau of maps, both belonging to the Technical Service.

### Bureau of City-Planning:

This bureau is in charge of controlling every reconstruction work in the city (considering applications for house construction, and issuing licenses; controlling various

types of construction so that they will be in accordance with the city-planning regulations; controlling all noxious and inconvenient establishments). This function is very important indeed, particularly in these recent years; and for security's sake provincial people have swarmed to the capital to earn their living and in spite of building regulations have illegally built their abode on the roads and public lands. And that constitutes a real problem to the city-planning project and thus gives rise to a very complex social problem which is the slum clearance.

#### Bureau of Maps:

In charge of examining all division of private real estates; fixing and controlling all limits; managing the city-owned lands and caring for the printing of maps for various prefectural services.

In the field of city-planning one recognizes that the function of the above mentioned bureaus was limited only in the domain of control or construction and development of the existing establishments (repairing and widening roads, clearing gutters and sewers in order to meet the present demanding needs of the people) and has not been directed to the working out of city-planning projects. The reason is very easy to know; on one hand there is a lack of personnel specialized in city planning matter, and on the other hand there is an overflow of daily rush work so the personnel do not have enough time to devote themselves to the research and study of materials needed for planning city planning program, such as statistics on the increase of population, cars in circulation, as well as necessary maps. In reality this work has already been performed by a number of services, but just as particular information to be used in the functioning of the activities of Services. (For instance the Directorate of Police has established statistics on the traffic of cars at important boulevards in the City: number of cars in circulation, the time of the day when the traffic is most active, categories of cars in circulation etc... with the purpose of adjusting the traffic of cars).

But comprehensive city planning is a relatively new function and activity of Vietnamese municipal government, and perhaps for this reason central agencies are mainly concerned with city and town planning activities.

The National Directorate of reconstruction and urbanism has been created to work on development plans for the towns and cities in the country. Saigon is classified as one of 36 cities and towns which are required by law to have a comprehensive

plan for development. This plan will show existing and proposed streets, parks, houses and other public facilities and will provide a framework for regulatory activities such as zoning and control.

Unofficial master plan for the City of Saigon has been prepared by the Directorate General of Reconstruction and Urbanism. As an example of the city planning project see map No. I attached to this report.

## VI. LOW COST HOUSING OFFICE

### Organization.

The low-cost housing office is a government agency which was created in 1950. It operates only within the Saigon-Cholon area. The latest document defining the organization and functioning of this agency is Arrete No. 2916-HCSV of November 31, 1955.

The management and control of this agency is vested in a management committee whose chairman is the Saigon Prefect or his representative. The carrying out of this committee's decisions is delegated to a Director assisted technically by an engineer or a technical agent and a number of subordinate agencies.

### Activities

The low-cost housing office is in charge of developing the construction of cheap houses answering hygienic conditions in order to make housing available to the communities or to ordinary people by means of leasing or installment sale. (1)

The granting of houses is determined by a committee for distribution and priority is given to those living in areas which had been cleared for the construction of cheap housing, or to distressed people.

The low-cost housing office's income includes loans from various budgets, banks... and revenues produced by the office's real estates, and donations and legacies as well as foreign (American aid).

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1) Low-cost housing office has built several quarters in the city. The total of unconstructed houses reaches more than 3,000.

According to the organizational statute of the office, responsible high-ranking officials are entitled to conduct investigation of, and to control<sup>(1)</sup> this agency at any time.

When the Low-cost housing office is dissolved, the management committee will submit to higher authorities recommendations on the use of the remaining funds. One should also mention that the National Office of Reconstruction, a dependent office of the Department of Reconstruction also pursues the purpose of making housing available to the people. However, there is no coordination between these two agencies. There

- (1) See table of financial situation of the agency: expect from "Financial situation of the autonomous government agencies in fiscal year 1957")

#### LOW COST HOUSING OFFICE

This agency came into being and operated since 1950. It receives advance funds from foreign aid and various budgets for the housing construction. This duty has been pushed on.

#### 1) General financial situation from 1952 to 1956

<u>Fiscal year</u>	<u>Net receipts</u>	<u>Net expenditures</u>	<u>Balance</u>
1952	12,997,090	9,735,560	3,261,530
1953	9,870,982	8,975,982	895,000
1954	12,236,553	8,054,481	4,182,072
1955	13,159,606	5,568,037	7,591,569
1956	13,598,766	3,328,798	10,269,968

#### (2) List of various receipts and expenditures of 1957 fiscal year.

##### Receipts:

- Surplus of previous fiscal year and deposit	7,149,859\$
- Rent and proceeds from sale of houses	10,278,187
- Irregular receipts	188,939
Total ...	17,616,985\$

##### Expenditures

- Debts due	1,275,000
- Personnel	1,050,956
- Supplies	34,689
- Repairing real estates	7,564
- New works <sup>(1)</sup>	1,836,657
- Contribution to municipal budget	320
- Irregular expenditures	110,374
Total ...	1,323,560

- (1) New works estimate is 15,485,490\$ but cannot be carried out during fiscal year

##### Balance:

- Receipts	17,616,985\$
Surplus ...	4,323,560
	12,293,425\$

This surplus is carried forward to next fiscal year

is only one relation which is that each construction project of the Low-cost housing office should be approved in principle by the Department. Therefore the Department has raised the question of incorporating the Low-cost housing office to it. And by now the Department of Reconstruction has been abolished.

However the coordination in housing construction between the Low-cost housing office and the Directorate General of Reconstruction is still likely to be considered.

By now, financial problem has not been a difficulty of the Low-cost housing office (according to the 1957 financial situation there was an important surplus amounting to more than 12 million piasters and also following this situation only a small part of the works planned for the year was carried out).<sup>(1)</sup> It is rather the problem of finding land for the constructions (land should be located close to market, lines of communication and water and electricity system). The larger part of city owned lands that fulfill the above-mentioned requirements has been occupied by thatched houses erected in disorder by the people. Driving out these illegal occupants is indeed a complex problem for the low-cost housing office and the city as well.

## VII. SAIGON SAVINGS BANK

Created in 1887 by Decree of July 23, 1887 and modified by Decree No. 241-TC of July 9, 1957 Saigon Savings Bank is a "Public Corporation" having legal entity and autonomous finances with the purpose of gathering funds deposited by individuals and associations for producing interests<sup>(2)</sup>.

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- (1) In 1958 this agency's activity increases again and low-cost housing office has achieved the construction of Le-Dai-Hanh quarters of 120 houses (in front of Phu Tho horse race circus) at the cost of 5,638,870\$ and a part of 1,000 house Lu Gia quarters (also next to Phu Tho circus).

Source: Report of the Prefect's office at Municipal Council (Regular fourth quarter session of 1958).

- (2) The Savings Bank does not receive sum less than 10\$. Interests on funds deposited are calculated according to the amount of round piasters and will be liquidated at the end of the year and will be added to the capital for producing interest in the next year.

The Savings Bank is run by a Management Committee comprising a chairman who is the Prefect and 9 managers<sup>(1)</sup> holding office for a three-year term and one third of them will be replaced under year and chosen as follows:

- 3 civil servants appointed by the Secretary of State for Interior.
- 3 Municipal councilors designated by the municipal council.
- 3 notables working in the economic and financial circles in city and well acquainted with those matters nominated by the Secretaries of State for Economy and Finance upon the Saigon Prefect's proposal.

The Management Committee holds at least one session a month. Decisions will be reached by a relative majority vote of present members.

The management and running of the Savings Bank (office organization, personnel recruitment, fixing salary, approving receipts and expenditures and controlling the records) are taken care of by the Committee.

In addition the Directorate General of treasury is entitled to control the Savings Bank's records and cash at least once a year <sup>(2)</sup>.

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- (1) According to the old statute, the Management Committee includes 9 directors chosen among civil servants, members of municipal council and consulting council ... Article 5 of the new statute stipulates that the Directors will discharge their function until their term expiration and will be replaced by new managers.
  - (2) Till the end of 1957 Saigon Savings Bank was still bound by the old regime and placed under the control of a council presided by the Prefect.

The Savings Bank receives private individuals' deposits and pays small interests to depositors.

At the end of 1957 the remaining funds of total deposits amounted to over 100 million piasters. So the Bank is bound by the old regime, most of the remaining funds is deposited at once with Consignment Fund in France.

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## CHAPTER 9

## BUDGETARY QUESTIONS

Administratively, to be able to discharge their main duties Regional Administrative units should have sufficient resources, and should not depend on the financial support of the nation. For want of those resources will cause the units to remain the subordinate agencies of the Central Administration and so Regional Council elections will avail nothing.

The problem is how Autonomous Regional Units can have good financial resources and can be independent of the Central Authorities.

All the complicated difficulties arising from Administrative organization and management have led to the need of an ampler regional budget. So very few autonomous regional units are able to balance their budget if they are not subsidized by the Government.

In Viet-Nam after the Northern, Central and Southern parts were no longer considered as legal entities, the Administration in those regions seems to have swayed to the regime of concentration, though on principle they are still subject to decentralization represented itself by Provinces Councils.

Consequently, in reality as well as on principle, only the Saigon Prefecture is still subject to decentralization.

In this chapter we will examine the following points: to analyze the resources and the principal clauses of the Prefecture Budget after having given a brief account of the origins of the present financial regime.

(2) (cont'd from back page)

I. Following is the Bank's budgetary situation in 1957.

Receipts

- Interests paid by Paris Consignment Fund	3,021,575\$
- Interests paid by Viet-Nam Consignment Fund ...	574,216
Total ....	3,595,791\$

Expenditures:

- Payment of interests	1,205,531\$
- Management expenditures	1,338,802
Total ....	2,594,333\$

### Origin of the present regime<sup>1</sup>

The Prefecture as well as the provinces, is defined by law as being a juridical person and financially autonomous, but, particularly as regards the Budgetary Regime, old documents are still applicable, especially the Decree of 12-30-1912.

Originally the Prefecture had 2 budgets: the Saigon budget and the Cholon budget; and from 1-1-1932 as a consequence of the Decree of 4-27-31 the two cities--Saigon, Cholon and the suburbs--were made up into a single unit called the Region Saigon-Cholon.

Consequently, there were 3 budgets (Saigon budget, Cholon budget and that of the Region Saigon-Cholon).

Then in 1941, the Decree of 12-19-1941 reorganized the Region Saigon-Cholon and the result was that there remained only one common budget including all expenditures and receipts in the 3 previous budgets of the Region Saigon-Cholon, the City of Saigon and the City of Cholon<sup>2</sup>. That is also the present regime.

### Saigon City Government Revenues

The City Government of Saigon receives its operating revenues from several sources. However, it relies heavily on a relatively few sources for most of its current financing. The major sources are subsidy of the national government<sup>3</sup>, the surtaxes on national government taxes, direct municipal taxes and fees, water and sewer charges, rentals from municipally-owned facilities, etc. (See table on page 91 ).

Here are the separate resources of the Prefecture, distributed among the following categories:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See: Nghiem Dang, "The problem of regional budgets", Administrative Research Volume II, No. 5 October 1958, pages 27-50.

<sup>2</sup>See Le Van An's article, "The Administrative Organization of the Prefecture Saigon-Cholon from the French regime to the present one", Administrative Research No. 1, 1957.

<sup>3</sup>The subsidy of the National Budget to the Prefecture in the 1959 fiscal year has been reduced from 120,000,000\$ to 90,000,000\$; that is a reduction of 30,000,000\$.

<sup>4</sup>See the comparative Chart of estimated receipts of the Prefecture Budget for fiscal years 1958 and 1959.

- I. Surcharges on national taxes
  - II. Prestations.
  - III. Assimilated taxes (cars, boats, trains, etc.)
  - IV. Taxes on occupation of public and private property of the Prefecture.
  - V. Miscellaneous incomes.
  - VI. Regies and leases (water, markets, rubbish, bridges, slaughterhouses).
  - VII. Charges and debts paying.
  - VIII. Receipts of previous fiscal years.
- (Taxes not yet collected on the close of the previous fiscal year.)

I. Surcharges on national taxes.

At the present time in the Prefectural Budget, the surcharges on the national direct taxes make a large contribution to the Prefecture. In the 1958 fiscal year they brought 187 million piasters out of the total of 685 million piasters; that is, 27.31%. In the 1959 fiscal year, this ratio has increased to 30.23% (208 million piasters out of the total of 688 million piasters).

to The surcharges on license taxes and land and field taxes go to the Prefecture. These are two national direct taxes created by Decree No. 8 and No. 7 of 4-13-1953.

The basic tax rate of the above taxes will serve as basis for computing special rate. The Prefectural Budget benefits only a rate of 200% of the basic taxes.

Example: The basic taxes of a shop are VN\$1,000.00; the surcharge rate reserved to the Prefecture is 200% of the above VN\$1,000.00 =  $\frac{1000 \times 200}{100}$  = VN\$2,000.00.

Each year there is a Prefecture control committee to set up lists of stores, shops, restaurants, etc. legally subject to taxes (license taxes) and plots of urban land (land and field taxes) and to send those lists to the Service of License and Land Taxes of the Directorate General of taxation for tax-assessment.

After the approval and proclamation of the tax roll, the Service of taxes will proceed to the collection.

As regards the land and field tax, we should add 2 other taxes: the rubbish and sweeping tax and the sewer tax, which are fixed by the Prefectural arretes of 10-7-1953 (No.439) and 6-19-1957 (No. 946). The tax roll and the tax collection are subject to the same regulations as those above.

II. Prestations: The prestations are computed in the book of principal taxes on cars, horses, boats, etc., and collected according to the roll. The amount of tax collected is not important--about 0.20% of the total.

III. Assimilated taxes: The assimilated taxes include:

1. Taxes on horses, cars, private cycles.
2. Taxes on public vehicles (cycles, motor cycle, busses, on-hire cars, tricycles, taxicabs, student transport cars, etc.)
3. Taxes on the display of tables and chairs of restaurants and bars, etc.
4. Taxes on boats and different kinds of junks.
5. Taxes on balustrades and penthouses.

IV. Taxes on occupation of public and private property of the Prefecture:

- a. Private property. Every day a number of tax collectors go to every corner of the Prefecture to collect these taxes. Every year all land occupations for commercial, industrial or housing purposes are all measured and classified by the Bureau of Maps (belonging to the Service of Technique). The plans will be set up and submitted to the Prefect for approval prior to the collection. These taxes bring to the budget more than 10 million piasters every year.
- b. Public land occupation and advertisement. These taxes are paid on receipt and to the superintendent of taxes<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See the Organization of Taxes collection.

V. Miscellaneous incomes: These incomes include:

1. Revenues of the Service of Plantation arising from the hire of decoration plants, sales of garden trees, and grafted plants.
2. Taxes on commodities, house and building construction.
3. Taxes on passports, singers, musicians.
4. Taxes on authorizations of entertainments, concerts, dances, rites, firing of fire crackers prolongation of business hours.
5. Taxes on cards for dog inoculation.
6. Taxes on cycle motor numbers.
7. Taxes on car re-control.
8. Revenues from yielded or leased tools or sales of scrapped tools of the Prefecture.
9. Prefecture hospital fees.
10. Revenues from examination of water meters.
11. Petty offences against police regulations.
12. Taxes on detention in pound.
13. Reimbursement from operations of fitting water pipes and sitting house number plates.
14. Taxes on civil status certificates, administrative documents, identity cards.
15. Taxes on cesspool emptying.
16. Taxes on lease of canals.
17. Wharfage taxes.
18. Taxes on lease of farming land.
19. Exercise of the revenues from the use of electric power.

These miscellaneous revenues are collected according to receipts or collection orders, which are brought by the taxpayers to the Treasury.

VI. Regies and leases: Every year those taxes bring back to the Prefecture an important resource from 75 to 78 thousand piasters (more than 11% of the total estimated receipts).

The regime applied to market fees up to 1957 had been the State-managed one.

The Superintendent of Market Service gives instructions to collectors and controllers to collect market fees and deposit them at the Treasury<sup>1</sup>.

In 1958, for an experimental purpose, the bidding procedure was applied to 7 markets in the Prefecture (Dakao market, Vuon Chuoi market, Chi Hoa market, Pho Co Dieu market, Nguyen Tri Phuong market, Binh Dong, Rach Cat, and Xom Cui).

This solution has proved to be convenient and less expensive than that of the State Management (because it permits a withdrawal of personnel to reinforce other agencies of the Prefecture). Besides, it will doubtless provide the fixed receipt. This satisfactory result<sup>2</sup> of this solution in 1958 has motivated the Prefecture to lease out some other markets this year (1959).

The determination of a minimum quota to each market is based on taxes collected every year in that market.

In 1959, the Prefecture leases out 13 markets for the period running from 1-1-1959 to 12-31-1959; finally 9 markets<sup>3</sup> have been leased out and the rest, 4 markets, have not, because there were no bidders or the bidding sum was under the basic minimum price.

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<sup>1</sup>The personnel employed in market fee collection in the Prefecture includes 170 men of various grades under the supervision of a General Controller of Markets.

<sup>2</sup>See list of markets and the result of the biddings in 1959.

<sup>3</sup>The Prefecture plans to increase the water price to 6,800 a cubic meter this year (100%); the money collected will go to the carrying out of the Dong Nai river project, a water supply project, which will supply the Prefecture with 350,009 cubic meters a day. This project has been approved (The American Aid will lend half the necessary money - the other half, about 700 million piasters, will be supported by the Prefecture).

In its 4th trimester of 1958, the Prefecture Council agreed on the following: (1) The Project of drawing water from Dong Nai river to Saigon. (2) The principle of raising the water price. (3) To have the ratio increase of water to discretion of the Prefecture.

Besides, mention must be made of the monthly taxes on peddlers or keepers of stable stalls since May 1958, as determined by the Prefectural Arrete No. 46-TQ on 1-27-1958. These taxes are collected by the Service of Market Control:

The State-managed taxes on rubbish and cesspools: The annual receipt is about 1 million piasters.

The Slaughterhouse taxes: These taxes are levied upon pigs or cattle, brought into slaughterhouses; they are of many different kinds: Taxes on slaughtering, meat examination, scraping, feeding and keeping, doing the bowels, sealing of living cattle, rent of refrigerated rooms, visa of exportation of pigs, etc. Every year these revenues bring to the Budget an important sum of 35 to 36 million piasters.

The collection procedure is to give receipt to owners of slaughtered beasts. The Superintendent of slaughterhouses deposits the collected money every day at the Treasury.

State Management of running water: The yearly revenues are above 100 million piasters. (The 1958 receipt was computed on the basis of the present rate, which is VN\$3 a cubic meter.)

VII. Receipt of previous fiscal years: Some taxes, the assessment of which suffers time lag, cannot be collected during the current fiscal years. So after the above fiscal years have passed, there remains an important number of non-collected taxes which can only be collected during the following fiscal year. (For example, the taxes on occupation of private property could not be assessed before June; sometimes as late as September or October, such as the taxes on land field and licenses.)

The amount of non-collected taxes, if the 1958 as well as of on the remains of the 1959 fiscal years, reached 51 million piasters (more than 7% of the estimated receipts).

## THE PREFECTURAL BUDGET<sup>1</sup>

Like other great cities in the world, Saigon has to face many financial difficulties because it has to cover heavy expenses on police force, hygiene and public health services, education personnel, etc.

<sup>1</sup>See Nghiem Dang: "The problem of regional budgets", Administrative Research 1958, No. 5, pages 27-50.

Every year while the Prefecture has to cover a number of increasing expenses, the State gradually cuts down its financial aid to the Prefecture with a view to making it wholly autonomous.

The average estimated expenditures of the Prefectural Budget amounts almost to 700 million piasters - 13% of it is subsidized by the National Budget.

Those subsidies started from 1956. Before 1955 the Prefectural Budget used to show a yearly deficit and it must borrow money from the Treasury. From 1945 to 1955, the dues were 518,003,724~~8~~40. Now the Prefecture has to pay back its debt if it has a credit balance.

See the brief description of the Prefectural Budget on the 1958 Fiscal Year, page 91 .

1. Preparation and Approval of Budget: The Prefectural Budget is set up by the Prefect and voted by the Prefecture Council. This vote will be put to execution only when approved by the President. The 1958 Fiscal year of the Prefectural Budget was approved and carried out by Decree No. 332-TTP/NSNV of 2-12-1958.

Every year the Service of Finances of the Prefecture carries out orders and instructions from the Direction of Budget and Foreign Aid. It prepares a circular, sends it to various services and offices--the Direction General of Police, the Service of Primary Education of the Prefecture--to settle the procedure to be applied in the Budget preparation. This circular often cautions the various agencies against the creation of new functions, recruiting employees (except in special and urgent cases) and suggests cutting down on expenditures on materials. The Service of Finances will control the estimates of the various services and offices.

In the 1959 Budget, most of the resource estimates are calculated according to the total receipts of 8-31-58 and amended so as to fit with the receipts gathered during the last month. Resources of the Budget are clearly defined by paragraph 44, Edict 11 of 5-30-54. They are taxes<sup>1</sup>, revenues coming from the public properties of the Prefecture, the special additional taxes voted by the Prefecture Council, which taxes should not

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<sup>1</sup>The Prefecture Council has the right to vote on taxes.

exceed the maximum fixed for every year, and one part of the direct taxes collected on the territory of the Prefecture<sup>1</sup>. and treasury bands.

The Administrative Trusteeship Agency will limit the power of the Council by setting the ceiling of additional taxes as well as by requiring that collection of those taxes be allowed only if they are approved.

As regards expenditures, in the general budget the Prefecture has to cover all expenditures for those covered by the National Budget. These expenditures are listed in Paragraph 46, Edict 11 of 5-30-54: expenditures on general administration, police, big avenues, city lighting, public hygiene, education. In brief, they are expenditures which are to ensure the management of a capital.

Nevertheless, this job is not obligatory. The Prefecture Council may, if necessary, decide on a number of expenditures either to develop or to restrict the activities of the Prefecture.

But there are certain obligatory expenditures that should be entered into the Budget and must be provided for sufficiently. Paragraph 47, Edict No. 11 of 5-30-1954 states the following obligatory expenditures:

- Debts falling due
- Expenditures on personnel
- Expenditures on the maintenance of implements, public buildings, roads, bridges and regular purchase of materials.
- Expenditures on police
- Charges on legal donations and legacies, and legal foundations.

Two cases may happen:

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<sup>1</sup>To meet heavy expenditures on police and education, the Prefecture has tried to require the Directorate of Budget to return some of the taxes collected on the territory of the Prefecture such as gasoline, luxury taxes, etc., but in vain. (The Prefect's declaration before the Council on the regular meeting of the Fourth Trimester 1958. Report on page 91.)

1. If the Council is requested, but refused to vote the funds to cover obligatory expenditures, the President will automatically order more expenditures by cutting down optional expenses, and if necessary, create special charges.

2. If the Council refuses to vote the budget in time, the President will automatically order the creation of a budget including exclusively obligatory expenditures. (Paragraph 48, Edict 11 mentioned above.)

As a measure against the lack of good will of the Council in the above two cases, the President is empowered by law to dissolve the Council. But in case the Council agrees to vote a sufficient budget to cover obligatory expenses, facultative expenditures will not be cut down, and the Trusteeship Agency has no right to modify or abolish those expenditures unless they "are in keeping with the current laws."

Once the budget project is set up, it is transmitted to the Prefecture Council (the Financial Committee) for examination before being voted at the final regular session of the 4th trimester. The Budget will be voted chapter by chapter <sup>1</sup>.

II. The Budget Execution: The Prefect is the Chief authorizing officer of the Prefectural Budget. Besides, according to the regime of Edict No. 11, the Council participates in decisions on various expenditures such as the purchase and sale of real estates, or expenditures exceeding 100,000\$00 (Paragraph 37, Edict 11). Besides, any expense order must be certified by the controllers of the Estimated Expenditures Service. These men are assigned by the Department of Finance (Paragraph 43, Edict 11).

According to the New Decree No. 74-TTP of 3-23-59 recognizing the management of the Prefecture, the procedure of the budget execution has been much simplified. Once the Budget has been approved and promulgated, the Prefect has full authority to carry out, within the limit of estimated expenditures, every operation without having to wait for the

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<sup>1</sup> According to the New Regime (Decree No. 74-TTP of 3-23-59) the Council has lost its right of vote on the Budget and retains only the consultative right. At the present time, the Council is only an advisory body, participating in some problems of the management of the Prefecture (Paragraph 1 - paragraph 17-20 above Decree).

approval of the Council<sup>1</sup>. So, at the present time, the Prefectural Budget has no longer the influence of a people-elected organ, the evident result being the application of budget execution regulations exactly as those governing the National Budget.

Besides, it is worth mentioning a new change on the control of the Prefectural Budget execution. The control of the Council exercised on the old regime (paragraph 42, Edict 11) exists no more. Formerly the Council was responsible for the examination of the accounting books of the Prefect and made suggestions to the higher competent authority (Presidency).

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<sup>1</sup>According to the New Regime (Decree No. 74-TTP of 3-23-59) the Council has lost its right of vote on the Budget and retains only the consultative right. At the present time, the Council is only an advisory body, participating in some problems of the management of the Prefecture (Paragraph 1, paragraph 17-20 above Decree).

## SUMMARY OF THE PREFECTURAL BUDGET

FISCAL YEAR 1958

## A. RECEIPTS

<u>Kind of receipts</u>	<u>Receipts</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
<u>Collected according to assessment:</u>		
Surtaxes on national taxes	187,000,000	27.31%
Prestations	1,400,000	0.20
Assimilated taxes	41,450,000	6.05
<u>Taxes and revenues collected according to collection order:</u>		
Taxes on occupation of public and private property of the Prefecture	24,810,000	3.60
Yield of running water	107,500,000	15.70
Miscellaneous incomes	27,160,000	3.90
Market taxes	78,000,000	11.40
Rubbish sale and cesspool emptying	1,000,000	0.15
Taxes on slaughterhouse	34,000,000	5.10
Additional charges and bonds	1,260,000	0.19
Incomes from contracts	10,420,000	1.54
Subsidy of the National Budget	120,000,000	17.51
Receipts of previous fiscal years	<u>51,000,000</u>	<u>7.45</u>
Total of receipts:	<u>685,000,000</u>	<u>100.0 %</u>

B. Expenditures

Expenditures on personnel	385,523,000
Expenditure on materials	13,367,000
Special expenditures (not including those on operations)	87,110,000
Expenditures on operations	<u>226,000,000</u>
Total of expenditures	<u>685,000,000</u>

Documents: Prefectural Budget Saigon 1958  
Arrete No. 332-TTP/NSNV on 2-12-1958

## EXPENDITURES OF VARIOUS AGENCIES

NAMES OF AGENCIES	Total of Expenditures	Expenditures on Personnel	Expenditures on Materials	Expenditures on Operations	Special Expenditures	Observations
Secretariat of the Prefecture	15,908,000	14,511,000	1,127,000		270,000	N = Note
Service of Information	-	N	N		N	
Bureau of Accounting (Finances)	4,855,000	3,514,000	519,000		822,000	
Bureau of Receipts, Services or Regies	13,283,000	9,572,000	416,000	2,630,000	6,665,000	
Pension. Bonds	5,253,000	-			5,253,000	
Transportation, travelling warrants	9,850,000	-			9,850,000	
Expenditures on hospitals	1,100,000	-			1,100,000	
Extraordinary miscellaneous expenditures	1,516,000	-			1,516,000	
Adjust expenditures	-	-			N	
Subsidy and miscellaneous charges	-				N	
Subsidy to various public organizations	600,000	-			600,000	
Service of Plantation	19,654,000	1,171,000	75,000		9,408,000	

NAME OF AGENCIES	Total of Expenditures	Expenditures on Personnel	Expenditures on Materials	Expenditures on Operations	Special Expenditures	Observations
Service of Veterinary	6,616,000	1,875,000	92,000		4,469,000	
Scholarships and Subventions	12,000	-			12,000	
Service of Primary Education.	45,781,000	42,401,000	803,000		2,577,000	
Sports, Youth	20,000		-		20,000	
Prefectural Police	242,888,000	228,378,000	7,480,000		7,039,000	
Fire Service	15,823,000	14,497,000	267,000		1,064,000	
Public factories in the Prefecture	130,024,000	8,034,000	128,000	121,662,000	200,000	
Service of Hygiene	29,178,000	6,744,000	406,000		22,028,000	
Hospitals	23,118,000	15,099,000	633,000	7,386,000		
Social reliefs	6,660,000	-	-		6,660,000	Document: Prefectural /
Prefect Secretariat	2,161,000	1,843,000	318,000			Budget - Fiscal year 1858
Service of Technique	113,695,000	10,884,000	1,103,000	101,708,000		
Total:	685,000,000	358,523,000	13,367,000	226,000,000	87,110,000	

COMPARATIVE CHART OF ESTIMATED RECEIPTS  
PREFECTURAL BUDGET 1959 & 1958

94.

KIND OF COLLECTIONS	RECEIPTS		RATIO		Increase + Decrease -	
	1958	1959	1958	1959		Collections
<u>Taxes collected according to assessment.</u>						
Surcharges on national taxes	178,000,000	208,000,000	27,31	30,23	+	0 = no change
Prestations	1,400,000	1,400,000	0,20	0,20	0	+ = increase
Assimilated taxes	41,450,000	48,950,000	6,05	7,11	+	- = decrease
<u>Taxes and revenues collected according to collection order</u>						
Taxes on occupation of public and private property of the Prefecture.	24,810,000	23,610,000	3,60	3,43	-	
Yield of running water	107,500,000	108,200,000	15,70	15,73	+	
Miscellaneous revenues	27,160,000	29,220,000	3,90	4,25	+	
Market taxes	78,000,000	78,000,000	11,40	11,34	-	
Rubbish sale and cesspool emptying	1,000,000	1,000,000	0,15	0,15	0	
Slaughterhouse tares	34,000,000	36,000,000	5,00	5,23	+	

KIND OF COLLECTIONS	RECEIPTS		RATIO		Increase + Decrease -
	1958	1959	1958	1959	
Additional charges and bonds	1,260,000	660,000	0,19	0,10	-
Incomes from contracts	10,420,000	11,960,000	1,54	1,74	+
Subsidies of the National Budget	120,000,000	90,000,000	17,51	13,08	-
Receipts of previous fiscal years	51,000,000	51,000,000	7,45	7,41	-
Total of receipts:	685,000,000	688,000,000	100%	100%	+

LIST OF MARKETS IN THE PREFECTURE  
AND THE RESULT OF THE BIDDING IN 1959

Order	NAMES OF MARKETS	Kind of enterprise	1959		1958		
			Result	Increase	Result	Decrease	
1	Vuon Chuoi	Bidding	1,120,000\$	1,008,000\$	112,000\$	* First bidding	
2	Chi Hoa	"	1,001,000\$	1,001,000\$			
3	Nguyen Tri Phuong	"	1,125,000\$	1,014,000\$	111,000\$		
4	Phu Lam	"	168,000\$	*	*		
5	Xom Cui	"	1,412,000\$	1,250,000\$	162,000\$		
6	Phu Tho	"	427,000\$	*	-		
7	Binh Dong Rach Cat	"	362,000\$	361,000\$	1,000\$		
8	Tran Phuoc Toan	"	681,000\$	*	*		
9	Xom Chieu	"	1,584,000\$	*	*		
10	Dakao	Regies	-	-	-		
11	Cho Dai	"	-	-	-	Tr Bidding	
12	Cau Kho	"	-	-	-	has no result.	
13	Trai Binh	"	-	-	-		

CONCLUSION

In the above part we have shown the principal traits in the organization and management of the administration of the Prefecture.

We have brought forth the particular problems of each service or agency: its organizational defects and advantages, and its daily difficulties as well. These observations are based on documents gathered for the study as well as on ideas exchanged during interviews of responsible officers of the Prefecture.

In this part we wish to show only some more general observations on the administration of the Prefecture.

I. The financial problem: As regards the financial situation, the amount of receipts is not considerable due to the lack of a good assessment system and of good collection procedure. The assessment of license tax and land taxes belongs to the Directorate of taxes (under the direct control of the Ministry of Finances) and quite often suffers time lags, so the yearly collection only starts as late as November. Consequently the estimated receipts are generally collected behind time. This seriously affects the execution of social programs and those designed to serve public interest. Plans have not been carried out as they should, all arrangements at workshops are mixed up, etc.

Besides, there are a certain number of taxes the assessment of which is very often tardily made; consequently the collection could not be finished during the current fiscal year.

The total of receipts of previous fiscal years in the Prefectural Budget shows the fact clearly. This sum averages about more than 7% of the estimated receipts <sup>1</sup>.

The second handicap is the tax collection procedure.

Besides taxes collected according to assessment, there are many other taxes collected on receipts or collection orders; therefore, the control of the collection is made very difficult and the procedure of collection may lend to swindles.

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<sup>1</sup>The receipts of previous fiscal years in the Budget of 1958 are 51 million piasters.

II. The problem of recruiting personnel and the relation between the agencies of the Prefecture and various Departments should also be given due attention: The recruitment procedure should be simplified. It would be advisable that the Directorate of Fonction Publique lay emphasis on the maintenance of the capacity of the candidates.

The technical relations between the Prefectural services of technique and various Departments should be more flexible so as to avoid delays. On this point the departmental orders on general technique will determine the policy to be followed by the agencies, and would be better than a close control of daily activities.

The clear distinction between administrative and technical authorities is also very important to avoid overlaps and clashes of powers.

So whenever an individual has a certain obligation he should be given ample power to fulfill his responsibility.

III. As regards organization, it is to be noted that there is a lack of space and stationery, and chiefly of a good record filing procedure. The bureau of civil status at the Prefecture is now too narrow and lacks the space necessary to keep the files in order, not to speak of a scientific arrangement of the files.

The lack of equipment and machines is quite alarming inasmuch as the reparation and maintenance of roads in the Prefecture are mostly done by workers handling rudimentary tools

IV. Lastly, it is worthwhile raising the problem of annexing the neighboring suburbs to the Prefecture. At the present time, though organizationally certain suburban regions have not been wholly annexed to the Prefecture, they are, as far as police matters are concerned, partially annexed to the Prefecture. According to an Arrete of the Departments of Interior, the Prefectural Police has extended its field of activities to the districts of Tan-Binh and Ba-Chieu of the Province Gia-Dinh.

Especially as regards the problem of annexation, it is worth mentioning an ancient form of organization before 1945,

probably due to the special situation of the neighboring suburbs the French had placed Tan-Binh under the management of an administrative delegate who was himself under the control of the Prefect. This system of organization was given up after 1945. Nevertheless this shows that the annexation of suburbs to the Prefecture is practically a somewhat important problem.

Saigon, August 15, 1960.

Sd/-.....

## A D D E N D U M

The objective of this addendum is to clarify some points of the report.

The study deals mostly with problems of the administration of the City of Saigon. But I must precise that these are problems arising from the rapid growth and expansion of the city. Saigon is an old town and the expansion of the city does not create new satellite towns around the City. We have rather new areas out side of the city but included in the area of the neighbouring provinces. Since the Vietnamese governmental framework is a highly centralized unitary system, and local government in the strict sense does not exist in VietNam (1) the suburbs of the City are administratively included in the provincial level of government. But the City still has some relationships with these new areas. It continues to perform certain functions such as water supply, transportation, education, etc... and especially security. This explains the extension of the field of activities of the Prefectural Police to the suburban districts of Tan-Binh and Ba-Chieu. This is the first step to a totally annexation of these suburban regions to the City. The problem of annexation which has been arisen long years ago still is of an important present interest.

Thus all the problems mentioned and discussed in this report must be viewed in this light. And we should, for more precisions, rename the title of the study as follows: Problems connected with the Administration of an old town now in rapid growth and expansion.

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(1) Cf. Chapter 2. p.19